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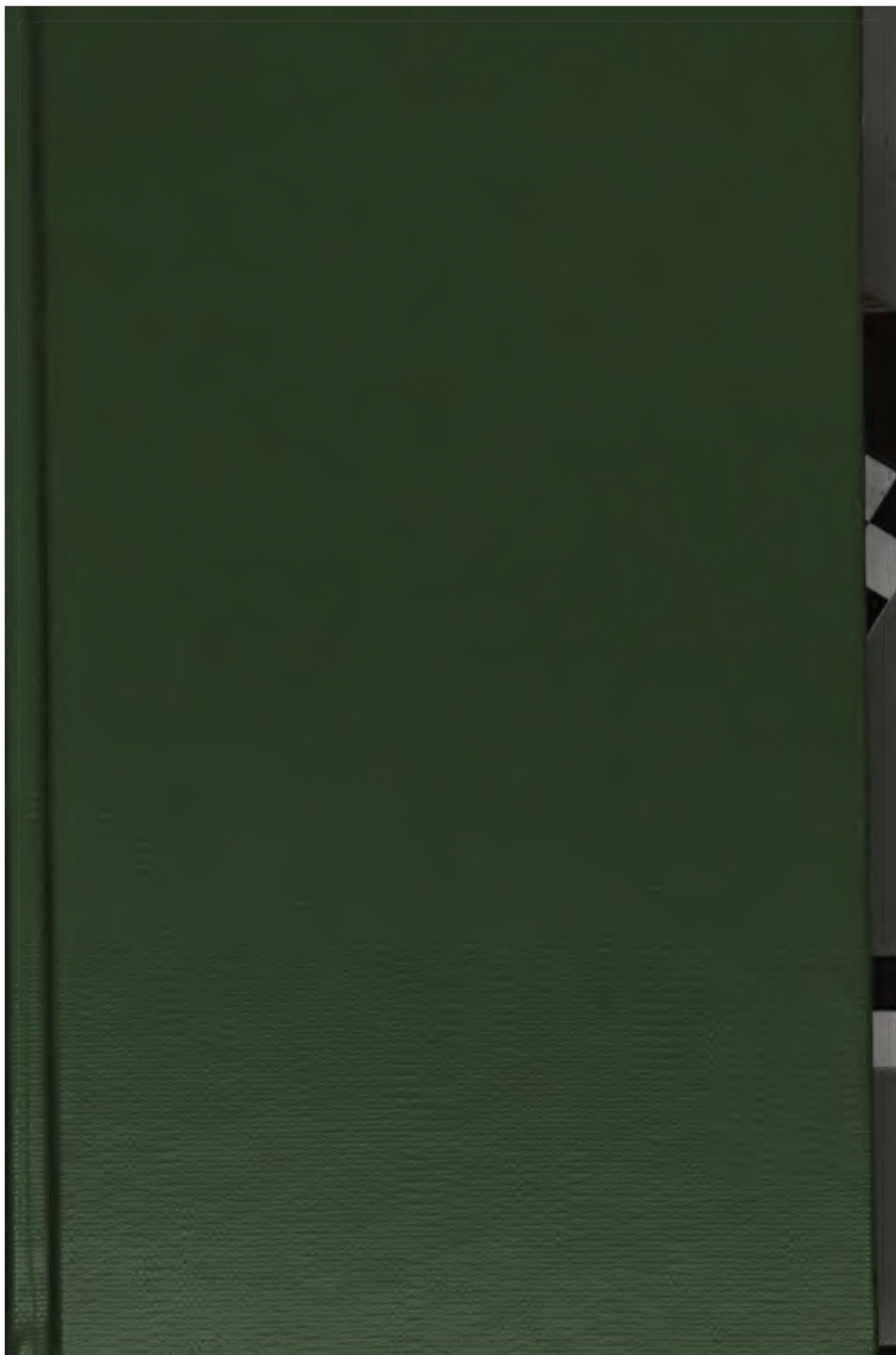
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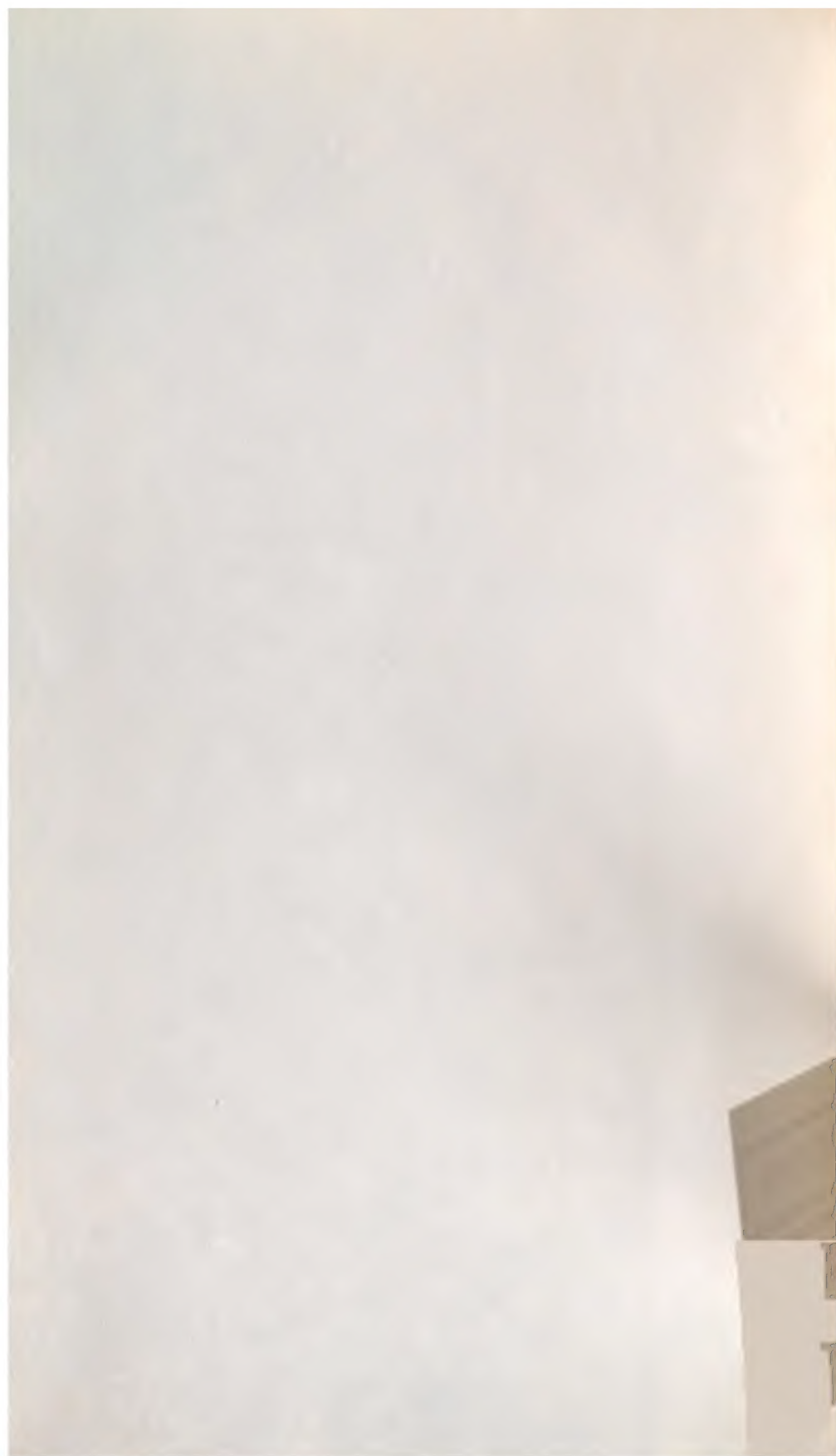
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MEMOIRS
OF
JOHN QUINCY ADAMS,

COMPRISING PORTIONS OF
HIS DIARY FROM 1795 TO 1848.

EDITED BY
CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

VOL. XII.

PHILADELPHIA:
J. B. LIPPINCOTT & CO.
1877.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS.

CHAPTER XXII. (*Continued.*)

	PAGE
THE TWENTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS	3

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE TWENTY-NINTH CONGRESS	178
-------------------------------------	-----

INDEX	289
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MEMOIRS
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VOL. XII. — I

MEMOIRS OF JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

CHAPTER XXII. (*Continued.*)

THE TWENTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS.

APRIL 2d, 1844.—At nine this morning the select committee on the resolves of the Legislature of Massachusetts of 23d March, 1843, met in the chamber of the Committee of Manufactures. Present, all the members except Garrett Davis. Mr. Morse read his report, which occupied about one hour in reading. Sample's motion, made at the last meeting, that a list of the petitions referred to the committee, and reported upon, should be appended to the journal, was discussed, and on taking the question by yeas and nays, Adams, Giddings, Sample, and Morse voted aye; Burke, Burt, Lucas, and Ingersoll voted no. At my request, Davis was sent for to give the casting vote, but was not found; whereupon Ingersoll moved, with some immaterial modification, the same resolution, and it was carried against the votes of Burke, Burt, and Lucas. I was then instructed to report to the House the resolution that the amendment to the Constitution, proposed by the resolves of the Legislature of Massachusetts, ought not to be recommended; and the resolution asking that the committee should be discharged from the further consideration of the subject, and the journal; and the committee adjourned without day—each member to present his own report to the House. Ingersoll, however, had not made up the journal, and no opportunity for presenting the report to the House occurred this day.

3d. Pratt, Orson; Page, John E. Pratt is a commissioned

agent from Joseph Smith, the Mayor of the city of Nauvoo, in the State of Illinois, and Chief and Prophet of the Mormons, or Latter-Day Saints, a new fanatical religious sect, who have occasioned great troubles and suffered great persecutions in the State of Missouri, from which they have been expelled by popular violence and the Government of the State. Page is a preacher of the gospel, of the same sect, now residing here. Pratt has two memorials from them to Congress, complaining of the injuries they have received, and claiming protection and redress. Pratt said he was instructed to ask an interview, first with the delegation from Illinois, and secondly with that from Massachusetts. I notified the members present from Massachusetts, who agreed to meet Pratt to-morrow morning in the chamber of the Committee of Manufactures, except Henry Williams, who declined to attend.

At the House, John W. Davis was meeting some obstacle to getting in a minority report, when I helped him through by making it the occasion of slipping in my report and the resolutions and journal of the select committee on the resolves of the Legislature of Massachusetts. I moved that all the reports should be laid on the table and printed. Instantly a porcupine of objections bristled up against me. Burt immediately called again for the reading of my report, and said he could not vote for its being printed unless it should be read. I said I had no objection, though it would occupy two hours and be exceedingly tedious; and if my report should be read I should, of course, require that they should all be read. Burt persisted, and the Clerk began to read my report; but he had not proceeded half a page before they arrested him, and there was a long struggle of chicanery to defeat the printing of my report. They finally took by yeas and nays the vote on the resolution, that the amendment of the Constitution recommended by the Massachusetts Legislature ought not to be recommended; carried—one hundred and fifty-three to thirteen. Then, that the committee should be discharged from the further consideration of the subject; adopted without division. Ingersoll, Burke, Sample, and Morse presented their several reports, and my motion was that they should all be laid on the table

and printed. The motion to lay them on the table worried through, with some edging. Saunders moved to lay the motion to print on the table. The further consideration was postponed till to-morrow.

4th. After the decision of the House yesterday on the resolutions reported from the select committee on the resolves of the Massachusetts Legislature, and the postponement to this day of the motion to print all the reports and the journal of the committee, the House was engaged the rest of the day in a very warm debate on the bill authorizing the President to sell the lead-mines in Illinois, Iowa, and Wisconsin, which, on the question of engrossment, was rejected by yeas and nays, sixty-nine to eighty-one—upon which a motion of reconsideration was immediately made, and lies over.

In the evening I attended the meeting of the National Institute at the Presbyterian Church in 4½ Street, and heard a discourse, by A. D. Bache, on the History of Science in Europe and America; an essay on the Indian Summer, by Professor Jacobs, of Gettysburg, Pennsylvania; and an account of the petrified forest near Cairo in Egypt, by Dr. A. D. Chaloner, of Philadelphia.

The Secretary of the Treasury, J. C. Spencer, presided at the meeting, and the new Secretary of State, John C. Calhoun, was there. I shook hands with him in silence.

The weather is intensely warm, and I passed the night without closing my eyes. At two in the morning I rose and forced my hand to write, struggling with the angel of death for two hours; then returned to bed for two more sleepless hours. At half-past ten this morning, with four other members of the Massachusetts delegation, I met in the chamber of the Committee of Manufactures the Mormon agent Pratt, and preacher Page, who set forth at large the grounds of their complaints against the Government and people of Missouri, and the persecutions for relief from which their memorials claim the interposition of Congress. The power of Congress to interfere is questionable; the right is doubtful. The memorials must be presented by a member from Illinois; and we agreed to act upon them as the proper sense of our duties would require.

At the House, after long and wide-spreading debate, the bill to regulate the pay of the army was passed by yeas and nays—one hundred and nine to thirty-six. The reports from the committee on the Massachusetts resolves were, in despite of Burt, ordered to be printed—eighty-five to sixty. And the joint resolution from the Senate to close the session on the 27th of May was postponed for consideration till the 13th of that month.

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8th. Mr. Walter Forward, of Pittsburg, called on me this morning, and anxiously adverse, as I had found him last November at Pittsburg, against the annexation of Texas to this Union. To his enquiries as to the prospects of this event at present I could give no answer, though I now see it doomed beyond the reach of all but Almighty power, and despair of that. The impulse of national aggrandizement, spurred by private avarice and corruption, cannot be resisted, and it will now be consummated even without a war, with the connivance, if not with the aid, of England. ✓

10th. When I went into the House, I found William J. Brown, of Indianapolis, one of the demi-demons of Democracy which make a Pandemonium of the House, closing, under the guise of a personal explanation, a renewed furious charge against Henry Clay of having said in one of his speeches that there was no need of protection. He had made the same charge one day last week, and it had been taken up and convicted of forgery by John White, of Kentucky. He had then been compelled to retract the charge and to apologize for it. But he had now got another report of a speech of Clay, in which he said there was no need of protection for protection, and upon this he had the impudence to renew the charge and to rail like a maniac against Clay.

White claimed the right to reply, and carried it by suspension of the rules, and again floored Brown till he gasped for breath, convicted him of rascally slander, and left not a rag of reputation upon his back. But no man thinks the worse of Brown for this sample of his character, and he will be ready to do his dirty work again to-morrow as if nothing had happened.

11th. This morning the Rev. R. R. Gurley called on me, with the Rev. Aaron Foster, from whom I had received a queer

letter on the 24th of last October, the day before I left Quincy for Cincinnati. He came now with a small album, blank, excepting a creed in half a dozen lines, that permanent and universal peace is the genius of Christianity and promotive of the prosperity of nations, and claims the prayers and exertions of all philanthropists.

He wished my name as first subscriber to this creed. I reinforced the creed by declaring peace the law of nature and of nature's God, the vital spirit and genius of Christianity, and essential to the liberty, justice, and prosperity of nations. I subscribed to this, and left him to find other subscribers as he may.

Mr. Wethered and Mr. Winder came with several letters and documents, and a request that I would present to Congress the camp-chest of Washington—a very unwelcome task, but which I do not see how I can decline.

I had promised to give a sitting of an hour at ten this morning to Mr. Gibert to paint my portrait; but these visitors had absorbed the time.

At the House, Tibbetts again moved to suspend the rules for a resolution to cease debate on the Eastern Harbor bill in committee of the whole on the state of the Union at two o'clock this afternoon, and then to take the question on all proposed amendments and report the bill to the House; and now he succeeded.

12th. Dr. Todson had called upon me yesterday morning for the life of Beethoven, which I had promised the day before to take out of the Congress library for him, but I had forgotten it, and asked him to call again this morning. Yesterday I took the books out, two small volumes duodecimo, which I gave to the doctor this morning, with a note of the librarian that they must be returned by the 18th instant. I looked over the volumes cursorily, enough to see that he was unfortunate through life by the mere roughness of his temper.

I revised this morning the remainder of my report on the resolves of the Massachusetts Legislature, and returned the proof with the manuscript to Mr. Haliday, ordering a hundred extra copies to be sent and delivered at my seat at the House.

At the request of J. M. Edwards and Anthony, I sat also in their room while they took three larger daguerreotype likenesses of me than those they had taken before. While I was there, President Tyler and his son John came in; but I did not notice them.

The House had been half an hour in session when I entered it, and, after an ineffectual attempt of Weller to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, sundry reports from committees were received—among which was one from Zadok Pratt, Chairman of the Committee on the Public Buildings, glancing at an appropriation to purchase from the funds received at the Patent Office books for the use of the office, and another joint resolution with an appropriation for various purposes. It raised a running debate, which closed by recommitting the resolution.

A. Stewart, from the Committee on the District of Columbia, reported without amendment a bill to incorporate the Georgetown College. Charles J. Ingersoll started an objection to it, which raised a debate. I urged recommitment of it to save it. Committed to the committee of the whole on the state of the Union.

13th. I received last evening a petition to the House of Representatives from Alanson Bibb, of Indiana County, Pennsylvania, bitterly complaining that he had heretofore sent me a petition to present, claiming remuneration for public services rendered by him in the Revolutionary War, and that it appeared I had totally neglected my duty and never presented his petition. I found on consulting my minutes that I presented his petition on the 27th of March, and it was referred to the Committee of Revolutionary Pensions, and it was published as No. 159 in my list in the *National Intelligencer* of the 5th instant. I give this as a sample of the treatment to which members of Congress are not unfrequently subject from petitioners. The sheet of the journal including the 27th of March is not yet printed.

It was about noon when I entered the House, and found it in committee of the whole on the state of the Union, Weller in the chair, upon the Army Appropriation bill. A call on the

Secretary of the Navy had been adopted, on motion of Mr. Summers, for correspondence of Commodore M. C. Perry, commander of the squadron on the coast of Africa, concerning the colored colonies there. Vance and Ramsay had pleaded in vain for the regular order of private business. The Army Appropriation bill prevailed, and the effort of McKay, Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, was to reduce the amount of the appropriations to square with the reductions of the Retrenchment bill recently passed for regulating the pay of the army. The army supporters, chiefly Whigs—Barnard, White, Joseph R. Ingersoll—were urging that the appropriations should be left as if the Retrenchment bill had not passed. Brengle, however, a new Whig member from Maryland, was in favor of the reduction, and Archibald Atkinson, of the First Congressional District of Virginia, voided a hogshead of invective upon the Whigs, and charged them, among other things, with now claiming for themselves the merit of the retrenchments made by the Twenty-Seventh Congress, but which were carried against their votes. Morse, of Maine, replied to Atkinson by a defence of the Whigs; but soon after two he gave way to a motion for the committee to rise, and the House adjourned.

14th. Immediately after dinner I received visits from the Minister of Great Britain, Mr. Pakenham, and his Secretary, Mr. Bidwell. With Mr. Pakenham I had some conversation. I enquired if his negotiation with our Government on the subject of the Oregon Territory had commenced. He said it had not; but he said that he had made an explicit declaration to our Department of State that the British Government would in no respect interfere in the affairs of Texas; and he spoke of it as somewhat extraordinary that the fact had been publicly denied in the *Madisonian*, the official daily journal of the Executive. He said he had thought of addressing a note to the Secretary of State on the subject. But he manifested no feeling on the signature of the treaty for the annexation of Texas to the United States, and left me with the impression that Great Britain would oppose no resistance to its consummation.

15th. Early this morning Harriet Livermore made her appearance here, for the fourth time within the last twenty years,

with a book which within the last six months she has published at a cost of nearly two hundred dollars, and for which there is no sale; and with a manuscript, to publish which she comes to solicit subscriptions. And, while she is spending money profusely to print books which nobody will purchase or read, she is so totally destitute that last Christmas-day in New York she had only three borrowed potatoes and half an ounce of dry bread for nourishment, and threw herself on a bed to die of hunger unless relieved by the special interposition of God—which came in the person of a female acquaintance who administered to her wants.

She breakfasted with us, and I took her printed book and subscribed for the printing of the manuscript, giving her a five-dollar bill for the whole. But I dissuaded her from printing, and declined drawing up a subscription paper for her, as she requested. She told me she wished to preach in the hall of the House of Representatives next Sunday; and I promised to aid her in obtaining for her the permission.

16th. At the House, Cranston presented, by leave, the protest of the Legislature of Rhode Island against the right of Congress to interfere in the internal affairs of that State. And just as he was presenting it, his colleague, Elisha R. Potter, went to him and asked him to tack to the protest a newspaper slip, on which were printed the message of the Governor of Rhode Island to the Legislature and the vote of censure by the Legislature upon the members who signed the memorial upon which Burke raised his select committee. The protest, when presented by Cranston, was ordered to be laid on the table and printed.

Some time after, Burke, going to the Clerk's table to examine the protest, found the newspaper slip tacked to it, and raised a tempest in a teapot, charging it as a fraud and imposition upon the House, practised by the Rhode Island members. Burke grossly insulted them, and the bull-dogs of the Democracy were all out upon them. Some of the Whig members sustained them as well as they could, and they made a rather awkward apology. Weller moved to reconsider the order to lay on the table and print the protest. It was reconsidered.

Potter then withdrew the newspaper slip, much against the will of Payne and other of the rabid animals, who denied their right to withdraw their supplementary paper; but the Speaker decided that they had the right. The order to lay on the table and print the protest was then renewed; but they took the question of printing by yeas and nays. Five minutes after, Burke smuggled in a protest against the protesters, which was laid on the table and ordered to be printed, much in the same snarl as the rest. Causin made on the question to print the protest an eloquent and sound speech against the whole proceedings of the House on the subject.

17th. Numerous reports of committees were received, almost all pernicious. The Western Harbor bill was taken up, and the previous question was withdrawn for the homunculus Douglas to poke out a speech in favor of the constitutionality of appropriations for the improvement of Western rivers and harbors. This brought out Rhett in all his fury, and Holmes in all his casuistry, against Douglas and against the whole system of internal improvement, federalism, consolidation, and despotism. The debate was continued between the conflicting absurdities of the Southern Democracy, which is slavery, and the Western Democracy, which is knavery, till Kennedy, of Indiana, slumped into a motion to strike out the whole bill and insert the bill first reported by the committee, omitting the Illinois River.

Hopkins, quasi Speaker, pronounced this not in order. Kennedy appealed.

18th. I was all the time laboring with preparation for the ceremony of presenting to the House, and thereby to Congress, in the name of the late William Sidney Winder, the camp-chest of General George Washington, used by him during the Revolutionary War. There are circumstances of deep feeling in this transaction, susceptible of being most invidiously turned against me and giving an awkward and perhaps ridiculous aspect to the whole proceeding. There was a letter from General Washington referring to the furniture of this chest, which, after long and anxious search, I found at the National Intelligencer office, in Niles's Register of 13th May, 1843. By agree-

ment with the Speaker, immediately after the reading of the (journal) of the House, I stated that I had this chest to present, and proposed that three o'clock P.M. this day should be fixed for the operation; to which the House assented.

In the interval the morning hour was consumed by a speech of Giddings against a motion of Charles J. Ingersoll to print ten thousand extra copies of a report by him as Chairman of the Committee of Foreign Affairs in the case of the *Amistad*.

The House then took up the Western River and the Harbor bill, and I retired to the chamber of the Committee of Manufactures and wrote till close upon three; then returned to the House, where they had just rejected the engrossment of the Harbor bill, and Duncan had moved a reconsideration. Precisely at three o'clock I presented the camp-chest, with the documents, my vouchers for offering it, and an address not more than five minutes in length, and offered a joint resolution accepting the chest, and another of respect and sympathy to the family. Mr. Wethered and J. P. Kennedy followed with a few words.

19th. Mr. John P. Kennedy closed the scene of the presentation of the chest by a short speech, appropriate and touching, and offered a third resolution, that the documents presented by me, with the chest, be entered on the journal of the House. All the resolutions were adopted, with one dissenting voice—John P. Hale, who, upon the question of each resolution, distinctly answered, No.

At the House, I presented, by leave, the resolves of the Legislature of Massachusetts concerning the annexation of Texas, of _____ last, and moved that they be laid on the table and printed. Cave Johnson and Weller made a show of objection to the reception of them, but did not persist. Charles J. Ingersoll made an attempt to have them referred to his Committee of Foreign Affairs, but the Speaker declared his motion not in order.

The first business of the day was the question upon the motion to print ten thousand copies of Charles Hudson's report from the Committee of Manufactures, with Charles J. Ingersoll's amendment to print ten thousand copies of his report

from the Committee of Foreign Affairs in the case of the *Amistad*. Preston King said he would move the indefinite postponement of the subject; but Weller moved to lay the whole subject on the table—which was carried by yeas and nays, eighty-six to sixty-two. Giddings's hour speech of yesterday had sickened the Democracy of Ingersoll's report. I had not read it.

20th. At the House, John Wentworth, of Illinois, made a personal explanation, assuring the House that he did not use the words "By God!" yesterday, as reported in the *Intelligencer*, but only exclaimed, "My God!" an exclamation of deep sensibility, but in no sense or intention of using profane language.

Alexander H. Stephens presented resolutions of the Legislature of Georgia in answer and adverse to those of the Legislature of Massachusetts proposing the amendment to the Constitution. He moved to refer them to a select committee of nine; but Cave Johnson moved that they be laid on the table and printed; which was carried. McKay moved to suspend the rules to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union to take up the Navy or Post-Office Appropriation bills. Lost—eighty-eight to ninety-one. Vance pleaded very hard for the private calendar, but McClernand moved to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union to take up the Western Harbor bill; and that prevailed—one hundred and twenty to fifty-nine. Tibbetts concluded his dull speech in support of the bill. John R. J. Daniel, of Halifax, North Carolina, railed for an hour against internal improvement, and Alvan Cullom, of Livingston, Fourth District of Tennessee, sounded the same base string. The Illinois River was struck out—one hundred and eighteen to forty-nine—for fear of a veto. The bill then passed to be engrossed, by yeas one hundred and ten to seventy-five; and finally passed—one hundred and eight to seventy-two. Duncan moved a reconsideration; no quorum voting.

22d. This was a memorable day in the annals of the world. The treaty for the annexation of Texas to this Union was this day sent in to the Senate; and with it went the freedom of the

human race. In the House it was a no less disastrous day. McKay, Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, made his long fore-announced motion, to suspend the rules to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union to take up his Anti-Tariff bill; and after a call of the House, upon which one hundred and ninety-four members answered to their names, the motion was carried by a vote of one hundred and four to ninety-four, the majority consisting of that floating class of Janus-faces who decide all great and critical questions by holding themselves at market till the last hour, and then let the hammer fall to the highest bidder. The vote against reconsidering the passage of the Western Harbor bill had been seventy-three to one hundred and eleven. The number voting on the motion to take up the Anti-Tariff was one hundred and ninety-eight—probably the largest vote of the session. The standing supremacy of the slave-representation is one hundred and twelve, a bare majority of the whole House, consisting of eighty slave-holders and thirty-two free-trade auxiliaries. This is the average, allowing eight slave-holders for occasional defection from their iron rule, and an equal number of Laodicean freemen, neither hot nor cold, and ever wavering between slavery and freedom.

This day the Speaker put G. W. Hopkins in the chair, and no sooner was the bill read than Charles J. Ingersoll started to take the lead by moving to strike out the 1st of September and insert the 1st of January next for the beginning of the new tariff.

At the very same time, Robert Dale Owen, the Scotch atheist, had a diabolic hour speech against the tariff, and the English corn-laws, and paupers, by heart, and could not refrain himself from letting it off. There was a long debate whether, upon the petty question to change the day for the bill to commence, the whole tariff controversy could be discussed. Ingersoll's motion was at last rejected, and Robert Dale went through his hour without closing, he wilily laying it over till the next Presidential canvass shall be settled. Wright followed for half an hour, and then moved the committee to rise; and the House adjourned.

23d. I answered the letter of Julius Pratt & Co., of Meriden, Connecticut, which accompanied their present of an ivory cane to me. I answered also the letter of Henry L. Ellsworth, Commissioner of Pensions, with which he delivered the cane to me. I took these letters, together with a copy of the letter from Pratt & Co., and the cane, leaving them all with Mr. Ellsworth; the cane to be kept in custody of the Commissioner among the curiosities of the office, until the right of petition shall be restored by the extinction of the gag-rule in the House of Representatives. The donors of the cane request me, when that event shall occur, to have the date of it added to the motto held by the eagle on the top of the cane. In depositing the cane at the Patent Office, I reserved to myself, and my legal representatives, the right to borrow it hereafter, to have the date added to the motto, when the fact shall be realized; and then, that the cane be finally deposited in the office.* Mr. Goodwin, of Hartford, was at the office with Mr. Ellsworth, who promised to forward my letter to Pratt & Co., and to keep the cane safely.

At the House, after the reading of the journal, there was no quorum. Hopkins moved a call, which was commenced, but soon superseded as the members came in. Mr. Pollock, the member from Pennsylvania, replacing the late Henry Frick, was sworn in and took his seat. The House immediately went into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, G. W. Hopkins in the chair, on the Tariff bill. Joseph A. Wright, of Indiana, concluded an agricultural hour speech against the existing tariff of 1842, and in favor of the present bill. John

* The last will and testament of the writer was found to contain the following provision: "I give and bequeath to the people of the United States of America an ivory cane, presented to me by Julius Pratt, of Meriden, in Connecticut, and by me deposited in the custody of the Commissioner of Patents, at Washington, to remain in his custody until called for by me. The said cane bears upon it an inscription in honor of the repeal of the rule of the House of Representatives prohibiting the reception of petitions on the subject of slavery, 3d December, 1844, being inserted therein as the date upon which the said rule was rescinded, according to the request of the donor; which said cane it is my desire should be kept in the Patent Office of the United States in future, as it has been heretofore."

As the executor of Mr. Adams, the writer presented to President Polk an official copy of the foregoing bequest to the United States.

White, of Kentucky, then took the floor, and consumed his hour in discoursing, not upon the tariff, but in defence of Henry Clay against a base concerted attack of Linn Boyd, George W. Hopkins, and Walter Coles, in the newspapers, reviving the old lying accusation of a bargain between him and me for my appointment of him as Secretary of State for his vote in my favor as President. After refuting this charge, White was passing to another ridiculous imputation, the gist of which was that Clay, in a speech upon the Missouri question, had spoken of black slaves and white slaves. The hour expired. White pleaded hard for another hour, but the House would not indulge him, and he had so exasperated the ruling party by driving them from their battery of slander, that one of them, George Rathbun, sitting near where he spoke, started up, and, in a transport of rage, turned upon him and struck him. A short fight ensued—a rush of members over the tables and chairs to part them. The Speaker took the chair. A pistol-ball was fired at McCausland, a member, by a Kentuckian named Moore, whom he was turning out of the hall. The ball missed him, but passed through the door and wounded an officer of the police, named Wirt. Then three hours of debate, a select committee of five to investigate, and adjourned.

24th. Before the reconciliation took place yesterday between the parties to the fray in the House, I had risen and requested Dromgoole to withdraw his motion that the Sergeant-at-Arms should take the two members into custody, for a motion which I proposed to make for the appointment of a select committee of investigation, according to the precedent in the case of the fray between Wise and Stanley; but Romulus M. Saunders took the floor from me for the same identical proposition, and after the reconciliation I thought there was no further occasion for a committee. The party majority, however, clung to the appointment, and carried it, of a select committee of five—Saunders, myself, Dromgoole, Reuben Chapman, and Hardin, of Illinois. The selection of the three slave-mongers was a sufficient indication of the use to be made of this committee. Saunders notified them to meet in the room of the Judiciary Committee immediately after the adjournment of the House.

Having heard that General Almonte, the Mexican Minister, was to depart to-morrow for New York, with his family, I called at his house and took leave of him. I told him that I had received several applications in behalf of individuals, my countrymen, prisoners at Perote, taken at Mier, with entreaties that I would solicit President Santa Anna for their release; that under present circumstances I could not justify myself for such interposition; but I still hoped he would return from New York to this city, and that the peace between our countries would be preserved, and in that event would speak further with him on this subject.

This morning Andrew Kennedy and John White asked a suspension of the rules, to enable them to make personal explanations in refutation of misstatements in the *Globe*. The vote for suspension was ninety-eight to sixty-four—not two-thirds.

Committee of the whole on the state of the Union, first Weller and then Hopkins in the chair. Jacob Brinkerhoff, of Mansfield, Eleventh Congressional District of Ohio, made an hour anti-tariff speech; Wethered and John P. Kennedy, Edward Joy Morris and Washington Hunt, tariff speeches, till half-past four, when the committee rose, and the House adjourned.

The select committee met in the room of the Judiciary Committee. I found immediately that Saunders, Dromgoole, and Chapman were intent upon turning this quarrel into a party engine, and gave notice that I should not attend the meeting of the committee to-morrow morning, and should ask to be excused by the House from further service on the committee.

25th. Dr. Laurie called on me this morning for an answer to a letter that I had received from him, soliciting my interposition with the Mexican President, Santa Anna, to obtain the release of Dr. William M. Shepherd, a nephew of his wife, captured as a Texan prisoner taken at Mier, and now confined in the castle at Perote. I answered him, as I had answered Mr. Breese yesterday, that it would give me great pleasure to contribute all in my power to obtain the release of the prisoner, but that in

the present state of our relations with Mexico I could ask no personal favor of President Santa Anna.

At the House, immediately after the reading of the journal, I requested to be excused from serving upon the select committee on the quarrel between Rathbun and White, and to be excused also from assigning my reasons for the request. I said I might, by the rules of the House, release myself from the service, being a member of two other committees; but I preferred to be discharged from this committee by authority of the House, and, as the committee would probably have occasion to sit this day and to-morrow, I wished that another member might be appointed to supply my place. The Speaker put the question, and I was excused without a negative voice.

John Slidell, of New Orleans, then rose, and announced the death of Pierre Evariste Bossier, a member from Louisiana, of consumption, last evening, at his lodgings in this city. Slidell pronounced a genteel eulogy upon him, larded with Latin and French proverbs, and crowned him with a chaplet of French Creole virtues. He offered the usual sympathizing resolutions, to wear crape, to attend the funeral to-morrow at noon, and to adjourn; which were adopted without further notice. I spoke to Mr. Crittenden, who said Mr. Clay would be here to-morrow, and his letter on Texas would be published in the *National Intelligencer* Saturday morning.

26th. Mr. Von Raumer and his son are travellers from Berlin, Prussia. They come with an open letter of recommendation from Henry Wheaton, the Minister of the United States at Berlin, addressed to perhaps thirty individuals, public men in the several States of this Union, and among the rest to me. The letter is endorsed or countersigned by Edward Everett, at London, about the 1st of this month. Mr. Von Raumer has already published a book of travels in European countries, said to be in high repute, but of which I had never heard. He comes now to travel in this country and then publish another book of travels. He called on me this morning, and in his conversation seemed to have his curiosity chiefly attracted to the subject of slavery.

27th. Mr. Henry Clay arrived in this city yesterday, on his way homeward from an extensive tour to the South, as far as New Orleans. In the *National Intelligencer* of this morning is published a letter from him against the annexation of Texas at this time.

Mr. Giddings called on me and introduced to me one of his constituents, named Ford, who comes as a delegate to the Whig Convention to be held at Baltimore next Wednesday to nominate Henry Clay as the Whig candidate for election to the office of President of the United States next December. The delegates to that Convention, and to that of the Convention of young men to be held the succeeding day at the same place, are already swarming here from all parts of the country. Among the rest, Mr. Gibson, the Mayor of Schenectady, who presided at the hospitable dinner which they gave me there last summer, called this morning, with his friend, a Mr. Strong, of Geneva, in that State.

At the House, Dromgoole moved a resolution to cease debate in committee of the whole on the state of the Union upon the Tariff bill on Monday, the 6th of May, and take it into the House. Several of the Whigs insisted that the time was too short. Charles J. Ingersoll moved, as an amendment, Thursday, the 9th of May. Andrew Stewart moved to lay the resolution on the table; carried, by yeas and nays—eighty-eight to eighty-three. Weller, in a burst of passion, said, "Well, we will pass the bill next Wednesday." The motion to go now into committee of the whole on the Tariff bill was resisted, but without avail. D. D. Barnard made an effort to get up the Eastern Harbor bill, but failed. The day was consumed in the dullest of hour speeches, with Hopkins in the chair, by James E. Belser, of Alabama, against the tariff, Richard Brodhead, of Easton, Pennsylvania, for it, John Slidell, of New Orleans, on both sides, and Lewis Steenrod, of Wheeling, Virginia, anti-tariff to the backbone. Four speeches—four hours. At half-past four the committee rose, and the House adjourned.

Martin Van Buren's letter against the annexation of Texas at this time was published this evening in the *Globe*.

29th. Dixon H. Lewis offered a resolution calling on the President for copies of such portions of the "correspondence, public or private, in the years 1816, 1817, 1818, 1819, and 1820, between our Ministers at the Court of Madrid and the Department of State, between those Ministers and the Spanish Secretaries of State, and between the Department of State and the Spanish Ministers accredited to this Government, and which correspondence may not have been hitherto communicated to either House of Congress and published under the authority of either. Provided, however, that the President shall not deem it incompatible with the public interest to furnish the copies referred to."

Objections were made to receiving the resolution. Lewis moved to suspend the rules; for which I voted, and which was carried—one hundred and nineteen to twenty-three. John W. Davis immediately moved the previous question. He withdrew it, however, at my request, for me to move an amendment to strike out the proviso. Lewis, after some resistance, accepted the modification, and the resolution was adopted without the proviso. The House then went into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, Hopkins in the chair, on the Tariff bill. Weller, Alexander Ramsay, of Harrisburg, Fourteenth Congressional District of Pennsylvania, Jacob Collamer, of Woodstock, Second District of Vermont, Moses G. Leonard, of the city of New York, and Abraham R. McIlvaine, of Chester, Seventh District of Pennsylvania, expatiated five hours pro and con, for and against the tariff, with various merit—Collamer's speech bearing off the palm of the day.

30th. Mr. Henry Clay, with his son, called yesterday at my house, and was received by my family; but I was not at home. This morning I called, with my son, at Mr. William A. Bradley's, where he lodges, and saw him. He looks much weather-beaten, and is very hoarse, but in good health and spirits.

At the House, they went almost immediately into committee of the whole on the state of the Union upon the Tariff bill, Hopkins in the chair. Albert Smith, of New York, closed an hour speech against the bill, and was followed by Linn Boyd.

of Kentucky, who, after a few words in favor of the bill, turned off to his new-vamped old slander, of a corrupt bargain between Henry Clay and me that he should be appointed Secretary of State on condition that he and the Kentucky delegation should vote for me as President of the United States. Boyd used up his hour in replying to John White's hour speech in vindication of Mr. Clay against these charges. This stale and base calumny, already abandoned and recanted by those who first invented and imposed it upon the credulity of their partisans, these men are now blowing the coals up to kindle again into a flame to consume Clay's election hopes and my honest fame. Boyd closed his speech with another attack upon Clay for his vote in favor of the Bankrupt Act of 1842.

Caleb B. Smith came next, with a strong hour speech in favor of the tariff; Preston King, of New York, with a shorter one against it. George P. Marsh, of Vermont, and Benjamin A. Bidlack continued the debate with high and low powers till past five o'clock, when the committee rose.

May 1st. A copy of the treaty for the annexation of Texas, with all the correspondence communicated with it, printed in confidential secrecy for the use of the Senate, by some treachery was conveyed to the table of the editor of the New York Evening Post, and they have been all published. Letters from Henry Clay, Martin Van Buren, and Thomas H. Benton, all concurring in the injustice and impolicy of annexing Texas at this time to the United States, have been published within the last five days, and the reading them has consumed so much time that my diary runs again into arrears, and my head into confusion.

This was the day of the first Whig Convention at Baltimore, to nominate Henry Clay as their candidate for the office of President of the United States for four years from the 4th of March next, and to agree upon a candidate for the office of Vice-President. They met accordingly, two hundred and seventy-five in number, from the twenty-six States, equal to the constitutional number of the two Houses of Congress; and, what never has happened in either House of Congress, the whole number from every State was present. Ambrose Spen-

cer, of New York, was President, and Henry Clay, of Kentucky, was unanimously nominated as their candidate for President. At the fourth time of voting *vivâ voce*, they fixed upon Theodore Frelinghuysen, of New Jersey, as their candidate for the Vice-Presidency. Mr. Connell called here this evening and gave us this information, received from Baltimore by the Telegraph.

4th. The stream of visitors, returning delegates from the Baltimore Conventions, is yet copious and unabated. Many of my old acquaintances come to shake hands with me as they pass, and many others ask to be introduced to me for the same purpose. Their names are seldom pronounced by their introducers so that I distinctly hear them, and their names and their persons slip alike from my memory the moment they part from me. But they consume time, and multiply subjects of excitement tending to distraction.

At the same time the treaty for the annexation of Texas to the United States, with the President's message transmitting it to the Senate, and the accompanying documents, prematurely published, and the conflicting opinions of the leading men of the Union, disclosed in letters and speeches at public meetings, all indicate the immediate crisis of a great struggle between slavery and freedom throughout the world. I must retire from this contest, or perish under it, probably before the close of the present year, or even of the present session of Congress. The issue is precipitated by its bearing on the approaching Presidential election. It is John Tyler's last card for a popular whirlwind to carry him through; and he has played it with equal intrepidity and address. He has compelled Clay and Van Buren to stake their last chance upon opposition to the measure *now*, and has forced himself upon the whole Democracy as their exclusive candidate for the Presidency next December.

6th. Last Saturday, the report signed John C. Calhoun, Secretary of State, was received by the House, upon the resolution adopted at my motion on the 26th of February last, enquiring whether any gross errors have been discovered in the census, as corrected at the Department of State in 1841, etc. The re-

port is at once insulting to the House, evasive of the enquiry, and false by equivocation. The journal of the House this morning, referring to the report, declared that it stated that no gross errors had been discovered. I moved to strike out those words from the journal, for the report did not deny the existence of the errors, but, taking advantage of a blunder in the copy of the resolution sent to the Department, substituting 1843 for 1841, to evade a direct answer to the resolution, affected to deny the existence of a census corrected in 1843, and to imply that after the correction of 1841 there has been no re-examination of the census, and no material errors discovered. My motion started a debate, very soon arrested by a motion from Weller for the previous question; and with great difficulties I obtained the yeas and nays, which were thirty-two and one hundred and twenty-six.

I then moved a suspension of the rules, to refer to a select committee the report from the Secretary of State, with instructions to inquire into the fact of the errors of the census, and report thereon to the House. The Speaker said there was already a motion to suspend the rules, which was made by McKay, to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union to take up the Tariff bill. But Romulus M. Saunders claimed a privileged right to report in part from the select committee on the fray between John White and George Rathbun. He said that it would occasion no debate; but he counted without his host. As to the quarrel between White and Rathbun, they reported only the testimony of thirty-four witnesses—no resolution. As to the case of William S. Moore, who fired the pistol and wounded Wirt, the policeman, the committee had no doubt of the power of the House to punish him for the contempt; but they thought it most expedient to turn him over to the judicial tribunals, and reported a resolution to that effect, which was adopted.

As to the third charge upon the committee—to report a bill or resolution for punishing or repressing disorders in the House for the future—they were not ready to report as yet; and he moved to lay the report and testimony on the table, and print; and he moved the previous question. The report was, how-

ever, not satisfactory to Mr. White, who moved to recommit the report—which raised a rancorous debate of four hours; after which the debate was postponed to next Thursday week, and the report and testimony to be printed.

7th. General Erastus Root, a long-celebrated and popular politician of the State of New York, and (one) of the delegates to the Clay Convention of the last week at Baltimore, called on me this morning, to solicit my interposition with the Mexican President, Santa Anna, to obtain the release of Cyrus K. Gleason, one of the Texan prisoners taken at Mier and confined in the castle at Perote—he went from the neighborhood of General Root's residence—and he read to me a memorial numerously signed by his neighbors, entreating his good offices to liberate the young man, and particularly to apply for mine.

Mr. Henry Johnson, a Senator from Louisiana, came to my seat yesterday, with a letter from J. H. Leverich, dated at New Orleans, 20th April last, requesting him to procure my good offices in the same way for a young man named Hedenberg (A. D.), of a respectable family in New Jersey, in the same predicament with Gleason.

I answered in both cases that if the relations of peace with Mexico should be restored, I would apply to General Almonte so far as may be proper, believing that the present existing state of things forbids any application from me to the Mexican President.

9th. A new subject of political excitement is opening upon this country, the extent and duration of which it is impossible for me to foresee, but which must have great influence for good or evil (God grant it may be for good) upon the future history and fortunes of this Union. It is a deadly feud between the native American poor population and the Roman Catholic Irish multitudes gathered in the city of Philadelphia. The animosities between these two classes of people have been fermenting in all our Atlantic cities for several years, and have been much aggravated by the pernicious factious influence of these Irish Catholics over the elections in all the populous cities. The reaction of the native American population effected a total revolution in the recent election of the city government

of New York. They have now broken out in furious riots at Philadelphia, where, from the first of this week, a succession of bitterly exasperated mobs have destroyed multitudes of human lives, dwelling-houses, schools, and churches, unrestrained by the government of the city or of the State.

10th. A letter of resignation was read from Dixon H. Lewis, of Alabama, whose twenty score of flesh have been transferred from slumber in the House to sleep in the Senate. He takes there the place of William R. King, a gentle slave-monger, called by Jackson "Miss Nancy," and now appointed Minister to France, for a quarrel and threatened duel with H. Clay in 1841.

The doom of the Tariff bill had been fixed for this day. When the bill was on Wednesday reported from the committee of the whole on the state of the Union to the House, the league of Slavery and besotted Democracy which rules the House and the land dared not spring the previous question upon the debate. They wanted an hour speech from McKay, Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, to wash down the pill; and Barnard, a member of the minority of that committee, claimed an hour to discuss the bill as a measure of revenue. There was some dirty chicanery to deprive Barnard of the floor, but McKay, in order to reserve for himself the last word, yielded the floor to Barnard, who, in a speech full to the point, demonstrated the utter absurdity of the bill as a measure of revenue. McKay replied feebly, and in a tone of voice so low that the House could not hear him; but he killed his hour. Cullom moved the previous question. Cave Johnson moved a call of the House—two hundred and three members answered. Elmer moved to lay the bill on the table; carried—one hundred and five to ninety-nine. Irvin moved to reconsider; lost—ninety-nine to one hundred and three. Motions to adjourn and postpone lost before taking the question of reconsideration. Stewart said, as there had been a death, he moved to adjourn; and the House adjourned. Evening visits from Messrs. Connell and Lee; and, at the invitation of Mr. Winthrop, I attended an evening party of all the Whigs in Congress at his lodgings. Mr. Clay was there.

12th. Before dinner we had a visit from Mr. Henry Clay, to take leave. In good health he goes to-morrow for his home at Ashland, in Kentucky. His prospects of election to the Presidency are at this time brighter than they have ever been before, and I sincerely believe his success desirable for the best interests of the country.

15th. Adams, John Quincy; Houston, George S.; Chappell, Absalom H.; French, Richard; Lucas, William; Brengle, Francis; Potter, Emery D.; Yost, Jacob S.; Wethered, John. The names in the margin are those, including my own, of the select committee to whom, on the 19th of February last, was referred the report of the Secretary of the Treasury on the resolution of the House of the 3d of January, concerning the present condition of the Smithsonian Fund. I met them at ten this morning, in the chamber of the Committee of Manufactures; all present except Houston and Chappell, who were duly notified. We had barely time to read the will of Smithson, the Act of Congress accepting the bequest, and the report of the Secretary of the Treasury referred to the committee, and adjourned, to meet to-morrow at ten o'clock.

In the House, Dellet, of Alabama, by leave, presented resolutions of a meeting at Mobile for the re-annexation of Texas, which, without reading, were laid on the table. McKay made an abortive attempt to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, to take up the Appropriation bills; the committees were called for reports, many of which were presented, and among them two from the Post-Office Committee, the majority report announcing a bill not yet ready. And Charles J. Ingersoll, from the Committee of Foreign Affairs, reported a resolution requesting the President to rescind, as soon as may be done without giving just cause of complaint, the reciprocity treaties with the Hanse Towns, Denmark, and Sweden, and to modify that with Great Britain.

Saunders, Chairman of the select committee on the fight between White and Rathbun, moved to reprint two thousand extra copies of the report and testimony; which, after some wrangling, was lost, by yeas and nays—ninety-one to seventy-nine; not two-thirds.

Campbell moved to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, to take up the District Banks bill; interrupted by a resolution moved by Weller, to give one hundred and fifty dollars to John L. Wirt for the expenses of his wound received in the fray between White and Rathbun—which was instantly carried, without a negative vote. Campbell's motion was lost, by yeas and nays—fifty-nine to one hundred and twelve. Duncan's bill, for holding the election of Electors of President and Vice-President of the United States on the same day throughout the Union, was taken up, and driven through, rejecting an amendment moved by Elmer, to postpone the operation of the Act till after the election immediately approaching, and after two hours spent on a call of the House till twelve members were brought in in custody of the Sergeant-at-Arms, and then all further proceedings were suspended.

16th. I met again the committee on the Smithsonian bequest, the same members present as yesterday. The report of the Secretary of the Treasury evades all explanation of the manner how the fund was almost entirely invested in bonds of the State of Arkansas, upon which no interest has been paid, except in other bonds of the same State, and upon which for more than two years no interest has been paid at all. How to make the fund now available for any appropriation by Congress to the purposes of the testator, was the question first discussed, and upon which the committee came to no result. Then I read the bill reported by the select committee on the 12th of April, 1842, and, after some conversation, the committee adjourned to next Monday, ten o'clock, for the Chairman, consulting with Judge French, to prepare some specific measure to be discussed for report to the House.

In the House, I moved a suspension of the rules, to present a memorial from the American Statistical Association on the errors in the printed sixth census; lost—ninety-seven to forty-nine. I called on the Speaker to vote, as his vote, if in the affirmative, would have carried the two-thirds. He refused to vote, and said if he did vote it would be in the negative. After some wrangling debate, the report on the White and Rathbun fisticuffs came up, and the whole subject was laid on the table.

The Eastern Harbor bill was crammed through, and finally carried, by yeas and nays—ninety-six to eighty. Holmes made two attempts to adjourn over to Monday; both failures, by yeas and nays. The ostensible reason was to ventilate and summer dress the hall; the real one, to attend the races.

17th. I went this morning to the House, with a hope that they would devote this day to the consideration of private claims, which for several weeks have been totally neglected. I entered at the Clerk's table the memorial from the American Statistical Association, with directions to refer it to the select committee on statistics. The Chairman of that committee, Zadok Pratt, promised me that they should report upon it to the House; but the slave oligarchy will yet prevail to suppress this document.

In the House, Saunders attempted to bring up the *quarrel* again, on the pretence of a privileged question, alleging that White had yesterday cast reflections upon his report, which he considered as reflections upon him, and he demanded an explanation. White said nothing, and the Speaker told Saunders that this was not a privileged question. The only good thing done by the House was at the motion of David L. Seymour, to transfer from the committee of the whole House to the committee of the whole House on the state of the Union the House bill No. 7, extending the widows' Revolutionary pensions.

Dean insisted upon going into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, to take up the Navy Retrenchment bill; but Vance called loudly for the orders of the day on private claims; and I conjured the House to give one day to mercy, in vain. Dean's motion was almost unanimously rejected. The House went into committee of the whole on private bills.

18th. Mr. Persico's statues of Columbus and the Indian Girl were yesterday taken from their boxes and hoisted upon the pedestal at the last summit of the flight of steps to the eastern central entrance to the rotunda of the Capitol. The workmen had been two days in raising the statues, and as I left the Capitol yesterday to come home, I saw them fully exposed. Soon after dinner, Persico came to my house, almost convulsed with agitation, to tell me that the statues were up, and was

quite mortified when I told him I had seen them. He was anxious to have been the first to announce to me the memorable event, and he was going to announce it to President Tyler and to the Secretary of State, Calhoun. He wanted also to show me the statues and hear what I should think of them; and I agreed to meet him there Monday morning.

I called at the Department of State, and spoke with the Secretary, John C. Calhoun: 1. On the application for documents from the Government of New Brunswick, requested by letter from John G. Palfrey, Secretary of State to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. 2. On the resolution of H. R. U. S. calling on the President for copies of the instructions to the African squadron, and of the British instructions to their squadron, if they have been communicated. 3. Upon the errors in the printed census of 1840. He called Mr. Derrick to answer me on the first and second points, and answered like a true slave-monger on the third. He writhed like a trodden rattlesnake on the exposure of his false report to the House that no material errors have been discovered in the printed census of 1840, and finally said that where there were so many errors they balanced one another, and led to the same conclusion as if they were all correct.

20th. I had prepared a draft of a bill making an appropriation of seven hundred thousand dollars from the Treasury to assume the annual interest on the Smithsonian Fund, invested now in stocks of several States and upon interest, the payment of which is suspended; which draft I proposed to submit to the consideration of the committee on the Smithsonian bequest at their meeting this morning. But only one member of the committee, Jacob S. Yost, attended. I read my draft of a bill to him, and we agreed to meet again next Wednesday morning at half-past nine.

Persico was not at the entrance of the Capitol, where he had agreed to meet me; but I received a note from him this evening, stung by a censorial article in the *Baltimore Sun* upon the nakedness of his Indian Girl.

In the House, there was no attempt made to call for resolutions; but Campbell offered resolutions from a portion of his

constituents for the re-annexation of Texas; which were laid on the table and ordered to be printed. Committee of the whole on the state of the Union, George C. Dromgoole in the chair. Several bills were proposed to be taken up by several members. Dean was very urgent to take up his Navy Retrenchment bill; Campbell, to take up the District Banks bill; and John W. Davis, to take up the bill to reduce and graduate the price of the public lands. But Dromgoole, playing into the hands of McKay, put first the question upon his motion to take up the Post-Office Appropriation bill; and it was carried. Garrett Davis moved to reduce the pay of the special agents of the Postmaster-General, and told a very shameful story about Wickliffe's employing one of these agents to electioneer against him, and for his competitor, a nephew of Wickliffe. Davis said he had charged this upon Wickliffe to his face, and twice told him it was a cowardly action, to which Wickliffe's only reply was, "That is a matter of opinion, Mr. Davis." Rathbun moved to strike out the appropriation for the special agents, to which Schenck moved an addition, to leave an appropriation of five thousand dollars to defray the expense of declaring frauds. This amendment was carried, and reported to the House, and the Navy Appropriation bill; and this, after some skirmishing, brought on a premeditated debate upon Texas. Holmes, of South Carolina, broached it in a set and labored speech; others will follow.

21st. At the House, L. Q. C. Elmer, Chairman of the Committee of Elections, presented a report from the majority of that committee on the petition of John M. Botts, contesting the election of John W. Jones, the Speaker of the House, who put Weller into the chair while this matter was before the House. The report was laid on the table, and ordered to be printed. The documents were ordered to be postponed till to-morrow, on the motion for printing them. Robert C. Schenck announced a minority report, to be presented hereafter.

Committee of the whole on the state of the Union, Dromgoole in the chair. Duncan moved to take up the bill for the occupation of Oregon, by extending over it the jurisdiction of the Territory of Iowa; and he called for tellers, who returned

the vote thirty to ninety-five. As I passed through the tellers in the negative, (I said) to Duncan, "Not quite yet, Doctor," and I might have said, "Not at all."

The Naval Appropriation bill was taken up. Parmenter had moved an amendment to specify some parts of the appropriation, and Cave Johnson moved to strike out all appropriation for the navy-yard at Washington, and to establish a navy-yard at Memphis, Tennessee. Sample and Ashe made warm speeches in favor of this amendment, whereupon Cave Johnson withdrew it, and Washington Hunt moved to limit the sum to be expended for the service of the navy, excepting for the navy-yard, to one-half the whole amount, before the 1st of January, 1845. Hunt supported his amendment with a speech, avowing his apprehension that the President will squander the appropriations to plunge the country into a war, by his usurpation of the constitutional power of Congress.

Archibald Atkinson then broke out with an annexation speech, backed by one from Robert Dale Owen, the Scotch infidel from Lanark. Morse made a short speech on the other side. James E. Belser followed with a red-hot Texan annexation speech, and was answered by Giddings with an intrepid exposure of the whole transaction of the Texan Treaty. He was frequently interrupted by several of the slavers in an overbearing and bullying tone, and in every instance met and signally discomfited them.

W. W. Payne swelled with venom like a toad, and threatened a resolution to maintain the dignity of the House; but Dromgoole pronounced it not in order, and McKay moved to take the bill out of committee to-morrow at three o'clock P.M. Adjourned after five.

22d. The meeting of the select committee on the Smithsonian bequest was appointed for half-past nine o'clock this morning, but, with myself, only three other members of the committee were in attendance—Brenge, Potter, and Yost; not a quorum. I read to them my draft of a bill for appropriating seven hundred thousand dollars from the Treasury for carrying into immediate effect the purposes of the testator—which they all approved; and they were also willing to report again the bill

which was reported in 1842. We adjourned to meet again next Saturday.

At the House, Belser, of Alabama, and Cobb, of Georgia, presented resolutions of meetings in those States in favor of the immediate annexation of Texas. Cave Johnson called up his motion to reconsider the order to print the documents reported by the Committee of Elections on the contest between Botts and Jones. The vote to reconsider passed without opposition, and then the consideration of the motion to print was postponed till next Saturday.

Then Hamilton Fish, of New York City, offered a resolution for the appointment of a select committee of five, to enquire and report to the House whether the franking privilege of any member of the House has been violated by any deputy post-master, or officer of the Post-Office Department, under any regulation or instruction of the Department. Fish was at first screwed out of his motion, upon the point of order, by the Speaker; but he afterwards renewed and carried it by obtaining a suspension of the rules.

Committee of the whole on the state of the Union, Dromgoole in the chair. The Naval Appropriation bill was taken up, and debated till three o'clock, and then commenced the voting upon the multitude of proposed amendments, which continued till past four, when the committee rose. Several messages from the President were presented by the Speaker, among which, one in answer to the call of 3d January last for copies of the instructions to the squadrons on the coast of Africa. The copies are refused.

23d. I began the draft of a report to accompany the bill which I propose to report from the select committee on the Smithsonian bequest, but made little progress in it. I sat an hour to Mr. Cranch and Mr. Bingham for my portrait. At the House, Howell Cobb, of Georgia, made a desperate and repeated struggle to introduce and have printed a string of resolutions adopted at a small village popular meeting in Georgia. White objected—not to the reception or laying on the table of the resolutions, but to their being printed. Cobb persisted, and moved a suspension of the rules. White moved a call of the

House; lost—forty-two to one hundred and twenty-one; only one hundred and sixty-three in all, forty members absent or not voting. Cobb's motion to suspend the rules was lost—seventy-five to ninety-nine. Duncan L. Clinch moved to suspend the rules to introduce counter-resolutions; but the motion was not in order.

Committee of the whole on the state of the Union, Dromgoole in the chair. Naval Appropriation bill first taken up: numerous amendments proposed, and among them one by McKay, Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, of an additional appropriation of six or seven hundred thousand dollars to supply the deficiencies of last year's appropriation, upon a letter from the Secretary of the Navy, that the money had been expended. I asked whether this amendment could be debated. The Chairman said no; whereupon I objected to the reception of it, as not in order—the rule of the House prescribing that all appropriations shall be first discussed in committee of the whole. The Chairman declared the amendment in order. I appealed from the decision. The committee sustained the Chairman; but McKay withdrew his amendment, and said he would bring it in by a separate bill. The Post-Office Appropriation bill was afterwards taken up, and the amendment to abolish the special agents of the Post-Office Department was objected to—seventy-three to eighty-one. Then the Fortification bill, from the Senate, and the Louisiana Land Claim, followed, till half-past four, and the House adjourned.

24th. I found the House in session. Alcée La Branche was attempting to introduce resolutions of a meeting at New Orleans in favor of the re-annexation of Texas to the United States, and had moved to refer them to a select committee of five. After no small trickery to carry this point, Parmenter moved to lay the resolutions on the table. C. J. Ingersoll moved a call of the House; rejected—fifty-five to ninety-eight; and the resolutions were laid on the table—one hundred and three to seventy-eight. Joseph Vance, an Ohio Whig, moved that when the House should adjourn, it should be to Wednesday next. The motive was to give time to the members of the Democracy to attend the Democratic Convention to be held at Baltimore

next Monday to nominate candidates for election as President and Vice-President of the United States for four years from the 4th of March, 1845. Vance's motion was, that when the House should adjourn to-morrow, it should be to Wednesday, and he said he made it at their request. But they called the yeas and nays, and rejected the motion—forty-two to one hundred and seventeen.

Duncan moved to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, to take up the bill to extend the jurisdiction of the United States over the Territory of Oregon; lost—eighty-five to eighty-nine.

Reports from committees were called for, and made in multitudes. Joseph R. Ingersoll obtained a suspension of the rules, and introduced a bill to amend the pension laws—referred to the committee of the whole on the state of the Union; and David L. Seymour moved immediately to go into that committee, to take up the Widows' Pension bill, which was done. The bill was debated till past four, and numerous amendments proposed and discussed—Vance still remonstrating that this was private-bill day. At last Garrett Davis moved an additional section, to extend the pension system to the warriors against the Indians until Wayne's Treaty of Greenville—which enlarged the debate till the committee rose, and the House adjourned.

25th. The meeting of the select committee on the Smithsonian bequest was fixed for this morning at half-past nine, but the only members who attended, except myself, were Brengle and French. I read my draft of a preliminary bill, to appropriate a sum sufficient to make the fund immediately available for application to the purposes of the testator, to Mr. French, who without hesitation approved it. I have, therefore, the consent of a majority of the committee to report it; but I was not ready with my report. It was agreed, therefore, that when my report is ready I shall call a meeting of the committee, for their final action upon the reference.

At the House, the journal of yesterday was only read in part. At the motion of John Slidell, of New Orleans, the reading was superseded, without objection, before it was half concluded. A bad practice, because it precludes the correction of errors,

which are frequent, and often important. Cave Johnson's motion to reconsider the order for printing the documents reported by the Committee of Elections in the contest between John W. Jones and John M. Botts, was postponed from Monday till Wednesday next. At Slidell's motion, the order was made that all debate in committee of the whole on the state of the Union on the bill in relation to the Louisiana Land Claims shall cease on Thursday next at four o'clock P.M.

Zadok Pratt, Chairman of the Committee on the Public Buildings and Grounds, reported sundry resolutions, of which was one directing the Commissioner of Public Buildings to remove the shed over the statue of Washington, in the square east of the Capitol, and sell it, and with the proceeds of the sale to pay for a suitable railing round the statue. Debate, and a violent speech of John P. Hale against the statue. Winthrop defended the sculptor, and, at his motion, the resolution was referred to a select committee of five.

Wentworth attempted to introduce a crazy or fraudulent memorial from Joe Smith, the Mormon prophet, which was not received—seventy-nine to eighty-six.

Committee of the whole on the private calendar, R. C. Winthrop in the chair. Ninety-six bills and resolutions were reported to the House without objection, and one, to which I objected too late. I appealed from the decision of the Chairman, but, on failure of a quorum, withdrew my appeal.

27th. This was the day on which the two Democratic Conventions to nominate candidates for the offices of President and Vice-President of the United States for four years from the 4th of March next, were held at Baltimore, and also a Convention to nominate a candidate for the office of Governor of Maryland. By the new invention of the electro-magnetic telegraph of Professor Morse, the proceedings of these bodies throughout the day were made known here at the Capitol, and announced as soon as received, in manuscript bulletins suspended to the wall in the rotunda. I gave an hour's sitting to Mr. Cranch and Mr. Bingham, after calling at the National Intelligencer office and leaving with Mr. Gales a continued list of petitions presented by me since the 5th of April, and with it I left the

Boston Courier of the 14th, containing the memorial relating to the statistics of the census, which I requested Mr. Gales to republish, with a reference asterisk from the entry of the memorial on my list. The use made by John C. Calhoun, in his correspondence with Mr. Pakenham, of the enormous blunders in the census, and his prevarication in denying in an official report that any errors had been discovered in the census, betray so total a disregard of all moral principle that it can be attributed only to the alternative of absence of honesty or of mental sanity. 'Tis the fanaticism of the slave-monger.

At the House, the business of the day dragged heavily along. About seventy members, chiefly of the Democratic majority, were absent at Baltimore; yet enough remained to control the action of the House and dictate what should be done. Mr. Grinnell offered a resolution requesting the joint Committee on the Library to consider the expediency of publishing three thousand copies of certain surveys of the exploring expedition, and selling them to defray the cost of the publication; which was adopted.

Committee of the whole on the state of the Union, Reuben Chapman, of Alabama, in the chair; and George S. Houston, of the same Alabama, drove through two land bills, which were reported to the House. Weller moved to adjourn over to Wednesday, but, on call of the yeas and nays, withdrew the motion. I had insisted upon a call of the yeas and nays, to ascertain the quorum in the House—one hundred and ten and nineteen. Adjourned at three. I went into the Senate-chamber, and heard William C. Rives close a three hours' tariff speech.

28th. At the House, there was a quorum of one hundred and thirty-five members in attendance, under the dominion of Weller, unable to make a majority for his mischievous purposes, but sufficient to defeat any purpose of good by withholding votes necessary to make a quorum. His course was: 1. He moved to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, to take up some pet measure of his own. His motion failed. Other motions were made to go into committee, which he defeated. Vance moved to take up the private bills, unobjectionable, reported to the House last Saturday. Weller

said, no, he would take up no private bill in the absence of his friend from Tennessee, Cave Johnson, the scourge of all claimants.

At last, Daniel L. Seymour carried a vote to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, with a view to take up the Widows' Pension bill. John White was Chairman of the committee. When the motion was made to take up the bill, Weller called for a division. The votes were three to one for taking up the bill, but Weller and his gang, by not voting at all, prevented a quorum vote. Tellers were called. Four times over the count was repeated, and no quorum voted. The last count showed eighty-one to twenty-nine, requiring only one vote more to make a quorum. Weller, at the issue of every count, insisted that the committee should rise and report no quorum to the House. He finally prevailed, and, it being evident that no business could be done, the House, between one and two, adjourned.

I had an hour of conversation with D. D. Barnard, Joseph R. Ingersoll, and other Whigs impatient to impeach Tyler for his manifold usurpations and violations of the Constitution; which I dissuaded as impracticable, or a cracked gun-barrel, fit only to explode in the hand of him who would use it. The electro-magnetic telegraph, at the east end of the Capitol, was all day reporting every half-hour the proceedings of the Conventions at Baltimore. The Tyler Convention adjourned without nominating a Vice-President. The Democratic National Convention adopted the two-thirds rule, and balloted seven times between Van Buren and Cass, without coming to a choice.

29th. It is impossible for me to describe the anxieties under which my soul is oppressed, and which I am compelled to suppress, with reliance only upon superior power to relieve me from them, and with no hope of other relief than from the close of life, and the transition to another state of existence. The deepest of my afflictions is the degeneracy of my country from the principles which gave her existence, and the ruin irreparable of them all, under the transcendent power of slavery and the slave-representation.

At the House, there was a call of the yeas and nays on the passage of a bill to require the execution of bonds by Collectors of the Customs before taking the oath of office, to ascertain if there was a quorum present. The vote was one hundred and twenty-six to one nay. The consideration of the report of the Committee of Elections on the contested election between the Speaker Jones and John M. Botts was postponed till next Friday. Several successive motions to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union were made and rejected, till one made by McKay, with notice of his intention to call up the Naval Appropriation bill, succeeded.

The House went into committee, Weller in the chair, and took up, not the Naval Appropriation, but the Widows' Pension bill. Sundry languid, prosy speeches in support of Garrett Davis's amendment to extend the pension laws to the combatants against Indians till Wayne's Treaty of Greenville of 1795, and a further amendment to extend the system to the war of 1812 with Great Britain.

Andrew Stewart rose, and said he proposed to make a speech about the tariff. Objection was immediately made to his proceeding, on the ground that anything he could say upon the tariff would be irrelevant. The Chairman, after some hesitation, so decided, from which decision Stewart appealed. The vote on the appeal was fifty-four to four—not within sight of a quorum. The committee rose, and before two the House adjourned. I walked home.

The Democratic National Convention at Baltimore this day unanimously nominated James K. Polk, of Tennessee, their candidate for the office of President of the United States for four years from the 4th of March next, and Silas Wright, of New York, as Vice-President. B. F. Butler withdrew the name of Van Buren by his own authority. Wright declined the nomination.

30th. In preparing the report to the House of the select committee on the Smithson bequest, I found it advisable to ascertain at the Treasury Department whether any further payment of interest upon any of the State bonds has been made into the Treasury since the letter of the Secretary, John C.

Spencer, of 19th February last, referred to the committee. I called at the Department, and Mr. Young, the Chief Clerk and Acting Secretary, informed me that no additional payment has been made.

At the House, most of the Democratic members who have been absent attending the Convention at Baltimore had returned. Silas Wright having finally declined their nomination of him as Vice-President, they nominated George M. Dallas, of Pennsylvania, for that office; then passed resolutions for the immediate occupation of Texas and of Oregon; and then adjourned, with a solemn protest of one of the delegates from the State of Missouri against the whole proceedings, and a declaration that Missouri would not confirm them.

In the House, a joint resolution for taking sundry inventories of public property and a catalogue of the document library of the House was introduced by Zadok Pratt, and, after some discussion, referred to the Joint Committee on the Library of Congress. I moved to add a consideration of the expediency of printing a tenth volume of the United States Laws. Pratt declined adopting my amendment. His resolution was adopted, and mine was received and passed in the form of a resolution requiring the Clerk of the House to have a tenth volume of the laws published.

Committee of the whole on the state of the Union, Weller in the chair. Campbell attempted to call up the District Banks bill, by appealing to the sympathies of the members, stating that he wanted to go to Philadelphia to take medical advice; but in vain. The Widows' Pension bill was taken up, and, after two or three more speeches for the warriors of the West, Garrett Davis's motion to pension them, and its rider, were rejected, and the bill was laid aside to be reported to the House. The Louisiana Land Title bill was then debated till four o'clock, when it had been ordered that the bill should be taken out of the committee. Sundry amendments were proposed; but as soon as a question arose upon which a division was called there was no quorum voting. The committee rose, and the House adjourned.

31st. I finished the draft of a report from the select com-

mittee on the Smithsonian bequest, but, in the process of preparing it, changed my purpose from the design of reporting two bills to that of including the whole subject in one.

At the House I presented, by leave of the House, a petition of Tarr and a hundred and seventy-nine citizens of Pennsylvania, native Americans, praying for an alteration of the naturalization laws, to require twenty-five years of naturalization residence for the admission of foreigners to the political rights of native Americans. The petitioners, not one of whom is personally known to me, requested me in presenting it to the House to give my opinion upon its merits. This required of me a painful operation; for I do not approve the change of the law petitioned for, and know that an odious coloring will be given to the mere presentation of the petition. But I did not feel it becoming in me to refuse to present the petition, nor yet to shrink from the avowal of my opinion against it. I therefore presented the petition, stated the facts, and said, as the petitioners had chosen to call for my opinion, I felt myself obliged to say that I could not support its prayer. I moved its reference to the Judiciary Committee.

J. W. Brown, of Indiana, and Hammett, of Mississippi, moved to lay it on the table; which was carried, by yeas and nays—one hundred and twenty-eight to twenty-six. Charles J. Ingersoll voted first no, and after the close of the call changed his vote.

The Senate this morning concurred with the joint resolution from the House, to close the session on the 17th of next month.

Willoughby Newton presented a report from the minority of the Committee of Elections, on the contested election between the Speaker and Botts. Both the reports come to the same conclusion, that Jones was duly elected. There was some argument that there was no question left for debate; but after discussion it was finally concluded to postpone the consideration of the resolution till next Thursday, and that Botts should, if he desired it, be heard at the bar in support of his claim. The motion to print the voluminous testimony in the case was laid on the table.

Vance made a motion to take up the bills on the private calendar; but Cave Johnson moved to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, and prevailed. The Louisiana Land Claims, the dead horses of Georgia, and the establishment of a navy-yard at Memphis, Tennessee, occupied the remainder of the day. Riotous Democratic mass-meeting, to confirm the nomination of Polk and Dallas.

June 1st. I had called a final meeting of the select committee on the Smithsonian bequest, at half-past nine this morning, and yesterday sent round by one of the pages a notification to all the members of the committee in the House. I had also personally notified George S. Houston; but the only members who attended were Brengle, French, and Yost, to whom I read the report and bill that I had prepared, both which they approved, and authorized me to present, after obtaining the consent of one more member of the committee, to the House. That consent I afterwards obtained from Emery D. Potter, the member from Ohio.

At the House, there was an hour's debate on two resolutions offered by Parmenter: 1. That the daily hour of meeting henceforth should be ten o'clock A.M. 2. That the House should daily take a recess from two to four o'clock P.M. To which Charles J. Ingersoll offered as an amendment, that the House should sit till eight o'clock every evening. There was no opposition to the first resolution; which was at last unanimously adopted. But White, Speaker of the last House, strenuously opposed the second resolution for the daily recess, which he urged experience had proved to be worse than useless waste of time. It was struck out, by tellers—sixty-five to sixty-one. Ingersoll's amendment was declared by the Speaker to be not in order, the motion to adjourn being, by a rule of the House, always in order.

Reding moved that debate should cease on the Memphis Navy-Yard bill in one hour after it shall be taken up in committee of the whole on the state of the Union. Ashe pleaded hard for two hours, and then for an hour and a half; which was carried. Waddy Thompson has just returned from his mission to Mexico, and greeted me with kindness for Massa-

chusetts of outward cordiality—the snake! Robert C. Winthrop told me he had received a letter from his relative George W. Erving, relating in part to me, and of which he gave me the general purport, to be remembered.

2d. I received yesterday a printed note of invitation: "Rachel Priestman, a minister of the gospel in the Society of Friends, has appointed a meeting for divine worship to be held in the Capitol to-morrow morning, at eleven o'clock, to which thou art respectfully invited."

I attended accordingly. She preached from the Clerk's table, where two men and two women of her company were seated with her. After sitting about twenty minutes in silence, she took off and laid aside her black bonnet, and, rising, began rather suddenly, "This is a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptation, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners." From this text, 1 Timothy i. 15, without so naming it, she discoursed nearly an hour, in the peculiar canting tone of Quaker oratory—slow, distinct, and loud articulation, without a moment's loss for words, but within almost every sentence a pause and hitch to take breath, repeating almost every verse in Paul's Epistles impressing the doctrine of salvation by faith in Christ Jesus. Her exhortations were full of unction and intensity. She finished as abruptly as she had begun, and sat down apparently exhausted. The House was well filled and attentive. Some of the auditory, thinking the service over, began to move, but a man of her company requested them not to depart, and they resumed their seats. After an interval of about five minutes, she kneeled and made a fervent, affectionate, and passionate prayer in behalf of her hearers, not omitting a supplication to God to turn their hearts to dissolve the ties of bondage, and let the oppressed go free. After the service was over she came, with her husband, I suppose, to my seat, and shook hands with me, as did with Mr. Giddings a young woman from Ohio, named

3d. As I was stepping into my carriage this morning to go to the Capitol, I met Mr. Giddings with Mr. Bigelow, agent for the heirs of Francis Casaux, who were coming to see me. This Casaux claim, now of sixty-seven years' standing, was

before the House last Saturday, in the shape of a bill for the relief of the heirs of Francis Casaux, reported by the committee of the whole, and put upon its passage for engrossment. The bill was opposed, and I made some remarks expressing my doubts if there was any good foundation for the claim. The bill was laid on the table. Mr. Bigelow came to convince me of the justice of the claim. Mr. Giddings, having to call at a Department, went on. Mr. Bigelow took a seat with me and went with me to the Capitol, reminding me on the way of his application to me, as long since as 1832, for my testimony in this case, which then, or afterwards, I gave in writing. He brought me a report from the late Virgil Maxcy, when Solicitor of the Treasury, in favor of the claim. A motion was made by Dean, of Ohio, to reconsider the vote laying the bill on the table, and then the discussion was postponed to Friday next.

Charles J. Ingersoll moved a resolution for a special assignment of next Monday and Tuesday for the consideration and determination of such questions as are pending under treaties between the United States and Portugal, the Netherlands, and Spain, and the resolution concerning the reciprocity treaties with Denmark, Sweden, the Hanse Towns, and Great Britain. He dragooned the House into hearing his resolution read. Objections swarmed. He moved a suspension of the rules to enable him to present the resolution, and called the yeas and nays; lost—seventy-eight and eighty-four.

Committee of the whole on the state of the Union, John W. Davis in the chair, on the Civil and Diplomatic Appropriation bill. When it came to the item of stationery, Pollock moved a proviso that the stationery should be purchased of American manufacture; and this sprung a debate upon the Presidential election, the Democratic National Convention, Clay, Van Buren, Polk, Tariff, Texas, Oregon, Mexico, Lord Aberdeen, and Democracy.

Edward Joy Morris began the chase by denouncing the nomination of James K. Polk as the Democratic candidate for the Presidency. W. W. Payne, John J. Hardin, John P. Hale, Douglas, Schenck, and Belser bandied to and fro the party foot-balls, with an episode of insult and defiance between Charles J.

Ingersoll and Hale, till near five o'clock, when the committee rose, and the House adjourned.

4th. At the House, Charles J. Ingersoll offered a resolution calling on the President for all the correspondence with the British Government relating to the exaction by them of duties on rough rice contrary to the Treaty of 1815. There was a snake under this foliage, for Ingersoll said it was harmless. But Cave Johnson moved an amendment, calling for all the documents relating to the Texan Treaty. Ingersoll objected to this amendment, and advised and persuaded Johnson to withdraw it, till at last he promised that all these documents shall be communicated to the House; whereupon Cave withdrew his amendment, and Ingersoll's resolution was adopted.

McKay then moved the resolution to cease debate in committee of the whole on the state of the Union on the Civil and Diplomatic Appropriation bill, and take it out of committee, at twelve o'clock to-morrow. There was great pleading by White, Barnard, and others, to extend the time to Friday or Thursday, or to four o'clock or two o'clock P.M. To all such motions McKay stood inflexible, and called the previous question, which was sustained and carried. There will, of course, be not one word of debate on this bill bearing on the appropriations or having any reference to the bill itself—not one word relevant to the subject before the House. And so it would be if the debate were protracted to the last hour of the session.

The House then went immediately into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, John W. Davis in the chair. George Rathbun took the floor, and poured forth an hour of glory and defence upon Martin Van Buren and of vilification of Henry Clay. Summers followed on the other side. Then, alternately, came Houston, with McClernand, Peyton, Saunders, Bidlack, and Foote, of Vermont, till near eight o'clock in the evening. Foote's speech was the most eloquent and the most decent of them all. Several motions for the committee to rise were voted down, till twilight came, when, on taking the question upon a motion to rise, the majority voted against rising, but the whole vote was only ninety-one; no quorum. The committee then rose per force, and reported no quorum.

A motion to adjourn was rejected. A call of the House was refused, by yeas and nays—forty-four to fifty-one. Motions to adjourn to eight, to six, and to four o'clock to-morrow morning were made till after the lights had been brought into the hall. The House adjourned to the usual time.

5th. At the House, immediately after the reading of the journal, I asked leave to present a report and bill from the select committee on the Smithsonian bequest; but McKay, Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, moved to suspend the rules and go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, and refused to allow me time to present my report and bill.

The House went into committee, John W. Davis in the chair, and took up the Civil and Diplomatic Appropriation bill. Henley, of Indiana, had the floor, and made one of the bitterest and most violent speeches against the Whigs and Henry Clay that was ever delivered in the House. He spoke of Pollock's amendment, requiring stationery of American manufacture, as a species of Whig humbuggery which was an insult to the American people, and, when called by name on the yeas and nays taken on this amendment, he voted for it. The temper of the speech was in full keeping with its conclusion, which was, the standard of Henry Clay should consist of his armorial bearings, which ought to be a pistol, a pack of cards, and a brandy-bottle.

Tibbetts took the last hour of the debate, allowing only ten minutes of it to Thomasson to back him in a motion to appropriate five hundred and fifty thousand dollars to purchase a remnant of stock in the Louisville and Portland Canal to make it toll free. At twelve o'clock the debate ceased, and the voting commenced on the amendments, and continued till past four, many of which were rejected and a few were adopted.

Pratt, Chairman of the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, moved a whole bill of amendments usually presented in a separate bill; and I moved, as an amendment to this amendment, an item of one thousand dollars to erect in the Congressional burying-ground a monument over the remains of the late Major-General Alexander Macomb.

The Chairman decided Pratt's amendment and mine to be in order, and out of order, three or four times, and finished by admitting Pratt's items one by one, and excluding mine. When the bill was reported to the House, Tibbetts renewed his motion for an appropriation to purchase the canal stock; but the Speaker ruled it out of order. The House then adjourned.

6th. At the House, Duncan had made a motion on the General Appropriation bill of an amendment to the item for refurnishing the President's house, that no part of the appropriation should be applied to the purchase of wine. This was meant as a sly insinuation against H. Clay. But Hamlin had taken fire, and moved a committee of enquiry to ascertain when and by whom wine had ever been purchased under the name of furniture; but Pratt, Chairman of the Committee on the Public Buildings and Grounds, declared that he had examined all the accounts, and that no such charge had ever been made.

Hammett made enquiry whether any answer had been received from the call heretofore made by Dixon H. Lewis, for documents relating to the negotiations with Spain in 1816, 1817, 1818, and 1819; but the answer has not yet been received.

The reports, majority and minority, on the contested election between the Speaker and John M. Botts had been made the special order of this day. Both the reports were in favor of Jones; but a resolution had passed that Botts should be heard in support of his claim to the seat, if he desired.

The first question was, whether the competitors, in arguing their claims, should be limited by the hour rule; and, after much debate, it was decided, by yeas and nays, that they should be. The acting Speaker, Weller, so decided. Garrett Davis appealed from the decision. Cobb moved to lay the appeal on the table; carried—one hundred and two to seventy-six. I spoke against this construction of the rule.

Botts and Jones addressed the House for one hour, and they were both arrested without closing their argument.

Elmer, Chairman of the committee, then spoke in support of the resolution, declaring Jones duly elected and entitled to his seat. After which there was some jarring between Willoughby Newton and Hannibal Hamlin, members of the committee; and

the vote by nominal call was answered one hundred and fifty in the affirmative, none in the negative.

7th. At the House, McKay called for the consideration of the Civil and Diplomatic and the Navy Appropriation bills, and Vance, Chairman of the Committee of Claims, expressed a willingness to pass over the private bills for this day, upon condition that they shall be taken up to-morrow. But he pleaded for a short slip of time to call for the reports of committees. Cave Johnson called on the Speaker for a letter from Charles A. Wickliffe, Postmaster-General, referring to a charge against him for official malversation, made on the 20th of last month by Garrett Davis, declaring the charge in every sense untrue, and that he is prepared to prove it so, and demanding an enquiry by order of the House.

Garrett Davis said that he had stated the facts, and was prepared to prove them all true. As to the guilt of the Postmaster, he left that to be inferred from the facts which he had stated; and if Mr. Wickliffe wanted enquiry as to the facts stated by him, he was perfectly willing, and even to extend the enquiry to other charges against the Postmaster-General, of similar character.

Cave then moved to refer the letter to the Committee of Post-Offices and Post-Roads, with liberty to send for persons and papers. Cave slyly observed that Garrett Davis's charge this day was a little different from that which he had made before.

Davis demanded in what particular it differed; and Cave had no reply to make. His motion to refer the charges to the Committee of Post-Offices and Post-Roads was adopted; but Davis's motion to extend the enquiry was lost.

McKay reported the bill making appropriations for the unlawful naval expenditures.

I moved to lay the bill on the table; lost—ayes forty-five. It was referred to the committee of the whole on the state of the Union, where, Barnard told me, he wanted to debate it.

Burke made a voluminous report from the select committee on the Rhode Island Rebellion, and moved that it be printed, and postponed to the first Monday in December next; which,

after some debate, was carried, with agreement that a minority report, promised by Causin, shall also be printed.

I presented the report and bill from the select committee on the Smithsonian bequest, which were referred to the committee of the whole on the state of the Union, and ordered to be printed.

The Civil and Diplomatic and the Navy Appropriation bills were taken up, and driven through; and just before five o'clock the House adjourned.

8th. My morning hours after rising are so constantly absorbed by newspaper reading, and the evening hours by company or disability, that I have no time, except during the session of the House, to make up my record from day to day, which, in the course of six hours, I am usually just able to do.

At the House, Hopkins, Chairman of the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads, gave notice that he would, next Monday, move to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, to take up the Post-Office bills; of which there are three—one from the Senate, one from the majority and one from the minority of the House committee—each accompanied with a bill, and based upon antagonistic principles. All agree that some modification of the existing system is indispensable, or the General Post-Office will be ruined.

Newton moved that Mr. Botts and the Speaker should have leave respectively to withdraw, each for himself, the testimony which he had produced before the Committee of Elections; but objections were made. An amendment was first moved that they should have leave to take copies; and then it was remarked that they had a right to take copies without needing a resolution of the House; and the motion was laid on the table. Garrett Davis renewed the question he had yesterday made: what Cave Johnson had meant by saying that his charge against the Postmaster-General yesterday was different from that which he had made, and upon which Mr. Wickliffe, by his letter to the Speaker, demanded investigation. Wickliffe's letter alleges that Davis had positively charged him with sending his agent into Davis's district to interfere in the election, against Davis and for his competitor, Wickliffe's nephew. Davis had

stated facts leading to that conclusion, and said he left the House to draw their own conclusion.

Cave Johnson rather retreated from the discussion, and Davis moved a suspension of the rules for a resolution of enquiry by the Post-Office Committee generally, of malversation by the Postmaster-General. The suspension of the rules was refused—sixty to sixty-six.

The House passed two bills relating to affairs of the District, and laid on the table several others; passed the grant to the heirs of Cazaux; carried the previous question for the Louisiana Land bill, and then adjourned.

After dinner, at the President's grounds, met Garrett Davis, John J. Hardin, and John H. Eaton. The Senate rejected the Texan Treaty—Hannegan absent.

10th. The vote in the United States Senate on the question of advising and consenting to the Texan Treaty was: Yeas, Atchison, Bagby, Breese, Buchanan, Colquitt, Fulton, Haywood, Henderson, Huger, Lewis, McDuffie, Semple, Sevier, Sturgeon, Walker, Woodbury—sixteen; nays, Allen, Archer, Atherton, Barrow, Bates, Bayard, Benton, Berrien, Choate, Clayton, Crittenden, Dayton, Evans, Fairfield, Foster, Francis, Huntington, Jarnagin, Johnson, Mangum, Merrick, Miller, Morehead, Niles, Pearce, Phelps, Porter, Rives, Simmons, Tallmadge, Tappan, Upham, White, Woodbridge, Wright—thirty-five; Hannegan absent. I record this vote as a deliverance, I trust, by the special interposition of Almighty God, of my country and of human liberty from a conspiracy comparable to that of Lucius Sergius Catilina. May it prove not a mere temporary deliverance, like that, only preliminary to the fatally successful conspiracy of Julius Cæsar! The annexation of Texas to this Union is the first step to the conquest of all Mexico, of the West India Islands, of a maritime, colonizing, slave-tainted monarchy, and of extinguished freedom.

At the House, Woodward was allowed to present resolutions of a meeting in South Carolina in favor of the annexation of Texas, and David L. Seymour presented resolutions of a meeting in Rensselaer County, New York, against it; both were laid

on the table. W. J. Browne moved to suspend the rules, to make the Senate bill of appropriation for the continuation of the Cumberland Road; lost, by yeas and nays—eighty-two to eighty-three.

Ellis moved to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, to take up the Post-Office bill. All this time I was calling out at the top of my voice, "Mr. Speaker," to ask leave to present two petitions from Native Americans for alterations of the naturalization laws; but the Speaker would not hear me. I called upon Ellis to withdraw his motion for me to present these petitions, merely to have them referred to the Judiciary Committee. Ellis haggled about withdrawing his motion till Bidlack took the floor from him, and, after dilly-dallying nearly a quarter of an hour whether he would or would not say what he had to say, closed by announcing the death of his colleague, Almon H. Read, on the 2d of this month, at his home in Pennsylvania, and he pronounced a strange eulogy on him, and offered the usual obituary resolutions, and the House adjourned.

I went into the Senate-chamber, and heard Thomas H. Benton introduce his bill for the annexation of Texas and make a two-hours' speech in support of it.

11th. The compositor of the *Globe* office sent me proof-sheets of the Smithsonian Bequest bill, reported by me from the committee to the House, in which there were several errors. I corrected them last evening, and took the corrected bill back to the office. I requested a proof copy of the report also, when printed.

At the House, Weller attempted to introduce a resolution to give gratuities to the messengers and pages, as usual at the close of a session, but failed. Cave Johnson moved to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, but withdrew it to allow me to ask leave to present two petitions for the alteration of the naturalization laws. I moved to suspend the rules, but on taking the yeas and nays the vote stood thirty-five to ninety-four. Dromgoole asked if the petitions could be received under the rule by entering them at the Clerk's table, and was answered that they would.

Two messages were received from the President, one communicating the treaty for the annexation of Texas, recently rejected by the Senate, with all the documents relating to the treaty published by the Senate and others, with a message of 16th May, not published by the Senate, and calling on Congress to accomplish the annexation.

J. P. Kennedy moved to lay this message on the table; lost—sixty-six to one hundred and eighteen; by previous question it was referred to the Committee of Foreign Affairs. Weller moved to suspend the rules for a motion to print fifteen thousand copies of the message; lost—one hundred and eight to seventy-nine; not two-thirds.

I moved to suspend the rules to offer two resolutions declaring the exclusive constitutional power of Congress to declare war, and that any attempt by the President to negotiate the country into a war by treaty would be a violation of the exclusive constitutional authority of the House; lost—seventy-eight to one hundred and eight.

The other message was a veto of the Eastern Harbor bill, upon which, by a rank cheat, and the previous question, the vote on the bill was forced, and failed for lack of two-thirds—one hundred and three to eighty-three.

The Naval Pension bill, the naval depot at Memphis, Tennessee, and the District Banks bill, consumed the remainder of the day. The Naval Pension bill went from the committee of the whole on the state of the Union, Hannibal Hamlin in the chair, to the House, and passed. The distributions of debate on the District banks to read it through were loaded with ribald invective against the Whigs; answered by Causin till the adjournment.

12th. At the House, as the journal was being read, there was a marked omission in the proceedings of yesterday. I intended to move an amendment to supply the omitted part—when I was called out from my seat to Mr. Brewer, who delivered me a letter of introduction from Robert Monroe Harrison, Consul of the United States at Kingston, Jamaica. Brewer is owner of a vessel just arrived at Alexandria from Jamaica, and going to Calais, Maine, where he belongs. I was out about ten minutes,

and lost the opportunity of moving the amendment to the journal.

The Army Appropriation bill, returned from the Senate with all the curtailments restored, was referred to the Committee of Ways and Means.

Aaron V. Brown made a personal explanation, giving the lie inferential to a paragraph in the *Globe*, being a part of a speech of Thomas H. Benton in the Senate yesterday.

Hopkins moved a joint resolution to pay half the funeral expenses of the victims of the explosion of the Princeton's "Peacemaker" from the contingent fund of the House, the other half to be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate. It was a very questionable measure, both of constitutional and expedient argument; but after sundry twistings it was carried, by yeas and nays—one hundred and three to sixty-three.

After much struggling, Campbell carried his resolution to take the District Banks bill out of committee of the whole at half-past twelve o'clock, and the House went into committee upon it, Hannibal Hamlin Chairman. It was overloaded with vexatious amendments, but was finally reported to the House.

Committee of the whole on the state of the Union again, Dromgoole in the chair, and Hopkins's penal Post-Office bill was taken up and obstinately debated. Dana made a hard push to substitute the Senate bill for reducing the rates of postage, but failed. Hungerford moved a reconsideration of the vote of yesterday upon the vetoed Eastern Harbor bill. The Speaker decided that the motion was not in order; from which decision I took an appeal. A motion to lay my appeal on the table (was made), but was lost. A motion for the previous question upon it was also lost. It was six o'clock, and the House (adjourned).

The Portuguese Chargé d'Affaires, Figaniere, called on me this evening, extremely urgent to have the bill reported by the Committee of Foreign Affairs in favor of an official claim by him, taken up and passed by the House.

13th. I had little time this morning to prepare for the discussion of the question upon my appeal last evening from the

decision of the Speaker upon the motion to reconsider the vote on the vetoed treaty. There was a debate of three hours upon the question in the House, but the decision of the Speaker was sustained, by yeas and nays—ninety-seven to eighty-five.

Jameson, of Missouri, by suspended rules, offered and carried a resolution to take a recess from half-past two till four o'clock p.m. this day, and the succeeding days till the close of the session. I gave a letter of introduction to Edward Everett, our Minister at London, for George Rogers Clark, a son of the late Governor William Clark, of Missouri, going to England for his wife's health. Committee of the whole on the state of the Union, Dromgoole in the chair.

The supplementary Naval Appropriation was taken up. D. D. Barnard moved an amendment, more explicitly declaring than McKay had done in his bill that almost the whole of these expenditures had been incurred not only without authority of law, but in defiance of law. Barnard was followed by Ezra Dean, one of the rankest radicals in the House, who pronounced a philippic of an hour upon all parties, upon the last and the present Congress, interspersed with special venomous thrusts at the Whigs, bewailing his disappointment in the expectation of reform, and declaring that he would never take the name of reform in any other sense than as a humbug, with unmitigated contempt.

McKay commenced the defence of his bill, but was interrupted by the time for recess.

I went and dined with Kennedy and Winthrop. It was five o'clock when we returned to the House.

The Naval Appropriation bill, supplementary, had been resumed. Mr. Barnard's amendment was adopted, and the bill was passed.

The penal Post-Office bill was taken up in committee of the whole on the state of the Union, Hamlin Chairman, after a vote to take it out of committee in five minutes.

D. D. Barnard asked leave to present, and moved to suspend the rules for, two resolutions of censure upon Tyler's usurpations; suspension refused, by yeas and nays—fifty-six to one

hundred and twenty-three. The Light-House bill, Army Appropriation bill, Western Land Sales bill, and Georgia Dead Horse bill were successively taken up, and buffeted along in committee, and in the House, till half-past ten at night, when the House adjourned, and I came home.

14th. At the House, this was the second of the last days of agonizing confusion usual at the close of a session of Congress. It passes a sponge upon my memory, so that it is impossible to record the course of business, and I can notice only a few of the incidents of the day. There have been majority and minority reports from Burke's select committee on the Rhode Island memorial. Burke failed this day in a motion to print five thousand copies of his incendiary report.

Upon a Senate bill to fix the northern boundary of Missouri, Augustus Dodge, the delegate from the Territory of Iowa, hitched in an amendment authorizing the people of that Territory to form a State Government, with a surface of more than one hundred thousand square miles.

The plundering Louisiana Land Claim bill was earnestly opposed by Samuel F. Vinton, until the hour of the recess, when I came home and dined.

A message was received from the President, with a large budget of the correspondence of George W. Erving, in Spain, from 1815 to 1819, not heretofore made public. It was the answer to the call of the House, moved by Dixon H. Lewis, 20th April, before his transfer to the Senate. I cursorily read over the papers, and found abundant evidence to falsify the pretension of George W. Erving that he could have negotiated a boundary even to the Colorado; but his instructions were not included in D. H. Lewis's call. This afternoon I asked him to present a resolution calling on the President for them. Reding objected. I moved and carried a suspension of the rules, and the resolution was adopted.

The Louisiana Land Claim bill, after a stubborn struggle, was passed, by yeas and nays—eighty-six to eighty-four. A reconsideration was afterwards moved, but the bill had been sent to the Senate, and White objected that in such case there could be no reconsideration.

Committee of the whole on the state of the Union, Hopkins in the chair. The amendments of the Senate to the Civil and Diplomatic, Army, Indian, and Pension bills were discussed, and reported to the House, which adjourned after eleven at night.

15th. I found the House in a chaos of confusion, with two stupid resolutions against the Bank of the United States reported from the Committee of Elections by Cheselden Ellis, one of the weakest and most worthless turncoats in the House. They had been sprung this morning without notice or consultation with the minority of the Committee of Elections, and by the screw of the previous question, moved by Ellis, were crammed down with the yeas and nays—one hundred and eight to sixty-eight. A meaner and more despicable fraud was never perpetrated. There was something of consolation in what followed. Charles J. Ingersoll rose, and, without making any motion, insinuated that the journal of 31st May required amendment. It was there stated that I had presented a petition from citizens of Pennsylvania for an alteration of the naturalization laws, and that it had been laid on the table. Since then he had received many letters enquiring into the facts, and, upon applying to the Clerk, had been told that the petition had been withdrawn by me. If the petition was not on the Clerk's table the journal ought not to show that it had been laid there.

The petition was in my drawer. I took it out, held it up, and said that in my anxiety to have it referred to the committee, after enquiring of the Clerk whether it could not be so referred from the table without new application to the House, and being informed that it could not, I had borrowed it yesterday for the express purpose of moving that it be taken up and referred to the Judiciary Committee, which now I did.

The Speaker said it could only be entertained by universal consent.

I asked it.

Charles faintly said he saw no reason that it should not be so referred. Reding objected. I moved a suspension of the rules, and carried it by an overwhelming shout. Opposition slunk into silence, and the petition was referred to the Judiciary

Committee—the same petition which, sixteen days ago, by yeas and nays—one hundred and twenty-eight to twenty-four—the House refused to refer, and laid it on the table.

Ingersoll has raised a hornets' nest about his ears by his double vote, first against, and then for, laying the petition on the table. He has published a letter to his constituents of the Fourth Congressional District of Pennsylvania, to account for his double vote. His chief reasons are that the other Pennsylvania members, save two, voted as he did at last, and that the petition was presented by me. He did not like the auspices.

While the House was in its Babel state this morning, I went for a long hour into the Senate-chamber, where I found George McDuffie closing a violent and rancorous speech against Thomas Hart Benton and his bill for the annexation of Texas. The bill was already laid on the table, but McDuffie had obtained leave to answer Benton's speech on introducing his bill. McDuffie's speech was unsparing upon Benton, and his reply of about one hour was so merciless and personal that nothing but bodily fear could have withheld the hand of McDuffie from a challenge; but he put up with it, quiet as a lamb.

I returned to the House, where the Louisiana Land bill, returned from the Senate at the request of the House, was reconsidered; and, after a metamorphosis striking out all but one section, it was passed and sent to the Senate again. From half-past two to four o'clock P.M. I came home and dined, and returned to the House. During the whole day, and till after midnight, the Appropriation bills, Civil and Diplomatic, Army, Navy, and Indian, were time after time before the House, in and out of committee of the whole on the state of the Union, upon amendments pending between the two Houses, and reports of committees of conference on disagreeing votes. In almost every instance the House finished by receding, as they did without one exception, from all their retrenchments; though McKay had sworn to me that he would lose the Civil and Diplomatic and the Army bill sooner than give up the retrenchments which his committee had introduced into them, and which the House had sanctioned; but, after a second conference, he gave them all up, and the House submitted.

16th. After the morning service I had a visit from Daniel D. Barnard to take leave, and a long conversation with him. This Texas annexation we deem the turning-point of a revolution which transforms the North American Confederation into a conquering and warlike nation. Aggrandizement will be its passion and its policy. A military government, a large army, a costly navy, distant colonies, and associate islands in every sea, will follow of course in rapid succession. A President for four years will be a laughing-stock. A Captain-General for life, and a Marshal's truncheon for a sceptre, will establish the law of arms for the Constitution, and the skeleton forms of war and slavery will stalk unbridled over the land. Blessed God, deliver us from this fate!

17th. The first shock of slave Democracy is over. Moloch and Mammon have sunk into momentary slumber. The Texas treason is blasted for the hour, and the first session of the most perverse and worthless Congress that ever disgraced this Confederacy has closed. This last day, from ten in the morning till noon, was a continuation of tumult from the adjournment of yesterday morning. The joint resolution of the two Houses had fixed the adjournment, by their respective presiding officers, at twelve o'clock meridian this day. There were numerous bills, public and private, still pending before them both, and the eighty-seventh joint rule forbids the sending of any bill to the President for his approbation on the last day of the session. This rule was rescinded, and bills were sent to him, and signed by him, at least until the moment of adjournment.

A printed notice, signed by three lawyers, counsel for the three city banks, was laid on the tables of the members, stating that if Congress should not act on the bill for extending the charters on their expiration, 4th July next, they would be without power to recover any debts due to them. Campbell, Chairman of the Committee on the District of Columbia, succeeded, after a hard struggle, in introducing a bill which he called a compromise, giving the banks power after the expiration of their charters to prosecute and recover debts due to them, and making them accountable for their own; which bill was carried through and signed by the President. The inflexi-

bility of the House against rechartering the banks is said to have been wrought by the two brothers Carroll—one a Whig member from the Twenty-Ninth District of New York, and the other Clerk of the United States Supreme Court, and who is said to have a debt of his own of twenty thousand dollars to one of the city banks.

The Senate passed a resolution to postpone the adjournment till two o'clock, and while it was under discussion in the House the yeas and nays were called; in the midst of which call, the minute-hand of the clock pointing precisely at twelve, the Speaker stopped the call, declared the House adjourned without day, and left the chair. No messages between the Houses, no farewell to the President, and the members dispersed to their respective places of abode.

Gilbert Livingston Thompson, the messenger sent to Mexico to snuff the scent of the Texan annexation treaty there, returned this day, and reports that Santa Anna is ready and willing to treat for the cession of Texas to the United States.

18th. In the midst of the hurly-burly of a closing session of Congress, a scene always sufficient to discompose the serenity of a steadier mind than mine, I have been distracted with multiplied applications for autographs and lines in albums, which would be ungracious and would be thought churlish to refuse, and yet with which it is insupportable to comply. For many years I have occasionally written knacks, trifles, nosegays, in the scrap-books of my younger relatives, for which I have but a wretched talent, and ingenuity could seldom save me from compliance. I once attempted to make a collection of these "*nugæ albæ*," but I sickened at the sight of most of them, and I gave it up. A quarto volume, price ten dollars, was published a few weeks since, called the *United States Album*, with copperplate engravings of the arms of all the States in the Union, and fac-simile signatures of the President, of all the members of both Houses of Congress, and of all the Judges of the Supreme Court, and, then, blank leaves to be written upon. A. H. Stephens, of Georgia, Joshua R. Giddings, of Ohio, and Hamilton Fish have each a copy of this book, and asked me to write my name and a few lines in them; and there I was,

straining from hard-bound brains senseless rhymes, like "the slipshod Sibyl in lofty madness meditating song."

It sometimes happens at sea that in the midst of a hurricane the wind falls instantly into a flat calm, the sea still running mountain-high. Ships in that condition are in extreme danger of rolling their masts overboard, and experienced mariners have told me they dreaded such a condition more than the heaviest gale of wind. Such is my present. My attention to public affairs is absorbed in the preparations for settling my debts here and in looking up the documents of the second and third sessions of the Twenty-Seventh Congress, one set of each of which I am to pack up in a chest and send round by water to Boston. The documents are now divided into three sets of —1, Executive documents of the House; 2, Reports of committees of the House; 3, Senate documents, including Executive and reports; then one volume of journals of each House, and a folio volume or two of printed bills and amendments. I doubt if another member of Congress besides myself possesses an entire set of all these papers. Of the bills, no one condescends to keep a set. After the close of each session, every member of each House is entitled to receive, bound, one set of what are called session documents, and one copy of the journal of each House, but not of the bills. During the session each member has a copy of every printed document, and of every sheet of the journals of both Houses, laid on his table, fresh printed; these, like Sibyl leaves, are scattered and destroyed from day to day. My practice is to have them kept in files for me, including the printed bills, and, after the close of the session, to have them bound at my own expense. I have thus one set of the documents here, and one at my home in Quincy. But many of the voluminous documents are not printed till long after the close of the session to which they belong. I found my sets of documents of both the second and third sessions of the Twenty-Seventh Congress incomplete, and called at the *Intelligencer* and *Globe* offices, and at the Clerk's office H. R. U. S., to rectify mistakes. French, the sub-Clerk, was gone to dinner, and I did not wholly discover where the error was, but am on its track.

I found, by conversation with Gales, that Gilbert L. Thompson's reports from Mexico were shameless lies, and that instead of Santa Anna's readiness to negotiate for the session of Texas, he took immediate measures for the most determined resistance. Treachery of the deepest infamy marks every step of this Jackson project for the dismemberment of Mexico and the perpetuation of slavery, from its inception to this day. It is yet portentous beyond conception.

20th. Mrs. Morris is the daughter of Mr. John C. Spencer, whose relations with the vicarious Administration of John Tyler as President of the United States have been very remarkable. When, in the summer of 1843, the rupture occurred between Mr. Tyler and the Whig Cabinet of President Harrison, John C. Spencer was president or chairman of a Whig association in the State of New York, and called an indignation meeting of Whigs against Tyler, at Syracuse. Before that meeting was held, on the 12th of October, 1841, Mr. Spencer was appointed by Mr. Tyler Secretary of War, which office he accepted, and held till March 7th, 1843, when he was appointed Secretary of the Treasury. During the recent session of Congress he was nominated a Judge of the Supreme Court, and on the 31st of January last was rejected by the Senate. Since then he resigned his office as Secretary of the Treasury, for which no reason has been made public, and, on the last day of the session of the Senate, was again nominated Judge of the Supreme Court, and again rejected. Mrs. Morris's husband was a clerk in the Treasury Department while her father was the Secretary, and retires with him. I have little acquaintance with this lady, but she has been very courteous to my wife and family, and earnestly solicits that I would write some verses addressed to her. I did write a couple of stanzas, which puzzled me in the composition not a little, for I began with a line of seven syllables, and, in following out the verse, fell unconsciously into the blunder of mingling seven- and eight-syllable lines together. I discovered it only by the want of harmony in the lines upon reading them over. I (never) knew before the peculiar property of the seven-syllable line, which consists in the uniform location of the accent and emphasis on the first syllable of each

line. The inadvertent admission of a word accented on the second syllable changes the measure to the eight-syllable verse, and the mixture of the two measures produces dissonance. It took me an hour to Procrustesize my lines to Mrs. Morris. She was here this day, with Miss Paine, when I was out. Miss Paine left word that I must not write any more verses for ladies.

21st. The settlement of my accounts, the payment of accumulated bills, the endorsement and filing of letters, and the assortment of documents of the second and third sessions of the Twenty-Seventh Congress, still absorb my time, and delay the recovery of my arrears of diary, run up during the last days of the session of Congress.

The National Intelligencer of this day has my letter of 18th of May last to Mrs. Sarah H. Butler, President of the Ladies of the Wyoming Monumental Association at Wilkesbarre, Pennsylvania; and I found it also both in the Boston Courier and Daily Advertiser, which came this day.

I called again at the office of the National Intelligencer, and obtained a copy of the paper of 7th June, containing the fifth list of petitions presented by me to the House of Representatives at the first session of the Twenty-Eighth Congress, with the disposal of them by the House. The preceding lists are in the papers of 28th December, 1843, 10th and 29th February, and 5th April, 1844. This last of 7th June contains also the memorial of Edward Jarvis, William Brigham, and J. Wingate Thornton, the Committee of the American Statistical Association, demonstrating a multitude of gross and important errors in the printed census of 1840. On the 19th of February last I had stated to the then Secretary of State, Upshur, that there were numerous errors in the printed census, and proved to him, by inspection of the census itself, the error of the return of one hundred and thirty-three insane colored persons in the town of Worcester, Massachusetts. On the 26th of that month the House, at my motion, adopted a call upon the Secretary of State for a report whether any such material errors existed, and, if so, what had been done to correct them. The journal of the House of 4th May (p. 877) states that the Speaker laid before the House a letter from the Secretary of State (John C. Calhoun),

in answer to the resolution of 26th February, "stating that no such errors had been discovered." On the 6th of May I moved to amend the journal of the 5th, by striking out the words "and stating that no such errors had been discovered." My motion was lost, by yeas and nays—thirty-two to one hundred and twenty-six. On the preceding 18th of April, the same Secretary of State, John C. Calhoun, in an official letter to the British Minister, Pakenham, had drawn out an elaborate argument from these same falsified returns of the census, as if they were uncontroverted truths, to justify the annexation treaty with Texas. On the 16th of May I moved a suspension of the rules to enable me to present this memorial to the House, and the yeas and nays on my motion were ninety-three to forty-seven. The Speaker's vote would have carried the two-thirds required to suspend the rules. He declared it lost for lack of two-thirds. I asked if he had voted; he said he had not, and if he had it would have been in the negative. The next day I entered the memorial under the rule, and it was referred to the Committee on Statistics, whose Chairman, Zadok Pratt, promised me that they would report upon it; but they did not.

24th. I received last Friday a letter from George R. Davis, of Troy, New York, asking my opinion if there was anything in the course of George L. Seymour on the question of reconsideration of the Eastern Harbor bill, after the veto, that evinced any want of good faith, or calculated to defeat a constitutional two-thirds vote to pass the bill. Mr. Seymour has been charged with this in a Troy newspaper; and Mr. Davis, his neighbor, and friends, want testimony to refute the slander. Mr. Davis was lodging at Mr. Gurley's, on Pennsylvania Avenue, and wrote me that he proposed to leave the city for home this day. I called last evening at Mr. Gurley's to see him, but he was out. He came here this morning, and I told him that before answering his letter I wished to see the article in the Troy newspaper containing the charge against Mr. Seymour; but he had it not, and could state only the general purport of it. I told him that I could readily and cheerfully certify that I never for an instant entertained a suspicion of insincerity on the part of Mr. Sey-

mour, when the Speaker, by what I thought a shameful collusion, cut off all reconsideration of the Eastern Harbor bill, by deciding that the main question upon the previous question moved by Mr. Seymour applied to the passage of the bill—when, not five minutes before, Seymour had moved the previous question, only upon an assurance from Linn Boyd, then in the Speaker's chair, that the main question would be on Seymour's motion to postpone the reconsideration of the bill from Tuesday to Thursday. This was a knave's trick. I remonstrated against it in vain. If Mr. Seymour had resented it vehemently, I believe he would have shamed the Speaker out of it, and the bill might have passed by a two-thirds vote. Mr. David L. Seymour was embarrassed by his reluctance to break with his Southern Democratic allies, and submitted to the iniquitous decision of the Speaker, which smothered all reconsideration of the bill.

Mr. Davis, in substance, admitted all this, and will be satisfied with my testimony to my belief in the sincerity of Mr. Seymour.

25th. I called this morning at the Department of State, and had a long conversation with the Secretary, John C. Calhoun. I repeated the enquiry concerning the documents required by the Government of Massachusetts from that of the province of New Brunswick. He said the pressure of other business in the Department had delayed the renewed demand upon the British Minister for these papers, which, he said, he proposed to make next week.

I then enquired about a memorial of James Crosby, and ninety others, addressed to him, and a printed copy of which has been sent to me. It complains of enactments of duties by the Legislature of the province, in contravention to an article of the Ashburton Treaty.

He said there was no doubt it was a plain violation of the treaty, and on this also he should address Mr. Pakenham.

My last enquiry was, whether the call of the House of Representatives adopted at my motion on Friday, the 14th of this month, for the instructions to George W. Erving in 1814, and afterwards during his mission to Spain, had been answered.

Mr. Markoe told me that the resolution of the House had not been received. Another of the clerks said it was not received until two hours after the final adjournment of the House, so that it cannot be answered till the next session of Congress. But Mr. Calhoun immediately offered to send to my house for my inspection the two folio manuscript volumes of instructions to the Ministers of the United States in Europe; which I accepted. And in the letter of instruction from James Monroe, Secretary of State, of 30th May, 1816, I find the following passage: "On the cession by the Spanish Government of all claims to territory eastward of the Mississippi, he (President Madison) is willing, should it be indispensably necessary, to establish the Sabine, from its mouth to its source, as the boundary, in that extent, between the United States and the Spanish provinces; leaving the residue of their boundaries to be settled by Commissioners, to be hereafter appointed by both Governments." Other parts of that instruction are not less important, and have never before been published.

27th. This day, set in the extreme heat of the summer, the trial of the climate to my constitution. A burning sun; the thermometers in my chamber at ninety, and a light breeze from the southwest—a fan delicious to the face, but parching instead of cooling the skin. I have been a full month longing for a river bath without daring to take it. This morning, at five, I went in the barouche to my old favorite spot, found the tide unusually high; all my station rocks occupied by young men, except one, and that surrounded by the tide, already upon the ebb. I had some difficulty to undress and dress, but got my bath, swam about five minutes, and came out washed and refreshed. It was my exercise for the day. After returning home I did not again pass the sill of the street door.

29th. The summer heat and its enervating spell continue. I walked this morning to my old bathing station upon the strand of the Potomac River, and bathed and swam for about ten minutes, and then walked home. From the practice of personal ablation and the exercise of swimming I cannot totally abstain, for I believe they have promoted my health and prolonged my life many years. And yet the experience

of late years has compelled me gradually to disuse them. But my great anxiety now is having much to do, and to be doing nothing. I called at the Globe office, and saw Mr. Kane, the bookbinder of that establishment. He has my file of documents for the third session of the Twenty-Seventh Congress; they are not complete, and I requested him, before binding them, to send to Mr. French, the sub-Clerk of the House, to have the missing papers supplied.

Then at the office of the *National Intelligencer*, and saw Mr. Gales. I took a paper of the 27th, containing my card to take leave of all invitations to public meetings. It contains also a remarkable speech of W. S. Archer, in the Senate, against the advice and consent to ratify the treaty for the annexation of Texas to the United States.

At the office of the Clerk of the House. French was not there. I requested of the clerk who was there a copy of the memorial of A. De Kalb Tarr and one hundred and seventy-nine citizens of Pennsylvania, praying for an alteration of the naturalization laws so as to require twenty-one years of residence by foreigners before admitting them to all the privileges of native Americans. This was the first memorial presented to the House on the subject. I moved its reference to the Judiciary Committee, but it was laid on the table, by yeas and nays. Fifteen days after, it was at my motion taken up from the table and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary. The clerk promised me a copy for Monday next, with the names of the signers. I shall see whether the editors of the *National Intelligencer* will publish it.

I declared in the House that I should not hold myself bound to support the demand in the House; but at the next session the Native American party will be heard in both Houses, and the proceedings of the House on this first memorial will have a material influence upon the debate.

July 1st. Mr. Pakenham, the British Minister, called on me this morning, and I had a long and very free conversation with him; not upon his negotiations here, of which no mention was made either by him or me. He seemed anxious to know whether a special session of Congress would be called, as has

been much rumored, but recently, as if by authority, denied. Immediately after the rejection by the Senate of the annexation treaty, Henderson, who had come post-haste as Minister Plenipotentiary to sign it, started post-haste back, it was said, to prevent the abandonment of the project by the Texans, and to negotiate a popular movement there, still to cram down the annexation.

I told Mr. Pakenham that I had seen with great pleasure in the Parliamentary papers of 1839 and '40, lent me by Mr. Fox, the avowal by Lord Palmerston, in a dispatch to Lord Howard de Walden, that to promote the abolition of slavery throughout the world was a fixed and settled system of the British Government. I had seen in the newspapers the negotiations with all Europe and all America, especially with the Pope and the Bey of Tunis, all tending to the same result. I told him of the visit of Andrews, the Texan, and Lewis Tappan, to me before they went to England last summer; that Mr. Andrews had communicated his designs to me, and I had expressed to him my doubts of his success. I had expressed the same doubt to Mr. Tappan, and told him I thought the British Government would, in this case, sacrifice their principles to their policy. Mr. Lewis Tappan, without authority from me, had apprised Lord Aberdeen of this opinion of mine, and Lord Aberdeen had protested against it; but it had proved correct. The abolition of slavery in Texas, without war or bloodshed, had been completely within the power of Great Britain, but her Government had failed to carry out their own principles. They disclaim and concede too much. They parry, *carte and tierce*, to avoid the issue tendered them, and which they must meet. This was not the general character of English diplomacy. It was usually bold, open, explicit, stubborn. I could not perceive it in Lord Aberdeen's disavowals, nor in Mr. Charles Elliot's recent letter to President Houston.

Mr. Pakenham took no offence at what I said, and spoke with much caution and reserve in return. He seems afraid of the English principles themselves, and fearful that the use of them would be to put edged tools in the hands of children.

4th. I had received from the committee of arrangements of

the Philodemic Society of Georgetown College an invitation to attend at one o'clock P.M. this day at the delivery of an oration by one of its members, and at an entertainment given by the Faculty of the College and the Society. One of my reasons for remaining in this city after the close of the session of Congress till this day shall be past, was to escape from all the celebrations to which I was or might be invited, the noise and bustle and excitement and ranting of this day having become irksome to me. I intended, nevertheless, to attend this oration and entertainment at the Georgetown College; but my driver took a holiday for himself and disappointed me. I was, however, well pleased with my disappointment; passed the day very quietly at home till close upon sunset, when I strolled out for an hour, and, on returning, stopped at Mrs. Madison's and took leave of her for the summer. Morning and evening visitors as by the margin, chiefly military officers who had been in grand costume to pay their devoirs to the President. The wedding visit last Saturday and that of Independence Day came so close together that the attendance this day was thin. Captain Tyler and his bride are the laughing-stock of the city. It seems as if he was racing for a prize-banner to the nuptials of the mock-heroic—the sublime and the ridiculous. He has assumed the war power as a prerogative, the veto power as a caprice, the appointing and dismissing power as a fund for bribery; and now, under circumstances of revolting indecency, is performing with a young girl from New York the old fable of January and May.

I wrote this day a letter to W. D. Barnes and A. De Kalb Tarr, in answer to that which they addressed to me with the memorial calling for alteration of the naturalization laws. It took all the leisure of the day, and when written was too long. The Native Americans are falling into the blunders of the abolition societies. They have an excellent cause, which they will ruin by mismanagement. The Native Americans, like the Anti-Masons, will have a momentary and limited success, but the staff will break in their hands and lay them in the dust.

6th. At the office of the National Intelligencer I took six copies of the paper of this day, containing my closing list of

petitions presented by me at the recent session of Congress to the House of Representatives, with the note upon the memorial of A. De Kalb Tarr and one hundred and seventy-nine citizens of Pennsylvania, praying for alteration of the naturalization laws. I enclosed one of these papers in my letter to W. D. Barnes and A. De Kalb Tarr, and one to my son, for the long letter of Waddy Thompson, Jr., against the annexation of Texas and the annexation treaty.

I met Mr. Thompson at the *Intelligencer* office, and had a long conversation with him and Mr. Gales on the subject. Thompson is a South Carolina planter, owner of one hundred slaves, and religiously believes that slavery was made for the African race, and the African race for slavery. He opposes the annexation of Texas on Southern grounds as a Southern man. So did Calhoun, so did McDuffie, so did Hamilton—all now rabid annexationists. Thompson will be converted like them. He knocks down Walker, Wilkins, and C. J. Ingersoll with their own maul; but he smuggled through Congress the acknowledgment of Texas prematurely. He is as cunning as four Yankees, as sly as four Quakers, and just now admires the people of Massachusetts too much. I hope his letter will be eminently useful at the present crisis, and devoutly pray that he and Benton and the "Princeton" gun may be instruments for the deliverance of my country.

10th. We had concluded to take the afternoon train of cars, and to proceed no further upon our journey this day than Baltimore. In two short hours we were at Baltimore, and came in a hack to Barnum's. He himself died some months since, but his establishment survives, in charge of his son. The heat kept us from strolling. I met Dr. Semmes in the reading-room. I received a note from A. A. Phelps, of Boston, and afterwards a visit, with Mr. Gallagher, a lawyer of this place, to consult me what to do for the Rev. Charles T. Torrey, in jail here upon a charge of enticing slaves to run away, and under a demand to be delivered up from the Governor of Virginia for a like *crime* there. Bail might be taken for the Maryland offence, but not while the Virginia bolt impends.

I advised to take out a writ of habeas corpus, returnable to

the Circuit Court of the United States, to bring the whole case before Chief-Justice Taney, and, in the event of an adverse decision by him, appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States. They said so they would do. The case is unique. I told them that upon this matter of slavery the law of the free and the slave States is in direct conflict, and referred them to the cases of the Antelope and of the Amistad captives.

BALTIMORE, 11th.—I enter this day on the seventy-eighth year of my age, and but for a blessed dispensation of Almighty God it would have been the last day both of my own life and that of my dear and ever-beloved wife. We both escaped as if by a miracle, and neither of us unhurt. I rose this morning at Barnum's, in Baltimore, before the sun, and, after journalizing the day for yesterday, sent for Mr. A. A. Phelps, and had a long conversation with him concerning Charles T. Torrey, in prison here upon a charge of enticing away slaves from a citizen of Maryland, and demanded by the Governor of Virginia to be delivered up on a charge of the same crime. I enquired what was the punishment for that crime in the two States. Mr. Phelps said, imprisonment at the discretion of the Court, not exceeding twenty years. I asked the opinions of Mr. Gallagher on slavery. I enquired if other and more (counsel were) employed to argue the whole case before the Chief Justice as the Circuit Judge, and then before the Supreme Court of the United States.

He said that Reverdy Johnson and McMahon had been mentioned. I thought that sound opinions on the subject of slavery, and an undaunted spirit to assert and maintain them, were indispensable qualifications for any person selected for that argument; and I recommended that the counsel might be specially requested to study, and refer freely to, the case of the negro Somerset, in Howell's State Trials, to the case of the Antelope in Wheaton and to my review of it in the argument for the Amistad captives, to Mr. Baldwin's argument in that same case, and to Lord Stowell's decision in the case of the slave Grace. And I said that, having a great personal regard for Mr. Torrey, I should be happy if I could furnish his counsel with any information which might be useful for his defence.

We left Baltimore at nine A.M. in the train of cars for Philadelphia—which city we reached about four in the afternoon and found yet in an amphibious state between mob and martial law. We concluded to proceed immediately to New York. At five in the afternoon we left Walnut Street wharf in the steamer *New Philadelphia*, and came to Bristol, twenty miles; there landed, and proceeded in the train of cars through Trenton, New Brunswick, Elizabethtown, and Newark, to Jersey City. The sunset between Trenton (and New Brunswick) was glorious, and equal to anything I ever beheld. As I witnessed the departing luminary, and the peace and quiet and felicity of all around me, I thought of Washington and Trenton and the 25th of December, 1776, and a feeling of inexpressible joy filled my soul.

Between ten and eleven we alighted from the cars, on an unrailed floor, raised about four feet above the ground. Walking on this floor, dark as midnight, I stepped, unawares, off the floor, and pitched over, and drew my wife, whose arm was linked in mine, over after me. Blessed be God, neither neck nor limbs of either of us was broken. We were enabled, after an hour of delay, to cross the ferry to New York, and reached the Astor House before midnight.

NEW YORK, 12th.—The sensation which I suffered last night by the shock of my own fall, instantly succeeded by that of my wife, was such as I never in my life experienced before, and which I have no words to describe. While falling, I had the distinct idea that I was killed. A shriek from my wife, and the consciousness that she too was killed, had in it a thrill of horror of which I knew not that the human frame was susceptible. My fall was so disposed that my left hip first met the earth, tipped me over upon the right side, and laid me sprawling; but neither my head nor my body struck the earth. I instantly rose, feeling pain only on the hip, and that not severe; but the terror for my wife no pang of death could surpass. She had fallen forwards. Her clothing had protected her from any shock to the body, but her left wrist was sprained; and the recoil from the ground struck her breast, broke the glass of the breast-pin, and slightly bruised a spot on the upper side of her

chin, below the lip. She had fainted, and was senseless. Several men came to our assistance. They took her up and carried her into one of the house sheds of the railroad company, where were benches to sit upon. A physician was sent for; but, as she soon came to, and appeared not to be much hurt, that order was countermanded. The other passengers had crossed the river in the steam ferry-boat, and that boat, in about half an hour, returned. My wife had then so far recovered that she was able to be led to the boat. We crossed the river, and a hack took us to the Astor House. They gave us two bedrooms on the first floor, and before midnight we were lodged for the night, still unknowing how much we were injured, but grateful that our lives and limbs had been spared. After a restless and agitated night, my wife felt the pain of the blow on the breast more than last night. The skin was not broken on my hip, but the bone was painful and sore, and a spot on my hip and thigh, as large as a common dinner-table plate, is crimson with extravasated blood. It was bathed with vinegar; but, as it did not pain me much, I walked out, called upon Mr. Lewis Tappan, and had some conversation with him respecting the case of Mr. Torrey.

QUINCY, 18th.—I finished reading the life of Francis Bacon, Baron Verulam, and Viscount St. Albans, by David Mallet, prefixed to the edition of his works in five volumes quarto, and I began the perusal of his works. This man was a prodigy and a paradox. He should be studied as a chronometer or a steam-engine should be studied—as a piece of moral and intellectual mechanism. Why did I not so study him fifty years ago? And of what use will it be for me to study him now? Indulgence of curiosity, a longing thirst for knowledge, a refuge from the sickening realities of life and desponding anticipations of the future, may perhaps carry me through this undertaking. The general reflection upon the life of Bacon is the melancholy aspect of great vicissitudes of fortune. His transcendent talents, rapacious ambition, and disgusting sycophancy combined to raise him to the pinnacle of opulence, of honors, and of power. The causes of his downfall were his connivance with bribes practised by his servants, and with whom he shared the plunder.

But James the First himself, and his minion Buckingham, were deeply implicated in the charges upon which he was convicted, and it was more of their sins than of his own that he bore the penalty. James remitted successively all the parts of the sentence against him, and, though he had been declared incapable of holding any office of trust whatever, he was yet summoned to the first Parliament of Charles the First in 1625. It does not appear that he attended. He died at the Earl of Arundel's house, in Highgate, on the 9th of April, 1626, at the age of sixty-four. He was married after the age of forty, but never had a child; and his wife survived him twenty years. After the remission of his fine, he was several (years) pinched with penury; and his supplicatory letter to the King for relief is agonizing.

19th. The confinement to the house is tedious; I endeavor to cheer it by reading, and travelled this day through the two books of Francis Bacon of the Proficiency and Advancement of Learning, Human and Divine. The work is dedicated to King James the First, and its introduction inspires a mingled sentiment of admiration of the boldness and grandeur of the design which it announces, and of heart-ache at the depth of degradation to which it sinks in the servile adulation with which it besmears the king. It is presented as in the nature and analogy of a free-will offering from a worshipper to his Deity, alluding first to the daily sacrifices and the occasional oblations of the Levitical Law, to which he likens the faithful performance of the duties of his official employments, and then proposing a voluntary superaddition of tribute appropriate to the transcendent learning of the King—the wisest, the greatest, the most perfect monarch that ever sat upon a throne. And this was James the First! And this unparalleled royal learning should not only prove the glory of the then present age, but should be transmitted down to after-ages as an imperishable monument for the benefit and admiration of mankind. And this work was not the consummation of that mighty purpose itself, but a mere outline of a plan to turn the royal cogitations to its achievement. The stupendous magnitude of this undertaking, the courtly cunning, ingenuity, and meanness of suggesting it to the King as if it was an enterprise of his own, the lofty

consciousness of its sublimity, and the sly implied disclaimer of it as anything more on the part of the author than a mere speculative whim, to be moulded into form and substance, are all deserving of profound meditation—of more than I can give. He proceeds then to enumerate and to refute the objections against learning—of divines, of politicians, as arising from the fortunes, manners, or studies of learned men. He discusses the diseases of learning—the peccant humors which have not only given impediment to the proficiency of learning, but have given occasion to the traducement thereof. And he closes the book with a copious and cheering exhibition of the dignity of learning—a theme upon which I follow him with delight. The style is a continuous and perpetual citation of classical and scriptural quotations.

20th. I made some progress in reading Bacon on the Advancement of Learning—finished the first and began the second book. In the dedication to King James, gross as his adulation is, it is not random praise. He extols him for four specific virtues; a virtuous *disposition*, a virtuous *ambition*, a virtuous observation of the laws of *marriage*, and a virtuous and most Christian *desire of peace*. These were real virtues of James's character, and they are genuine king-becoming graces; and it is piteous to reflect that, with all these virtues, and with all that learning, for which he was not less famed, his character as a king and as a man is universally despised. He was weak.

"Fallen cherub, to be weak is miserable, doing or suffering."

For the fulsomeness of the flattery I was seeking some excuse, and it occurred to me that in monarchical governments this beplastering of the mighty man is conventional and formal, like "your humble servant" at the close of a letter, or the greetings of acquaintances and mere strangers, professing to be very obsequious to each other, meaning, of course, nothing of what is said. In the argument for the advancement of science, I thought the objections with which he began against it were so frivolous and trivial that they scarcely deserved the trouble of answering them. There is, however, something more forcible in the catalogue of the diseases of learning.

Hume speaks contemptuously of the style of Bacon. Its most remarkable character, to my mind, is the copious and original turn of his thoughts, with their incessant quotations from the Bible and from the Greek and Latin classics. I was not entirely satisfied with the life of Bacon by Mallet, and took up that of the *Biographia Britannica*, which is somewhat longer. But the mode of writing, with a load of commentary always interrupting the narrative, is intolerably tedious, and incompatible with that *unity* which should be the first law of written composition.

September 16th. By way of variety, I took up the public documents respecting the negotiation of the Florida Treaty, and especially the correspondence of George W. Erving in 1817 and '18. The supplementary documents, called for by the resolutions of H. R. U. S., moved by Dixon H. Lewis, are the most perfect extinguishers of Andrew Jackson's lies and Erving's own base misrepresentations that could be produced. Jackson's lies are gross and glaring; Erving's misrepresentations are artful and cunning. Jackson's type is Richard the Third; Erving is an honest Iago. There is no baser conspiracy recorded in history than theirs against me, which it is my duty to expose to the world.

18th. I went first into Boston this morning, with Mr. Lunt, and alighted at Mr. Robert C. Winthrop's house. I sent Benjamin with the barouche to land Mr. Lunt at Judge Warren's house in Beacon Street, to take him up there again at one o'clock and then call for me at my son's office. I told Mr. Winthrop that I had called on him to speak of George W. Erving and Andrew Jackson and Charles J. Ingersoll's concerted attack upon me during the last session of Congress, and particularly upon Erving's written communications to Jackson against me. Winthrop had spoken to me about it during the session. He then read to me part of a letter which Erving had written to him on the subject. And he now read me part of another, received by the last steamer, and written after Erving had received Charles J. Ingersoll's counterfeit report, published as the report of the Committee of Foreign Affairs, dated 1st May, 1844. Erving's letter now is apologetic towards me, but tenfold bitter and rancorous to the memory of Mr. Monroe,

and mean and sneaking in his excuses for his wanton attack upon me.

I asked Winthrop if Charles J. Ingersoll's view contains Erving's paper, or a garbled and summary statement of it made up by Ingersoll himself. Winthrop said he thought it was Erving's own paper; but I read from it several passages evidently showing that it was not. While we were in conversation, John C. Gray came in, and, having apparently business with Winthrop, I left them.

19th. At the ordination, or rather installation, yesterday of the Rev. George M. Rice as pastor of the First Congregational Church and Society in Chelsea, the ceremonies were as follows: 1. Anthem. 2. Introductory prayer, by Rev. John T. Sargent, of Boston. 3. Selection from the Scriptures, by Rev. John Pierpont, Junr., of Lynn. 4. Hymn. 5. Sermon, by the Rev. W. P. Lunt, of Quincy. 6. Hymn. 7. Prayer of installation, by Rev. Samuel Barrett, of Boston. 8. Charge, by Rev. Dr. James Flint, of Salem. 9. Right hand of fellowship, by Rev. Samuel D. Robbins, of Chelsea. 10. Address to the people, by Rev. Robert C. Waterston, of Boston. 11. Concluding prayer, by the Rev. Frederick T. Gray, of Boston. 12. Doxology. 13. Benediction, by the pastor, George M. Rice. Mr. Lunt's sermon was from Philippians iii. 9: "The righteousness which is of God by faith." All the services were appropriate and creditable. This form of ordaining a minister of the gospel to the charge of a single church is pre-eminently popular and republican, and contrasts most advantageously with the forms of Episcopal ordination. In these there are two things insupportable and blasphemous: 1. The pretension of the bishop to confer the Holy Ghost; and, 2. The power of pardoning or retaining sin, at his discretion. These are the most servile and obsequious vicious practices retained from the Church of Rome. Our churches are independent of each other; associated as brethren. Their pastors are all equal, elected by their people, without hierarchy of bishop, priest, and deacon; without the ridiculous pretension of receiving from the afflatus of the bishop either the Holy Ghost or the discretionary power to forgive or to retain sins. The introductory, ordination, and

concluding prayers, each by a separate brother pastor, the anthem, hymns, and doxology, the sermon, charge, right hand of fellowship, and address to the people, are all congenial parts of one ceremony—all solemnizing incidents of reciprocal duties contracted by the incipient relations between the pastor and his flock. These services were all well performed on this occasion.

This day was the great mass-meeting of the Whigs at Boston, at which I was invited to preside, but declined. Daniel Webster presided, and delivered a speech of an hour and a half.

23d. Dr. Dana, of Brandon, Vermont, came with a letter recommendatory from William Hayden, senior editor of the Boston Atlas. He was accompanied by his brother, a merchant of Boston. They are fervent Whigs, and the only object of their visit was to see and converse with me. While they were here, Mr. and Mrs. Birney came in. He is the son of James G. Birney, now of Michigan, and the candidate of the Liberty party for election as President of the United States. The son resides at New Haven, Connecticut. I met him last week at the office of the Morning Chronicle in Boston, and Mr. Leavitt introduced him to me. Why he visits me now I do not know. His father owes me a grudge, and, as the head of the Abolition Liberty party, made a violent and furious assault upon my character and reputation in a letter to his party. He had, perhaps, some provocation. When he was going to the first World's Convention at London, in 1840, he wrote to me requesting letters of introduction to my friends in England—a piece of sheer impertinence, for I had no personal acquaintance with him which could warrant me in recommending him to my friends, nor any reason to believe him a man of merit so transcendent that I could venture to recommend him though a stranger. But, as an answer of refusal would have required an assignment of reasons, which I knew would be more offensive to him even than neglect, I left his letter unanswered, and he now assails me in revenge. He has emancipated some slaves which he inherited from his father; has suffered persecution, obloquy, and loss for the cause of liberty, for which he is entitled to respect and gratitude: but he is the sport of envious, bitter, ambitious, and malignant passions, and his

head is turned by the greatness thrust upon him of a party candidate for the Presidency.

24th. This afternoon Mr. Cassius M. Clay came out from Boston, with Mrs. George T. Bigelow and Miss Porter, daughter of the late General Peter B. Porter, to visit us. Mr. C. M. Clay is a native of Kentucky, and within the last two years has acquired great celebrity by declaring the highest-toned sentiments against slavery. He has in numerous public speeches advocated the abolition of slavery in that State, has raised against himself hosts of deadly enemies, and has been more than once hunted for assassination. He has emancipated a number of his own slaves. Last winter he attended a meeting called by Colonel Johnson to pass resolutions for the annexation of Texas to the United States, and he prevented the passage of the resolutions. He is now travelling about the Northern States, discoursing wherever he goes against slavery, the slave-trade, and the annexation of Texas. His wife is with him, said to be a very fine woman, but has been taken ill in Boston, and could not come out with him this afternoon. He has made several speeches at Boston, and is said to be transcendently eloquent. He told me that his speech to the Boston Young Men's Whig Club was reported in the *Atlas* of this morning, and requested me to read it, and write to him at New York my opinion of it. He also said that he had derived his principles in part from me.

26th. After all the trouble and pains I have taken to draw up an address to my constituents, I find that it wants unity of subject, point for impression, and humor to hit the fancy and secure the sympathy of the auditory, and pleasantry to amuse them. All these are essential to popular eloquence. There is nothing so fatal to the success of stump-speaking as dulness. "*Tous les genres sont bons, hormis le genre ennuyeux.*" I have analyzed the correspondence furnished in answer to the call moved by Dixon H. Lewis in the House of Representatives on the 29th of April last, and every page of it furnishes pregnant evidence to refute the lies of Andrew Jackson, Aaron Vail¹ Brown, George W. Erving, and Charles Jared

¹ This middle name is used here several times by Mr. Adams, as it was in his public allusions to Mr. Brown. He afterwards learned that it was *Venable*.

ingress, every one of whom lies without remorse, but with variety of falsehood which makes each of them an effective witness against all the others. But it will require extreme caution to compare and collate with one another all the documents heretofore published—the new ones recently produced, and the false statements of each of the four false witnesses. And I never can be too much on my guard to avoid containing any well-measured statement, and to make none on my part susceptible of being disproved.

27th. The Boston Morning Post of 27th March last, which my son brought out for me last evening enabled me to find this morning the Globe of 28th March 1844 upon the files which I had brought from Washington, and which I had not hitherto been able to find. It is better for my purpose than the Boston Post because it contains the original publication by Aaron Vail Brown of Jackson's letter, and further, the letter from Brown to the editors of the Globe, Blair and Rives, enclosing Jackson's letter for publication.

I have determined to make this the immediate and single subject of my address to the Young Men's Whig Club at Boston next Monday week: first, for the vindication of my own character from the vile slanders of Jackson, Erving, Brown, and Charles J. Ingersoll; and, secondly, to expose to the world and to after-times the infamous means used to accomplish this annexation of Texas to the United States. How far this selection of my subject will be satisfactory to those whom I am to address, how far to the free people of this Union, how far I shall be able to enliven it with interest, is a problem from which I would shrink if I could. I have fearful odds to encounter, and little to encourage me.

"Truths would you teach, and save a sinking land,
All fear, none aid you, and few understand."

My polar star must be my guide. The Florida Treaty was the most important incident in my life, and the most successful negotiation ever consummated by the Government of this Union. And this is precisely selected, above all others, as an engine for the total destruction of my good name, and to charge

me with treachery to my country and to my trust. I have long hesitated, not whether I should notice this conspiracy against me, but how and when. I have taken time to look over the documents, and can wind the whole body of conspirators round my fingers. My only danger is of losing my vantage-ground.

October 1st. Howe, Appleton, of Weymouth; Kingman, John, of North Bridgewater; Cary, Otis, of Foxborough; Hunt, A. N., of Weymouth; Cushman, J. H., of Roxbury; Shorey, John, of Dedham; Gulliver, John P., of Roxbury; Gulliver, John, of Roxbury; Fisher, M. M., of Medway. The names in the margin are the members of the committee of the Liberty party of the Eighth Congressional District of Massachusetts, who visited me this morning. They have appointed this day week for a Convention to nominate a candidate for election to the House of Representatives of the United States in the Twenty-Ninth Congress. They have heretofore not nominated a candidate against me; but they will at this time, and it is highly probable will defeat the election. They were, however, to me this day peculiarly courteous and civil. Mr. Fisher said they had no disposition to dictate opinions to me, nor to ask any pledge of me which it might be disagreeable to me to give, but they had come to the conclusion that they were under obligations of duty to vote exclusively for persons who entertained certain opinions on the subject of slavery, and, as they were fully aware of the great and frequent services that they were indebted to me for in support of the cause which they had so much at heart, they wished for this friendly interview to ascertain my opinions on certain points upon which there was considerable diversity among those generally opposed to slavery.

I told them that I would cheerfully give to them my opinions as they were sincerely entertained, upon any and every point interesting to them; that I had no motive to conceal or disguise any of my opinions upon subjects of public concernment; that I had lived seventy-seven years, and served in various offices, and never asked or solicited, directly or indirectly, the vote of any man, and thought it not worth while to commence the practice now. I answered all their questions, discussed

with them the points upon which we did not concur; the vote for President, upon which I should not be partisan of any man. We considered the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia and the Territories, and the prohibition of the inter-State slave-trade. They declared themselves perfectly satisfied with the interview. One of them said he should vote for me with pleasure; another said he did not know but what he should. The rest were silent. I asked them for their names—which one of them brought me on cards from French's Tavern, where they dined. Mr. Fisher said they expected at this election to cast from fourteen to sixteen thousand votes.

2d. My visitors yesterday from the committee of the Liberty party were apparently not of one mind when they came, nor yet when they left me. My opposition to the immediate abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia and in the Territories they all disapprove; and Mr. Howe, the late Senator from Norfolk County in the State Legislature, pressed me specially with the question whether Congress have not the power to repeal the laws of the District which allow and sanction slavery. With regard to the inter-State slave-trade, I told them I had no doubt of the power of Congress to prohibit that, and would vote for a bill to that effect to-morrow, though it would not be possible to prevail upon the House to receive such a bill. I told them I regretted that I could not concur with them in all their opinions, and still more the dissensions prevailing among themselves—the Colonization Society, the Anti-Slavery ✓ and Abolition Societies, the no-government, non-resisting, and women-membered societies. I grieved also at their classing in the same level of exclusion the Whig and Democratic parties. I thought there was a great difference between them, and that placing them on the same level was to secure the triumph of the worst party. This tendency of all private associations to settle into factious cabals is the besetting sin of all elective governments.

I received this morning from Mr. N. Frye, at Washington, the daily *Globe* of 20th March, 1844, containing the letters of Aaron Vail Brown and Andrew Jackson upon the annexation of Texas to the United States. I employed so industriously

this day that, besides the daily record, I wrote four pages of my task, only to prove what, with diligence, I can do in one day. The danger now is that I shall do too much—slide into dulness, wander into impertinence, fret into ribaldry, and worry into tediousness. The conspiracy against my good name is so complicated, so combined, so crafty, and so base, that I can scarcely keep my self-command to meet it.

3d. In the evening, Charles came down, without his wife, and I read to the family what I have already written for the address of next Monday. It occupied an hour and a half, and I suppressed the reading of several documents which I must not pass over next Monday. I must bespeak the patience of my hearers a full hour longer, and then abridge and leave out. But, what is worse, my language is too violent, and must be smoothed down—I know not how, nor to what extent; further, I have now only four days more to finish, and must leave space for a final recapitulation. I read myself this evening quite hoarse, and took warning to pitch my voice quite low when I begin. All my correspondence lags behind, and I leave unanswered numerous invitations and complimentary letters. Walter Hellen¹ has completed for me a large collection of extracts from my diary of 1818 and 1819, which I much wanted at Washington last winter, and of which I want that more than one copy should be in existence, to guard against the casualty of fire and the possibility of theft or mutilation.

4th. I thought I should have a long, uninterrupted day, but was sadly disappointed. As the evening twilight came on, I took my hat to go up to Charles's house—when two strangers came in, and introduced themselves as Mr. Wilson, of Missouri, and Mr. Haven, of New York City. They are Whig politicians, and came to see me from mere curiosity to see and talk with me.

Mr. Wilson said he had been settled in Missouri nearly twenty-five years, and most of that time in opposition to Colonel Thomas H. Benton, whose recent movements against the annexation of Texas were caused by his knowledge that nothing else could have saved him, politically, in Missouri. The people there were all of them perfectly willing to take Texas, and to

¹ A nephew of Mr. Adams, spending the season with the family at Quincy.

fight the Mexicans or the British; but they have an abhorrence to being burdened to pay the debt of Texas, which they know will amount to nearer twenty-five than ten millions of dollars; and they know that if Texas should be annexed to the United States there will not come to them one acre of ungranted land. Mr. Wilson discoursed thus for at least an hour, with little interruption from me. Mr. Haven said little.

I invited them to take tea with us; but they said it was growing late and they must return to Boston. They were scarcely gone, and our tea-table cleared, when Mr. Edward M. Clymer, a student at the law school at Cambridge, came, with a letter of recommendation from his uncle, William Heister, of New Holland, Pennsylvania. Mr. Clymer's object was only to spend an evening with us; which he did. He is a pleasant and very well-bred and sociable young man, for whom I regretted not to have convenient means to pass the night with us. Charles and his wife also spent the evening here.

The news by the *Caledonia*, and other newspaper intelligence, absorbed hours, and a private letter from George W. Erving to me, in the pamphlet of 1st March, 1818, referred me to one that I had received from (him) in London, after my appointment as Secretary of State and before I embarked to return home. Walter Hellen searched and found it for me, and with it a file of letters from him, received by me in England from 1815 to 1817. The one of which I was in search contained a quotation from a Latin poet, not of the hackneyed class, and I lost some time in searching for it, in vain—and more time in reading over the file.

5th. Mr. John J. Carr, the tenant of my homestead-farm, came to me this morning from a Whig committee with a subscription paper promising to pay blank sums for circulating papers among the people, and other expenses of the committee—which I declined to subscribe, observing to Mr. Carr that I thought there would be an impropriety in my contributing money for such a purpose, and by the indefinite terms in which the paper was drawn up it would be the incipient entrance upon a practice making all elections venal and setting up all public offices at auction to the highest bidder.

I labored hard at my task. Walter Hellen found for me the file of letters from George W. Erving which I received in England from 1815 to 1817, and among them was the one I wanted, an exquisite curiosity at this day—a letter from Madrid of 3d May, 1817, containing a classical quotation of Latin poetry, which, after diligent search, consuming no small time, I found was from Propertius, ii. 20, 32; three lines and two words. They are the key to Mr. George W. Erving's revelations to President Jackson in 1829 and 1832. They were a supplication to me from Erving to raise him from the hell of Madrid to the heaven of Paris.

6th. I attend meeting in the Temple, in the hope of composing my shattered nerves and abstracting my agitated bosom from the cares of the world and the interests of time. This is peculiarly my desire on the days when I partake of the Communion. This day, with sorrow I say, was too much absorbed by this world, and too little by that at the verge of which I stand. Heaven forgive me for it!

Mr. Lunt preached this morning from John xii. 27: "Now is my soul troubled; and what shall I say? Father, save me from this hour: but for this cause came I unto this hour." This is part of a discourse of Jesus only six days before the last Passion at Bethany, where He had performed the miracle of raising Lazarus from the dead. Here it was that between the worship of those who had witnessed the miracle and believed Him to be the Messiah, and the compassing of His death by those who disbelieved, which was within one week of being consummated, His soul was troubled. He revealed Himself and the destiny that awaited Him, in figurative and somewhat mysterious discourse, not understood even by His disciples until explained by His subsequent death and resurrection, and foretold at once His suffering and His glorification.

Mr. Lunt's view of his text appeared to me ingenious and impressive as he delivered his sermon; but other thoughts were forcing themselves upon my memory while he spoke, and my soul was like one of those sheets of ancient parchment upon which a poem in monkish rhyme is written over an oration of Cicero.

7th. This was one of the epochal days of my life. On the 26th of last month my son brought me the Boston Post of 25th March, containing Andrew Jackson's letter to Aaron Vail Brown of 12th February, 1843. The next morning I found on my file the semi-weekly Globe of 21st March, 1844, containing Brown's letter to the editors of the Globe, with Jackson's letter for publication. I determined to make them the text of the address which I had promised to deliver to the Young Men's Whig Club of Boston this evening. I thought this a suitable occasion for opening my defence before the country and the world against the conspiracy of Andrew Jackson, Aaron Vail Brown, George W. Erving, and Charles J. Ingersoll, with their coadjutors and tools, to ruin my good name and fabricate a fable to justify the robbery of Texas from Mexico, by the pretence that Texas had been by me treacherously surrendered to Spain.

I began the address that day, and finished it this day just in time for dinner. The composition, therefore, is excessively hurried and unskilfully put together, with sundry repetitions, which needed a pruning hand; but I had no time to give.

At six o'clock this afternoon I rode into Boston with my son and Walter Hellen, and precisely at seven alighted at the Tremont Temple. I was there received with the utmost simplicity by the committee of the Young Men's Whig Club, in a private room adjoining the hall, which was already crowded as full as it could hold. Several of my elderly friends were assembled in the private room, and I was specially greeted by Samuel T. Armstrong, Jeremiah Mason, Abbott Lawrence, Stephen C. Phillips, Robert C. Winthrop, Josiah Quincy, Jr., Samuel H. Walley, Jr., and several others.

Mr. Hayden, editor of the Boston Atlas, Erastus Brooks, of the New York Evening Express, and the younger Buckingham, applied for the use of my manuscript for immediate publication in their respective papers. I gave it, with a pledge that I should have a proof-sheet to revise before publication, to Mr. Hayden, the first applicant.

At precisely half-past seven I entered the hall, with my son, who is President of the Club, and with the Chairman of the

committee of the Club. The reception was complimentary and enthusiastic; and my son said that, after such a reception, it would be superfluous for him to do more than announce to them the name of his father, John Quincy Adams; whereupon another shout of welcome shook the house.

A young Mr. Coffin, at my request, read the letters of Aaron Vail Brown, and of Andrew Jackson, and I discoursed upon them two hours and ten minutes, much to the amusement of the auditory. The closing apostrophe to the young men of Boston was specially well received. As soon as the crowd was cleared away, we re-entered the carriage; left my son at the United States Hotel, and, with Walter Hellen, I returned to Quincy, reaching home at eleven.

8th. In the hurry of preparation for the last evening, my diary has run three days in arrear; and the high excitement of yesterday, with more than two hours of loud speaking, preceded and followed by the rides, has left upon me a feverish lassitude and longing for a vacation, ill suited to my condition. I am to address my constituents, the people of the Eighth Congressional District of Massachusetts, before the last of this month. I ought to have been at work upon it this day, but could not bring myself to it.

I allowed myself about three hours to transport three seedling stocks of pear-trees and one shag-bark walnut-tree from the nursery to the seminary—a very hazardous operation, and of the success of which I despair even while undertaking it. The trees are of six or seven years' growth, and would flourish in their native soil; but they stand too near other yet more valuable trees, and must be removed from their proximity.

The Atlas and the Boston Courier of this morning have notices of the meeting of the Young Men's Whig Club last evening at the Tremont Temple, and very commendatory accounts of my address, which the Atlas promises to give from my manuscript notes to-morrow. But I received no proof-sheet. My time was so wholly absorbed yesterday that I could not even read the Boston morning newspapers. The State elections keep up the political agitation. The accounts from Delaware are very equivocal; from Maryland encouraging, but

with a dark spot from the city of Baltimore; from Pennsylvania and New York they are desperate, and the general result is equally so. Maine has gone by a majority of more than ten thousand for free trade and Texas. It is hard to steer and row against wind and tide; but even in the agony of death we must say, like Lawrence, "Don't give up the ship."

9th. I redeemed the arrears of my diary, and began an address to my constituents, which I propose to have in readiness for the 30th of this month. But it will absorb all my time, so that I can do nothing else. I set out upon a new plan, and consider all that I have written from the 13th of July, when I got home, till the 26th of September, as waste paper. My address to the Young Whigs of Boston was published entire in the Boston Atlas of this day; but the paper did not come to me. The Morning Chronicle, the Liberty party paper, of yesterday had not even a notice of the meeting of the Whig Club of the night before. This day it has a very unfavorable account of the address, specially remarking that there was not a word in it about the Presidential election or the Presidential candidates. Yesterday was the day of the meeting of the Liberty party Convention to nominate candidates for Senators for the county of Norfolk, and a member of the House of Representatives of the United States for the Eighth Congressional District of Massachusetts in the Twenty-Ninth Congress. I received on Monday two letters from John Gulliver, of Roxbury, one of the Liberty party committee who conferred with me on the 1st of this month—extremely anxious between the fear that the meeting would, and the hope that they would not, nominate a candidate against me. There is in the Morning Chronicle of this day no notice of the meeting at Dedham yesterday. The Democratic party have nominated Isaac H. Wright, who was last year one of the Senators for the county of Norfolk in the Legislature of the State.

10th. The first accounts came in this day of State Government elections in New Jersey and Pennsylvania—the first favorable to the Whigs, the second far otherwise. Both parties have committees remaining at Washington during the recess, to superintend the issuing of documents and the circulation

of intelligence. Willis Green, of Kentucky, is the Chairman of the Whig Committee; Robert J. Walker, the Senator from Mississippi, Chairman of the Democracy. Walker printed a pamphlet, an address of the Democratic Association at Washington, D.C., headed "The South in Danger. Read before you Vote." Green undertook to circulate the same pamphlet in the North, and the Democrats charged him with forgery.

11th. I examined at last the publication in the Atlas of my address to the Young Men's Whig Club. The remainder of it is published in the Boston Courier, and, I suppose, in the Daily Advertiser of this day. There are a few mistakes of the press in the Atlas, none of much importance, except the word "vaccination" for "buccination"—which is ridiculous, and the more so because "buccination" is not a legitimate word, but one which I sported for the benefit of Aaron Vail Brown. "Buc-cino" is the Latin word for swelling the cheek to blow the trumpet or the horn, and there is a picture in the word. I made a noun substantive of it, by the common analogy of Latin verbs turned into English nouns. The compositor of the Atlas was not scholar enough to perceive it, and substituted for it a word which turned the whole sentence into nonsense.

The returns of the elections continue to come in most unpropitious. The Whigs have indeed carried the election in New Jersey, and Stratton will be the Governor of the State; but Pennsylvania is irretrievably sunk in Democracy, and her most popular statesmen are trickish and unsafe.

My projected address expands as I proceed. I am still wandering among first principles and generalities. I wish to call the attention of my countrymen to the pernicious feature of the slave-representation in the Government of the United States; but the people are so broken to it that it is of no avail to expose it. I have yet much to unfold of the Tennessean conspiracy of Jackson, Erving, Aaron Vail Brown, and Charles Jared Ingersoll against me; but I am yet uncertain whether now is the most favorable time for completing the exposure, or whether to wait.

12th. By the Quincy Patriot of this day, it appears that the Convention of the Liberty party at Dedham last Tuesday nomi-

nated Appleton Howe, of Weymouth, for election to Congress for the Eighth Congressional District of Massachusetts. He was one of the committee from the Liberty party who visited me last week, and John Gulliver, another of them, is nominated as a Senator for the county of Norfolk. Howe has been several years a Senator from the county of Norfolk, and is a Major-General of the militia. Isaac H. Wright, the nominee of the Democratic Convention, was last year a Senator from the county; and this double nomination renders the question of the majority for the whole district more than doubtful.

I received twenty-five copies of the Boston Atlas of the 9th, containing my address to the Young Men's Whig Club, with all its imperfections on its head. I had them folded up to distribute, but sent only three—to William Greene, of Cincinnati, William H. Seward, of Auburn, and to Christopher Morgan, of the same place. There are errors of the manuscript and errors of the press which ought to be corrected, and for which I may be obliged to have a pamphlet edition printed at my own expense. It may be advisable, however, to wait for the replications of Jackson, Erving, Brown, and Charles J. Ingersoll, with all of whom I have yet hard work to go through. I do not deceive myself. A more formidable conspiracy against the good name of an honest public man never was plotted; and, besides numerous understrappers, they are four to one against me. I must sleep in armor, and be ready to meet them in Indian warfare.

14th. William Jackson, of Newton, and his brother, Francis Jackson, came in, returning from a tour to Plymouth to examine the course of the Old Colony Railroad. William Jackson is the candidate of the Liberty party for the office of Lieutenant-Governor of the Commonwealth. Francis Jackson is of the party who take no part in the Government, because it requires an oath to support the Constitution of the United States. William Jackson told me that he went to the Liberty party Convention last week at Dedham, to prevent, if possible, the nomination of a candidate for Congress against me; but he found it impossible. They were exceedingly zealous. He said he hoped I should be re-elected, but considered it doubtful.

Mr. William H. Story came from Brooklyn, New York, with an invitation to me to preside over a Whig mass-meeting there on the 24th of this month—which I declined; and I wrote also to Mr. Halsey, declining the invitation to read my address to the young men of Boston on the evening of the 23d, at the Tabernacle, in New York. I regret much that I could not accept that invitation.

15th. How often self-examination is followed by self-reproach, and how often self-reproach by self-absolution and the neglect or forgetfulness of reform! I had determined to attend the exhibition at Cambridge this morning, and, to be there in season at the meeting of the Committee of Overseers at ten o'clock, to leave home, at the latest, by half-past eight. The morning newspapers came by the mail, and among them the *National Intelligencer* of last Saturday, the 12th instant, containing the whole of my address of the 7th to the Young Men's Whig Club at Boston; and an idle curiosity to ascertain if it was correctly printed enticed me to read, till I found the watch within five minutes of ten, and that the carriage had been an hour and a half in waiting. I hurried through Boston to Cambridge, and found the performance of the exhibitions just commenced by a Latin oration. There was a prospectus of fourteen performances, three of which were omitted. Three in Latin, two in Greek, the rest in English. A dissertation upon the satire in *Gulliver's Travels*, by Charles Henry Glover, of Nantucket, the most amusing part of the day. He spoke of the *Pilgrim's Progress* and *Robinson Crusoe*, in parallel with *Gulliver*, as pre-eminently pictures of English life and manners.

16th. Excessively hurried and delayed. My son removed this day with his family to Boston. The further I proceed in my task, the more the field widens before me. I had received a letter of the 24th of last month from Francis Hilliard, of Roxbury, Chairman of the Whig committee of the Eighth Congressional District, inviting me to address my constituents and the public at such time and place as might be convenient and agreeable to myself. I had then just agreed to address the Young Men's Whig Club at Boston, and had not even com-

menced that address. I sent word by Mr. Loring to Mr. Hilliard that I would comply with that invitation, and fix the time and place for it, after getting through with the young men of Boston. Ever since the 7th I have been intending to write to Mr. Hilliard; but he called on me this morning for my answer. I proposed to him this day fortnight, the 30th of this month, at ten o'clock in the morning. The place I left entirely at the discretion of the committee to select, wishing only to suit the persons who will be likely to attend, that they may be put to as little inconvenience as possible. I had suggested to Mr. Loring the expediency of notifying the towns of the district and proposing to them to send delegations to attend the meeting—which Mr. Hilliard said he thought they would do. With regard to the place, Mr. Hilliard went and consulted with Mr. Brigham, and returned and said they proposed to apply for the use of the church at the Weymouth Landing; to which I readily agreed.

He asked if I thought of adding any religious solemnity to the meeting. I said I should be glad that the meeting should be opened with prayer by the minister of the church, or, if he should be reluctant, by Dr. Richard Storrs, the minister of the next orthodox church, at Braintree. And so the arrangement was concluded.

Mr. George S. Foster is a young man, a member of the Young Men's Henry Clay Association of New York. He came for the purpose of persuading me to attend at their mass-meeting next Wednesday, and to deliver over again that evening, in the Tabernacle, my address to the young men of Boston. I told him how much I regretted that I could not perform it, and that I had answered the invitation from Mr. Halsey to that effect. He then said that they would have a printing-press in the procession, and want an address to be struck off and circulated while the procession is moving. He urged me very warmly to write such an address; but I declined. I wasted too much time, and a little anger, upon a letter of Langdon Cheves, about the tariff, Texas, nullification, and disunion.

17th. I received my manuscript of the address from the Atlas office; but its publication in pamphlet form is yet problematical.

I have revised the errors of the publication in the Atlas, and have made up twenty copies and distributed them among several individuals, my friends, in several quarters of the Union. I shall soon be called to reply to furious assaults from the worthies whose characters and exploits I have brought into relief before the civilized world.

My main object now is the address to my constituents, to be delivered on the 30th of this month; but in the review of the proceedings of the last session of Congress I must make a selection of the topics which I am to discuss: 1. The choice of a Speaker whose election was contested. 2. The prostration of the law prescribing elections by single districts. 3. The exclusion from the journals of the protest against the subversion of the law. 4. The abortive effort to discard the gag-rule—which I am yet discussing.

Then come the Massachusetts resolutions, and the proceedings of the House upon them; the bill to refund Jackson's fine; the threatened repeal of the Tariff of 1842; the Oregon fever; the Texas fever, and treaty; the treaty with the German Customs Union, and the complicated intrigues and caballing for the annexation of Texas; with the three Baltimore Conventions; the Whig nomination of Henry Clay and Theodore Frelinghuysen; the mock Democratic nomination of John Tyler, without a Vice-President; the smuggled nomination of James K. Polk and George M. Dallas; the political contortions of John C. Calhoun, and the disunion schemes of R. Barnwell Rhett and Langdon Cheves—all form a compound subject of discoursing to my constituents. Out of all these I must make a selection, of which the slave-representation may be the common bond. A large portion of my time this day was consumed in a revolutionary letter of Langdon Cheves. There is an almost insuperable difficulty in my way—that I cannot discuss these matters without bearing upon the Presidential canvass.

18th. The pressure upon my brain increases, and my time becomes so totally absorbed in writing that I have now memory for scarcely anything that passes from day to day. This day, besides the journal of yesterday, I wrote four pages of my

task—an achievement which I shall probably never again perform.

Mr. G. W. Bryant came, from North Bridgewater, and invited me to go and address a meeting of the people there. He said the Liberty party were making very great exertions there, and were specially working for a concert with the Democracy; and they were detaching so many from the Whigs that they were apprehensive of losing the election of their candidate to represent the town in the State Legislature.

I told him that I had promised to address the people of the Eighth Congressional District on the 30th of this month. I had left it to the Whig committee of the district to fix upon the place where the address should be delivered, and I understood they had agreed upon Weymouth Landing. But I could divide my address in two, and deliver part of it at one place and part at another; and if he would see Mr. Francis Hilliard, of Roxbury, Mr. Brigham, of this town, Minott Thayer, of Braintree, or Thomas Loring, of Hingham, and could make an arrangement with them, I would go to North Bridgewater at any one or two days before or after the meeting at Weymouth Landing.

Dr. Nathaniel Miller, of Franklin, came also, to enquire if I could not visit that town, or that part of the county, where, he said, the Liberty party were extremely busy and courting favor with the Democracy. He made some enquiries about the deputation from that party which visited me, and particularly about M. M. Fisher, of Medway. At their Convention at Dedham there were fifty-five votes taken, of which there were thirty-six for Appleton Howe, fourteen for me, and five for this Mr. Fisher. Their Presidential candidate, James G. Birney, has come to Boston to electioneer for himself. He has been nominated by a Convention of Democrats at Saginaw, in the State of Michigan, as a member of the State Legislature, and is throwing off his mask and still trying to hide his face behind it. This coalition, secretly concerted, and just now coming out in its true colors, will certainly break down the election in this Eighth District for the next Congress. I hope I may not take it too much at heart, but that it will prepare me for retirement for the rest of my days.

19th. I received this morning a letter from John P. Kennedy, of Baltimore, thanking me for my exposure of that infamous fraud concocted by Andrew Jackson, George W. Erving, Aaron Vail Brown, and Charles J. Ingersoll, with the two Lewises and other understrappers, for the destruction of my character, and to accomplish the annexation of Texas and a fourth part of Mexico to the United States; but he gives me warning that I shall have the whole swarm of hornets upon me, and I must make up my mind to meet them.

In the progress of my address to my constituents, I am now coming to the encounter with the deepest, the cunningest, and the foulest rascal of them all. With the bold, dashing, base, and utterly baseless lies of Andrew Jackson I shall have not much trouble, and no danger but of assassination, not by him, but by one or another of his bloodhounds. With George W. Erving I shall have easy work if I can get hold of him, for his revelations have not yet been made public, and I only know that the statements drawn from them by Jackson, Brown, and Ingersoll are all equally false. Brown's note upon Jackson's letter is of itself enough to demolish him; he can never get over it. Ingersoll's falsehoods are more cautiously covered and more dexterously combined. There is cunning as well as impudence in his publishing his report as the report of the Committee of Foreign Affairs, although they rejected it. The mountebank mock-solemnity with which he announces the revelation of George W. Erving to Jackson may not perhaps be so easy to turn into ridicule; nor will it be so light a task to unravel his web of sophistry and chicanery woven from Erving's sleazy threads, as to untie the coarse and clumsy knots of Jackson and Brown. To an impartial jury I should have but a plain tale to tell, and the whole fabric of knavery would fall to pieces; but with prejudice, faction, false popularity, and unbridled profligacy, what will be the event? The odds are fearful. May God defend the right!

21st. Mr. Bryant, the Chairman of the Whig Club at North Bridgewater, came again, and I agreed with him to go there and address the people at ten o'clock in the morning, rain, snow, or shine, on Wednesday, the 6th of next month. I am

to go to Bennett's Hotel, and must be there by nine in the morning.

While he was here, Mr. C. C. P. Waterman, of Sandwich, on Cape Cod, came with an invitation from Zenas R. Hinckley and five others, a committee of the Whigs of that town, to meet and address them when it will best suit my convenience. I was obliged to decline this, having undertaken already more than I fear I shall be able to perform; that is, to address my constituents twice, at two different places, before I go to Washington, and before the approaching election.

I have also received written invitations from W. D. Ely, Corresponding Secretary of the Young Men's Institute at Hartford, Connecticut, to open a course of lectures for the winter for them there, in a letter of 8th October, transmitted to me with one of 17th October from Boston, from John P. Putnam; from H. S. McCall, Chairman of the Lecture Committee of the Young Men's Association at Albany, to address them on my way to Washington, about the middle of November; from Charles A. Stetson and four others, who have resolved upon a public celebration in aid of the funds of the Washington Monument Association in New York on the 25th November next. They say the occasion will be one of peculiar interest, and my presence and participation in the ceremonies are earnestly and respectfully solicited. These, with multitudes of others of little comparative interest, remain unanswered.

22d. In my address to the Young Men's Whig Club at Boston, I alluded to an incident in the Roman history merely from memory; and, in my extreme hurry, I hazarded it without verifying it by recurrence to Rollin or Livy. After the delivery of the discourse, I have felt a desire to verify my recollection of the facts, and asked Walter Hellen and Mary Louisa to look it up in Rollin. I found it myself this morning, first in Rollin, and afterwards in Livy, iii. 71. The event occurred in the 309th year ab urbe condita, at the close of a war with the Æqui and Volsci. The dispute was between the Ardeates and Aricini, and the people were wheedled into the judgment by an old soldier, eighty-three years of age, named Scaptius, who started up in the assembly of the people and declared that he would

not suffer his country to be cheated out of her property; that he himself had fought in the battle when that same territory was taken, and would not without remonstrance see it taken away. The people and their Tribunes took fire. The Consuls and Senators struggled in vain to shame them out of their self-degradation in adjudicating the territory to themselves. Scaptius and the Tribunes prevailed, and the territory was re-annexed.

This consultation of Livy was a temptation to dally with time to commune with him further; but I broke away from him, and wrote four pages of my proposed address, besides the journal of yesterday.

24th. I saw Sirius again, about five minutes risen. He rose, as near as I can estimate, ten minutes before five. The morning was very chilly. The sun rose perfectly clear, and his southern strides are now visible from one day to another. The pressure upon my time and nerves is indescribable.

Mr. S. T. Armstrong has been one of the truest friends that I have met with in this world. He came out from Boston this morning to invite me to dine with him—which I engaged to do this day fortnight, the 7th of November. He was present and heard my address to the Young Men's Whig Club at Boston. He retains more of any discourse of mine that he hears than any other person. He told me this day that he had never before heard that the value of amber was increased by the preservation of insects in it. I found the fact stated in Rees's Encyclopædia.

This afternoon Miss Catherine Thaxter called here, with a cousin of hers, apparently of a later generation, whom she introduced as Miss Susan Thaxter. Catherine spoke of my father and mother, and said she was here at the fiftieth anniversary of their marriage, which was of course the 25th of October, 1814, and she well remembered hearing my father say then to my mother that he loved her as dearly as he did on the wedding-day.

The Rev. Jonas Perkins, minister of the church in Braintree, at the Weymouth Landing, called towards evening. There is the place where, on the 17th of September, 1842, I addressed my constituents of the then Tenth District; and there is the

place where I am to address next Wednesday my constituents of the present Eighth District. As the performance is to be introduced by a religious invocation, Mr. Perkins asked me if I should have any objection to that solemnity being performed by Mr. Thomas Williams, of Providence, who was here a few days since.

I said, none, if it would be agreeable to Mr. Perkins himself. He said Mr. Williams had expressed to him his wish to officiate, and he was willing to gratify him. I requested Mr. Perkins, if he should on his way home pass by Mr. Minott Thayer's house, to call on him and say that I was grateful to him for his kind invitation to dinner on that day, but that I should be obliged to return home to dine, and that I begged him not to be at any expense for entertaining any company on that day. My feelings are very different at the prospect of this meeting from what they were on that occasion. All is now gloomy and discouraging, with a double opposition before me, and all but a certainty of failing to carry the election.

25th. My only interruption of a visitor this day was Mr. Lunt, who brought me a letter from the Rev. C. Briggs, inviting me to deliver a lecture at the opening of the Lyceum in Roxbury, two or three weeks hence. I have not time even to answer the invitation, and have numbers of unanswered invitations before me. But I wrote this day the journal of yesterday and four pages of the address for next Wednesday at Braintree. This hurried composition, however, has so pernicious an effect upon the style that my heart sinks within me at the thought of what I am going to deliver, and my only hope is in striking out about half of what I have written.

About half an hour before dinner, I took a walk round the garden, nursery, and orchard, looking into the seminary. The desolation of the season cast a gloom on my spirits. The fruit has been gathered from all the trees, except one bearing quince-tree on the borders of the pond. The ground is strewn with sere red and yellow leaves; it is wet, and gathered in clods. Kirk has taken up a number of my seedlings, and cut down others. Most of the large trees are mere stems, stripped of all their leaves. I hastened in from this prospect

to dinner. Again, as the sun went down, I walked up the hill to Charles's house, to see the sunset. But, although it was not quite five o'clock, the sun was already behind Mount Ararat. I went further over the hill, and surveyed the village, the surrounding country, the harbor and bay of Boston, the State-House of Boston itself, and the shaft of the Bunker Hill monument; and memory returned to the fact that this day eighty years ago my father and mother were united in marriage. What an "*ordo sæculorum*" commenced for me from that day! What was then the condition of the people who constituted the town of Braintree? What is the condition of the people of the three towns of Quincy, Braintree, and Randolph now? And what will be the condition of the occupiers of the soil of these three towns in eighty years from this day? The recollection of the past is pleasing and melancholy; the prospect of the future—oh, how gloomy it is! Not a soul now lives who was then in the bloom of life. Not a soul now living will be here in 1924. My own term—how soon it will close! And to whom will all this belong in eighty years from this day? Will prayer to God preserve the branches and shoots from my father's stock? What a phantasmagoria is human life!

26th. Mr. Loring was here this morning, alarmed at the double opposition of the Democracy and the Liberty party: each playing into the other's hands to defeat my election; each holding up an ex-Senator from the county of Norfolk in the State Legislature against me; neither expecting to elect their own candidate, but purposely combining to exclude me. I have no doubt of their success, and only ask to meet the exigency with a proper spirit. Leavitt, in the *Morning Chronicle*, hints that the object of the Liberty party in defeating my election is to force me upon the Legislature as a candidate for the Senate, and then to give a chance for Appleton Howe's election as the member for the district. The electioneering of the Liberty party, from Birney, their head, down, is more knavish than that of either of the others.

Mr. John Belcher, of Randolph, came, and said he was deputed by the Whigs of that place to invite me to visit and address them—which I told him would, much to my regret, be

impossible. He said they had no hopes of carrying a majority for me in that town, but would do what they could.

28th. Of the letters that I received this day, there was one from Abbott Lawrence, enclosing two to him from David S. Brown and Charles W. Churchman, both of Philadelphia—Brown is a Quaker—both dated the 24th, stating that Daniel L. Miller, Junr., a respectable young Quaker, and also abolitionist, would write me that same day a letter of enquiries about Polk, and Clay, and Texas, and entreating Mr. Lawrence to urge me to answer Miller's enquiries, because many Quaker and abolition votes would depend upon my answer.

By the same mail there came to myself a letter from Joseph R. Chandler, Charles Gibbons, President of the National Clay Club, A. J. Lewis, Nathan Sargent, and Charles W. Churchman, notifying me of this letter of enquiries from Daniel L. Miller, Junr., and urging me to answer it. Then two letters from Miller, both of the same date, one giving me notice of the other, which contains three questions for my opinion: 1. Whether the election of H. Clay would defeat the Texas annexation. 2. Whether the election of Polk would insure it. 3. Whether the annexation of Texas would advance or retard the abolition of slavery. I wrote a joking answer, but know not how he will take it. I could not with propriety write any other. It is curious how the polecat rascals work upon the Quakers, and to what base uses electioneering is turned. All the rest of this day, and until eleven at night, I was writing upon my address for next Wednesday. I want another week to finish it, as a new draft. It will now be a thing of shreds and patches, of which I am heart-sick.

29th. A soft, damp, clammy state of the atmosphere, still covered with murky clouds, till, as the night darkened, the stars of the western horizon first appeared, and, before I retired to bed, at eleven P.M., the sky was clear, and the waning moon was bright. What small incidents cheer or depress the spirits! I was fretting all day with the terror of a similar day to-morrow, and the prospect of having to go to Braintree through floods of rain and then deliver the address to empty walls. The brightening sky, as I closed the writing of my

address, was delicious—a promise of a fair day to-morrow; and I found, upon a review, that the new introductory, written since I finished the first draft last Saturday, with the last half of that draft, would make a sufficiently well-compacted discourse for a delivery of two full hours; and I was at my ease. But nothing less than the incessant toil of writing, from the day after I addressed the Young Whigs of Boston, could have produced this result. Though often called to extemporize, I never do it with any satisfaction to myself.

This morning, as the floods of rain were falling, a young man named Seymour came, on horseback, from Boston, where he had arrived by the night passage from New York. He brought me a letter from J. R. S. Van Vleet, Chairman of the committee of arrangements of the Whigs of New York, who are to have another great procession of trades to-morrow, among which will be the printers, and they want me to write a short address to the people, which they may print, with my name, while they are moving. I told this young man it was impossible, being engaged day and night in preparing an address to be delivered to the people of my own district to-morrow. He asked for a written answer, but I thought a verbal one sufficient. The poor young man said he was very unwell, and had not slept last night. I pitied him.

30th. I rose with gratitude for the clear, blue sky, and saw the sun rise from my son's house on the hill. The meeting was announced for half-past ten. There was a procession formed to meet me at Mr. Thayer's house and escort me to the meeting-house, with a small musical band; and Major Thomas Adams, of Quincy, was the marshal. But the procession assembled slowly, and it was past eleven before they came. I marched between Mr. Thayer and Mr. Francis Hilliard. There was a stand on a platform in front of the pulpit, with a large folio Bible upon it, and upon that Bible I read my address. The choir, in the organ loft, sang the hymn *America*. The Rev. Thomas Williams read the chapter, 1 Samuel xii., five verses, and made a short prayer. Mr. Francis Hilliard, Chairman of the District Whig Committee, announced me as about to address the meeting—which I did for two hours and a quarter;

after which Mr. Hilliard announced that there would be another meeting at the same place at half-past three in the afternoon, but that I should not be present. My address was well received. The house was not filled. The Democracy had stretched a Polk-and-Dallas flag across the way, under which the procession was to pass; but the wind blew it down. We got home at half-past two, well satisfied and grateful for the day.

BOSTON, *November 2d.*—I visited Mr. Robert C. Winthrop, and had a long conversation with him respecting his relative, George W. Erving, his base treatment of me, and my public notices of him. I told Mr. Winthrop that when, before the close of the session of Congress, he gave me Charles J. Ingersoll's view of the Texas question, and I observed to him my astonishment at the disclosure of Erving's conduct, never having, in the course of forty years' acquaintance, given him the slightest cause of offence, but having even named him to Mr. Monroe as a candidate for the mission to France, and Winthrop said he would communicate to Mr. Erving what I said, I did purposely intend to give Mr. Erving time to offer any explanation or apology to me, which the occasion required, to repair the wrong he had done me. He has not done it. By the letter to Winthrop, from which he read me lately an extract, he expresses his regret at having assailed me; admits that I had given him no cause for it, and says that Jackson had gone far beyond anything that he had said to him would warrant. But he had offered neither excuse, apology, nor explanation to me, and in handling him as I have been compelled to do, I have acted with extreme reluctance. I assured Mr. Winthrop, also, that my son would countenance no design or attempt to place him in competition with him, and that he would have my best wishes for his continuance in his present station as long as it would be agreeable to him, and for his promotion to any other office of higher dignity and importance. He expressed much gratification at these assurances, but said he had determined not to serve in Congress after this next election.

My next call was at the Atlas office, where Mr. Hayden returned me the manuscript of my address at Braintree. It

is published at full length in the Atlas of this morning—five columns, small type. By these two addresses to the Young Men's Whig Club at Boston, and to my constituents of the Eighth Congressional District, I have put myself upon trial by God and my country. May God be my judge!

QUINCY, 5th.—I received from Nashville, Tennessee, a newspaper containing Andrew Jackson's first answer to my address to the young men of Boston. He is in great fury, but totally abandons the charge of the Erving treaty. I had been all the morning commenting upon James K. Polk's letter declaring his opinion in favor of the immediate annexation of Texas, in which he assails me directly by name; and the remainder of the day and evening, till eleven at night, I was absorbed in writing a reply to Jackson's letter to Robert Armstrong. The paper was enclosed to me by Boyd McNairy. Jackson denies positively that he ever advised the acceptance of the Sabine for the western boundary. Whether he equivocates upon the word *advised*, or has totally forgotten his interview with me of 2d and 3d February, 1819? The memory of violent men is always the slave of their passions. Jackson pledges himself to answer my charge further as soon as he can procure the Erving manuscripts from Washington.

6th. I added this morning one page to my notice of Andrew Jackson's first answer to my summons in the address to the young men of Boston. I sent Kirk, with my compliments, to Mr. Lunt, and invited him to go with me to North Bridgewater; which he accepted. I took him up at his house at eight o'clock, and we rode through Braintree, West Randolph, and a corner of Stoughton, to North Bridgewater, twelve miles. At West Randolph, about half-way, we were met by a cavalcade of about one hundred men, the leader of whom came up to the carriage, accosted me by name, and announced that they were citizens of Norfolk, Bristol, and Plymouth Counties, who had come to escort me to the place of meeting; for which I returned to them my cordial thanks. They accordingly formed a line, and preceded the carriage to Bennet's Tavern, at North Bridgewater. Here I found Mr. Bryant, the Chairman of the Whig committee who had invited me, with a great crowd of

respectable-looking persons from all the neighboring towns, of whom those named in the margin¹ were, with Thomas French, of Canton, nearly all whom I had before known. Many were introduced to me, among whom several warriors of the Revolution, with war-worn and time-worn faces and forms. At half-past ten a procession was formed, preceded by a band of martial music, and we marched to the meeting-house. Mr. Seth Sprague, Junr., of Duxbury, presided. They began with a hymn. The reverend pastor of the church made a prayer. Mr. Sprague read a written paper complimentary to me, and introduced me. From a quarter-past eleven to half-past one I read from the pulpit, with my manuscripts on the Bible, my address, which was listened to with close attention, and well received. Mr. Phillips and Mr. Sprague read for me Jackson's letter to Armstrong, and other newspaper extracts. There was sung another hymn. An afternoon meeting at half-past two, at which Mr. Phillips was to speak, was announced, and we adjourned to a frugal and temperate dinner at the inn; immediately after which I returned to Quincy.

BOSTON, 7th.—I called at my son's office, and learnt that there is a second letter from Andrew Jackson in answer to my address to the young men of Boston. This last is addressed to Blair, the editor of the *Globe*, and calls upon him for help in this controversy. There was great agitation in the streets, especially in State Street, on the opposite sides of which are the *Atlas* and *Times* newspaper offices, before the doors of which crowds were collected, awaiting the election returns from New York. They were then highly favorable to the Whig party. At four o'clock we went and dined at Mr. Samuel T. Armstrong's. There was a very numerous Democratic torch-light procession this evening, who visited the dwelling-house of Mr. George Bancroft, the Democratic candidate for the office of Governor of the Commonwealth. They were noisy, but not otherwise disorderly. Soon after ten I retired to bed, and about midnight was awaked by the firing of twenty-six guns—the *Io Triumphe* of the Democrats on receiving the election returns from Albany.

¹ The names of seven persons in the margin.

8th. I understood the meaning of the guns fired last night on receipt of the election returns from the western counties of New York by the train of cars from Albany. They settle the Presidential election, and James K. Polk, of Tennessee, is to be President of the United States for four years from the 4th of March, 1845. What the further events of this issue may be is not clear, but it will be the signal for my retirement from public life. It is the victory of the slavery element in the constitution of the United States. Providence, I trust, intends it for wise purposes, and will direct it to good ends. From the sphere of public action I must, at all events, very soon be removed. My removal now is but a few days in advance of the doom of nature, and gives me time, if I have energy to improve it, which will not be lost.

I called this morning on Dr. Frothingham, and, just before reaching his door, met Mr. Isaac P. Davis, who accosted me with grievous lamentation over the lost hopes of the election. With Dr. Frothingham I examined and we construed the whole sixteenth elegy of the second book of Propertius, and we found that there is extant in English a translation in verse of this author, published in 1782, without the name of the translator.

I called on Judge Davis, who condoled with me on the loss of the Presidential election; and also that in the list of stars in Rees's Encyclopædia, *Canopus* is omitted. The Judge thinks also that in Professor Williams's account of their expedition to observe the solar eclipse of 1780, the star which they saw, and which he calls *Lucida Lyræ*, was in truth *Arcturus*.

9th. There was an immense meeting of Whigs last evening in Faneuil Hall, in Boston. Daniel Webster was there, and made a speech commencing with "What though the field be lost; all is not lost," etc. The depression and despondency of the Whig party at the issue of the Presidential election in the State of New York is beyond all example or precedent. I spent the evening in folding up copies of my two addresses to my constituents at Braintree and at North Bridgewater, and in reflecting upon the duty that will now devolve upon me, to retire for the short remainder of my days from public life

altogether. There are still duties enough to occupy the rest of my time, and to prepare me for my closing scene.

QUINCY, 11th.—Thick fog in the morning, thunder and lightning with a sprinkling of rain in the afternoon. Evening, calm, moderate, damp, cloudy. It was the day of election for Electors of President and Vice-President of the United States; for Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, Senators, and Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and for members of the House of Representatives of the United States in the Twenty-Ninth Congress. For this last office I was the candidate nominated by the Whigs, with two opponent nominations—Isaac H. Wright, of Roxbury, by the Democrats, and Appleton Howe, of Weymouth, by the Liberty party. I passed the day under a scarcely doubting anticipation of the failure of my own election. Just before noon I went to the Town-House, where I tore off my own name from the Whig ticket, and deposited the remainder in the ballot-box. I gave my own name, which I had torn off, to Harvey Field, at his request.

In the evening E. Price Greenleaf came in, with a report of the election returns from the adjoining towns of Braintree, Randolph, and Hingham—more favorable, on the whole, than I had expected, yet not enough so wholly to resolve my doubts.

I wrote in the evening a letter to Edward Everett, to enclose those of J. S. Freeman; and one to Erastus C. Benedict, Secretary of the New York Historical Society, accepting their invitation to attend their fortieth anniversary meeting on the 20th. I wasted no small portion of this day in searching for Andrew Jackson's answers to my invitations to him to dine with me in January and March, 1819, and found two of them. He denies having had any communication with me in 1819.

12th. The following is the copy of the Whig ticket voted for yesterday at Quincy, and for which I voted, after tearing from it my own name and pinning to the remnant of the paper the strip bearing the name of Samuel Curtis:

WHIG TICKET.

For Governor of Massachusetts,
George N. Briggs.

For Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts,
John Reed.

For Presidential Electors.
Electors at Large,
Abbott Lawrence, of Boston.
Lewis Strong, of Northampton.

District Electors,
No. 1. Nathan Appleton, of Boston.
No. 2. John Perry Allen, of Manchester.
No. 3. Homer Bartlett, of Lowell.
No. 4. Abraham R. Thompson, of Charlestown.
No. 5. Charles Allen, of Worcester.
No. 6. William B. Calhoun, of Springfield.
No. 7. Chauncy B. Rising, of Worthington.
No. 8. Elijah Vose, of Dorchester.
No. 9. William Baylies, of West Bridgewater.
No. 10. Seth Crowell, of Dennis.

For Senators from Norfolk County,
Benjamin F. Copeland, of Roxbury.
Luther Metcalf, of Medway.
Joseph Richards, of Braintree.

For Representative in Congress from District No. 8,
John Quincy Adams, of Quincy.

For Representative to General Court,
Samuel Curtis.

The practice is for each voter to put into the ballot-box the whole printed ticket; but every individual strikes out or effaces any name for which he chooses not to vote, and substitutes another name in its place. Candidates usually strike out their own names, but not always. There is no law authorizing the rejection of any man's vote for himself. The majority in the town of Quincy at the autumnal elections has been for several years Democratic, consisting of transient stone-cutters from New Hampshire. There were taken yesterday seven hundred and nineteen votes. Of the returns, I only know that there were three hundred and forty-five for me; not a majority of the whole.

The Boston Atlas and Courier of this morning did not come by the regular mail, but I received a Courier under a blank cover. My son came out from Boston with the Atlas, which has the returns from the whole Commonwealth except six towns. The Whig ticket has been sweepingly successful. The vote in the Eighth Congressional District is eight thousand and forty-one for me; five thousand three hundred and twenty-two for Wright; eight hundred and fifty for Howe and all others. A result which I dared not expect, and upon which I dare not attempt to express my feelings.

BOSTON, 13th.—At noon I called on Dr. N. L. Frothingham, and passed an hour with him examining his *Propertius*—Burman's edition—the best extant. My edition, Baskerville's quarto, has nothing but the text, and the passage quoted in G. W. Erving's letter is in the twentieth elegy of the second book; in Burman's edition it is the sixteenth. But we found no explanation of the difference. The Doctor asked me what had so much excited the attention of my mind to this passage of *Propertius*. I told him it was the quotation of it in G. W. Erving's letter, and its whimsical connection of it with the Texas question, and with Erving's base and treacherous treatment of me.

Called at Judge John Davis's. He asked me to go with him this evening to the Wednesday Evening Club, of which I was a member in 1790, and again in 1802 and until 1809; it was this evening at Dr. Francis Parkman's, and I promised to go. Returning home, I directed Benjamin F. Andrews to go, at a quarter-before eight, with the carriage, and take up Judge Davis, in Milton Place, and come for me to Charles's house; which he did, and I spent the evening with the club at the Rev. Dr. Francis Parkman's. There were about thirty persons present, among whom five or six strangers. At half-past ten I took Judge Davis home, and then returned to my son's house. I found Judge Davis exceedingly gratified with my notice of the founders of the Plymouth Colony in my address at North Bridgewater.

14th. This morning I went astray in the library, and stumbled upon a *Museum Criticum*, or Cambridge Classical Re-

searches, in two 8vo volumes, 1826; and in the second volume, at page 140, I find a review of two articles—publications at Milan, by Angel May, of fragments of six orations of Cicero, inedited, found on Bobian palimpsest manuscripts, one passage from which I copy here as truly Ciceronian, *Pro Scauro*, p. 11: "Venio nunc ad testes; in quibus docebo non modo nullam fidem, et auctoritatem, sed ne speciem quidem esse aut imaginem. Testium et enim fidem primum ipsa tollit consensio quæ late facta est compromisso Sardorum, et conjuratione rogitata. Deinde illa cupiditas quæ suscepta est spe et promissione præmiorum. Postremo ipsa natio, cujus tanta vanitas est, ut libertatem a servitute nulla re alia, nisi mentiendi licentia, distinguendum putet." This definition of liberty is by no means confined to the ancient Sardians.

16th. I called at the office of the Boston Atlas, where Dr. Brewer gave me copies of the paper of 9th October, 1844, containing my address to the Young Men's Whig Club, at Boston, on the 7th. The address of 30th October, at Braintree, is in the Atlas of 2d November, and the address of 6th November, at North Bridgewater, in the Boston Courier of 9th November. These papers embrace my defence against the infamous conspiracy of Andrew Jackson, George W. Erving, Aaron Vail Brown, and Charles Jared Ingersoll. I have by design taken this mode of appealing to my constituents, to the world, and to posterity. My constituents have answered, and nobly vindicated my character. In the same district where, in 1842, I only received five thousand nine hundred and ninety-six votes, I have now received eight thousand and ninety-one; and where I had a majority of less than five hundred, I have now a majority exceeding nineteen hundred. The voice of the world and of posterity is yet to be heard.

Mr. Nathan Procter Smith, with his wife, three sons, of about twelve, ten, and seven, and a daughter, of nine, came to see me. That, he said, was all his object. He only wished that all his children should see me. He lives in Roxbury, the new part of the town, Eustis Street, and does business in Boston, in connection with the Great Western Railway. Of this class of visitors I have many, but do not feel myself much flattered by

their motives. "*Dulce est digito monstrari, et dicier hic est,*" says Juvenal; but it is pleasing only to vanity. The curiosity to see a person of great notoriety imports nothing favorable or friendly to him; it is mere selfish curiosity.

NEW YORK, 20th.—The visitors were so numerous, and the transactions of the day so various, that they left scarcely a distinct impression upon my mind of anything. Professor Mason, as Chairman of the committee of arrangements of the New York Historical Society, came early, and informed me of the arrangements for the day. A committee of five members of the Society, with Mr. W. Beach Lawrence, a Vice-President, came, and welcomed me to the city. An interlude of no small note was the friendly visit of Colonel Bankhead, to apprise me that Mr. Samuel L. Gouverneur was in possession of a letter from General Jackson fully approving the Florida Treaty. We dined at Bunker's at half-past three; and, at half-past four, carriages from the Society came, and took me, with Dr. John Codman, Rev. Alexander Young, and Rev. George E. Ellis, to the Astor House, where we took up Mr. Leverett Saltonstall and proceeded to the library-room of the University, where the meeting of the Historical Society was held, the President, Albert Gallatin, being in the chair. The numbers of the Society are unlimited, and the only business done was the admission, by an open vote, of sundry members, nominated at a previous meeting, and the nomination of sundry others, among whom was John Jacob Astor. The assembly was quite numerous, and thronged the spacious apartment. They then joined in a procession of carriages to the Church of the Messiah, of which Orville Dewey is the pastor, where an oration was delivered by John Romeyn Brodhead upon historical subjects. He has been agent of the State to collect documents relating to its history in England, France, and Holland; of which agency he gave an interesting account, interspersed with several passages of beautiful eloquence. The house is large, and was well filled. The discourse was preceded by a prayer by Rev. Dr. De Witt, of the Reformed Dutch Church. The closing benediction was by Dr. Codman.

From the church, between eight and nine o'clock, the Society

adjourned to the New York Hotel, where a magnificent dinner was prepared for three hundred persons. Mr. Gallatin had not gone to the church, but presided at the table for about an hour, and then retired before the speeches began. Mr. William Beach Lawrence presided the remainder of the evening. Mr. Luther Bradish, late Lieutenant-Governor of New York, toasted me—or roasted me—with a speech so fulsome that it upset all my philosophy, and I stammered a reply, the only palliation of which was its brevity. The speeches followed till some time past midnight, when I retired with my colleagues, Saltonstall, Young, and Ellis.

21st. Last evening Dr. Wainwright, who sat next to me at table, asked me if I was aware that Mr. Gouverneur possessed a letter from General Jackson to President Monroe fully approving the Florida Treaty in 1819. I said I was. He asked me if I had received the information from or through John A. Hamilton. I said I had not, but was not at liberty to tell him from whom I had received it. He said the reason of his asking me the last question was that there had been some days since a conversation upon the subject in the office of Mr. Hamilton. About eleven o'clock, while at table, I received a letter from Blakeman, M.D., enclosing an old Massachusetts pine-tree shilling, which he wished through me to present to the New York Historical Society. Dr. Blakeman was to me a total stranger, but, after consultation with Mr. Lawrence and Dr. Wainwright, I presented the shilling, and gave a brief summary history of the coinage of 1652; and I took occasion to pay a tribute of respect to Albert Gallatin, which I had forgotten to do when up before.

This morning Mr. Gouverneur called on me at eight, and told me that he had, according to his recollection, a letter from General Jackson to President Monroe, written at New York in February, 1819, and speaking of the Florida Treaty as universally approved; a confidential letter from W. L. L. Brent to Mr. Monroe, entreating him to place no confidence in and trust nothing to George W. Erving; and a letter from Thomas Jefferson to Mr. Monroe, speaking lightly of the French claim

west of the Mississippi. He promised to communicate these papers to me on his return to Washington.

WASHINGTON, 25th.—I arrived here on Saturday evening, with a clear sky, bright moonlight, and the atmosphere of May rather than of November. Yesterday morning it was yet warm, but the wind came round to the northwest, and it was all day growing cold; and, as I was returning from church last evening between five and six o'clock, I saw the moon just risen, with the shadow of the earth already encroaching upon her disk. The eclipse was total, and lasted upwards of three hours; but the cold was so pinching that I could look at it only once or twice, and then less than five minutes at a time. This day has been of bright, clear, disqualifying cold. I unpacked my trunks, and immediately missed one or two articles, precisely those I wanted and left behind. It made a day of fruitless search and of wasted time.

I walked out for exercise, and at the National Intelligencer office saw Mr. Gales in deep distress at the issue, totally unexpected, of the Presidential election. He is in despair, and foresees that it must prove his irretrievable ruin. It has been accomplished by fraud through the slave-representation. The partial associations of Native Americans, Irish Catholics, abolition societies, Liberty party, the Pope of Rome, the Democracy of the sword, and the dotage of a ruffian, are sealing the fate of this nation, which nothing less than the interposition of Omnipotence can save.

I asked Mr. Gales to send me the Intelligencer from the 14th, which he did, and I sent him the Boston Atlas of 2d November and the Courier of 9th November, containing my addresses at Braintree and at North Bridgewater, which he had not read.

After I came home, Mr. Michael Nourse, a ruling elder of the Second Presbyterian Church, called on me, and enquired if I would consent to go as a delegate from that church and society to the Sabbath-Day Convention, to be held at Baltimore next Wednesday.

I said I should feel honored by the selection, but doubted whether it would be in my power to go. The meeting of the society was held at half-past four this afternoon; I did not

attend it; but in the evening the Rev. Mr. Knox and Mr. Nourse came as a committee from the meeting to inform me that I had been elected a delegate from the society to the Convention. I expressed my grateful sensibility for the honor conferred upon me, and promised to attend the Convention if it should be in my power. I know not if this acceptance be prudent, but, as an act of kindness to the society and a testimony of respect for the Sabbath, I believed it proper.

27th. At five I breakfasted, and rode to the depot of the train of cars for Baltimore. Met there the Rev. Dr. Laurie and Mr. Knox, whom I informed that, my wife being better, I had concluded to come to Baltimore and attend the Sabbath-Day Convention. At six we started, and at a quarter-past eight alighted at the depot in Baltimore. I walked to Barnum's Hotel and bespoke a bed-chamber. Met there Mr. Chambers, of Chambersburg, and Harmar Denny, of Pittsburg, and Mr. Newkirk, of Philadelphia, and sundry others, delegates to the Convention. At a quarter-before ten Mr. Knox called for me, and I went with him to the First Baptist Church, in Sharp Street, which we found filled with about twelve hundred delegates to the National Lord's-Day Convention. Mr. Hanmer, the minister of the church, moved that Judge Willard Hall, of Delaware, should be Chairman of the meeting to organize the Convention, which was voted by acclamation, and he took the chair. Two secretaries were chosen, and a committee of five, Bishop Waugh, Dr. Bond, Mr. Stilman, Mr. Atwood, and Mr. Gideon, were appointed to submit officers and rules for the government of the Convention.

While they were out, Mr. Powell, of Philadelphia, was requested to address the meeting—which, notwithstanding some objections, he did. The committee soon came in, and reported John Quincy Adams, President; seven Vice-Presidents—1, Willard Hall; 2, Theodore Frelinghuysen; 3, Dr. Nott; 4, Bishop Waugh; 5, J. A. Brown; 6, H. V. D. Johns; 7, J. J. Kingsford—and four Secretaries, Harmar Denny, C. W. Ridgely, C. C. Davis, and T. Stilman, which nominations were approved by a unanimous vote.

I took the chair, and made a very brief address to the Con-

vention, and the Committee on Officers and Rules made a supplementary report of eight rules; the first of which was that the Convention should meet at nine A.M., sit till one P.M., adjourn till three P.M., adjourn at five, and meet again at seven P.M. There was some discussion whether the question should be taken upon all the rules at once, or upon each rule separately. After some debate, a motion was made to take one question upon all the rules; which was carried, by a large majority, and they were adopted with only two or three dissenting votes.

There was much discussion about a roll-call of the members, and, after an attempt to read over the names, which it was found would consume more time than the Convention could spare, a committee of enrolment was appointed, to whom all members having credentials were ordered to present them; and members having no credentials were to be accredited upon their own declaration.

A letter from T. Frelinghuysen was read, regretting his inability to attend the Convention; whereupon James Clarke was appointed Second Vice-President in his place. Bishop Waugh, Methodist, read a letter addressed to the Convention with enclosed papers; but a committee had been appointed to report the business to be acted upon by the Convention; and a rule required that all communications addressed to the Convention should be referred to the Business Committee. They reported seven resolutions; the first of which was a general one, averring it the duty of all men to remember the Sabbath and keep it holy. This started a snarling debate. Mr. Lemmon, a delegate from Baltimore, and Mr. Magruder, of Virginia, insisted that the Sabbath, being an abrogated Jewish institution, (was) in no wise binding upon Christians.

This was in substance nothing more than an objection to the use of the word Sabbath instead of the Lord's Day; but they misunderstood it as an infidel attempt to break up the Convention itself. Attempts were made to silence Mr. Lemmon and Mr. Magruder. They were repeatedly called to order. Magruder was loudly hissed, and there were numerous calls to turn him out.

I maintained them both in their right to speak until they

were heard through. A motion was made to lay Mr. Lemmon's amendment on the table, and question made whether that motion was debatable. I decided that it was, there being no rule to the contrary. It was accordingly warmly debated till the time for adjournment, immediately before which the question was taken, and Mr. Lemmon's amendment was laid on the table by an apparently unanimous vote.

At one o'clock the Convention adjourned till three. As we were retiring, Mr. Lemmon put into my hand a printed paper, headed "Report for the Lord's-Day Convention." I had forgotten, in packing up my valise, to put in it a pen—which reminded me of "*La gageure imprévue*." I stopped at a shop and purchased a paper of barrel steel pens. At Barnum's they had dinner at half-past two. I found myself seated by Lloyd M. Rogers, but was obliged to leave the table, dinner half over, to take the chair of the Convention at three. The first and seven other resolutions offered by the Business Committee were now passed in quick succession by unanimous votes, before Messrs. Lemmon and Magruder came in. The Convention adjourned from five to seven, and sat again from seven to ten. The house crowded to its utmost capacity. Adjourned to nine to-morrow morning.

28th. Precisely at nine o'clock I took the chair of the Convention, of whom very few members were present. Bishop Waugh, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, made the prayer, kneeling. The Rev. Justin Edwards, Chairman of the Business Committee, presented successively a number of resolutions, all having reference to the observance of the Lord's Day, and three several addresses to the canal commissioners, to the directors of railroads, and to the people of the United States, all of which were read and adopted by the Convention without debate. Sundry members of the Convention offered separate resolutions, which were referred to the Business Committee, then reported by them with such modifications as they thought advisable, then read and adopted without opposition.

In this way, resolutions recommending to innkeepers to close their bar-rooms on Sundays, to the officers of the army exhorting them not to exact military service from the soldiers on

that day, and a recommendation to the ministers of the gospel to preach a sermon once every year urging the faithful observances of the day, (were disposed of), and there was a resolution expressing the regret of the Convention that Congress should, within the last few years, repeatedly have transacted public business on Sunday.

As the essential business of the Convention was done, I resolved to return home this evening; and, thinking it fair to leave Judge Hall a turn to preside, I took leave of the Convention before adjourning at one o'clock; upon which they passed a vote of thanks. I dined at Barnum's, excused myself to J. P. Kennedy, who had invited me to dine with him to-morrow, took the cars to Washington at five, found Benjamin at the depot, and walked home.

December 2d. Precisely at noon, John W. Jones, Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States, took the chair, and called the House to order. The roll was then called, and one hundred and seventy-five members answered to their names. Seven new members, elected to supply vacancies, were sworn in. George W. Hopkins moved a message to the Senate, to inform them that the House was ready for business, and Cave Johnson moved a joint committee to inform the President that the two Houses were assembled, and ready to receive any communication he may be pleased to make to them. The Senate concurred by a corresponding message. The members of the committee on the part of the House were Cave Johnson and Joseph R. Ingersoll. Isaac E. Holmes, of Charleston, South Carolina, moved the immediate appointment of a Chaplain. The Speaker told him there must first be a joint resolution for the appointment of two Chaplains, of different denominations, one by each House, to interchange weekly. He then moved the usual resolution.

John Pettit, of Indiana, moved an amendment, provided that the Chaplains should be paid by voluntary contribution of the members, without charge upon the people, and said he had prepared a subscription paper, and put down his own name for five dollars; and if any one would give more, he would engage to double any such increased subscription; and then he made

a stump-speech. McConnell moved the previous question. McKay said there was a law authorizing appropriations to pay for Chaplains, and Steenrod said the appropriation for the present session was already made. The Speaker said these objections came too late. Pettit's amendment was rejected by yeas and nays. Holmes's resolution was adopted without call for yeas and nays. I gave notice that I should to-morrow move a resolution to rescind the twenty-fifth rule, which excludes the reception of abolition petitions. Dromgoolle said my motion was not in order; but it was entered on the journal. Giddings thought they would trip me up on the point of order, and thought it would be necessary to move an amendment of the rules; but I assured him that "rescind" was the word.

3d. Last evening General Parker, Chief Clerk of the War Department, called and spent an hour with me. I showed him the note from General Jackson of 25th January, 1819, declining our invitation of him and his family to dinner; and asked him if he knew in whose handwriting it was. He said it was Colonel Robert Butler's. The note accepting the invitation to dine on the 4th of March, 1819, is in another hand—not Jackson's. Parker said he should know it if he could see it. But it is mislaid; I know not whether here or at Quincy.

At the meeting of the House this day, Cave Johnson, from the joint committee to wait on the President, reported that they had performed that service, and the President had informed them that he would make a communication to Congress at twelve o'clock this day. R. M. Saunders moved the appointment of the standing committees; which was agreed to. In pursuance of the notice I had given yesterday, I moved the following resolution: "Resolved, That the twenty-fifth standing rule for conducting business in this House, in the following words, 'No petition, memorial, resolution, or other paper praying the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia or any State or Territory, or the slave-trade between the States or Territories in which it now exists, shall be received by this House, or entertained in any way whatever,' be, and the same is hereby, rescinded." I called for the yeas and nays. Jacob Thompson, of Mississippi, moved to lay the resolution on the

table. I called for the yeas and nays on that motion. As the Clerk was about to begin the call, the President's message was announced and received. A member called for the reading of the message. I said I hoped the question upon my resolution would be taken. The Clerk called the roll, and the motion to lay on the table was rejected—eighty-one to one hundred and four. The question was then put on the resolution; and it was carried—one hundred and eight to eighty. Blessed, forever blessed, be the name of God!¹

The President's message was immediately afterwards read, and some debate followed how to dispose of it; referred to the committee of the whole on the state of the Union, and ten thousand copies of it to be printed. After some miscellaneous business, about three, the House adjourned.

5th. I had a morning visit from Robert Owen, of Lanark, a man with whom I first became acquainted in London, in 1817—a speculative, scheming, mischievous man. He had then succeeded in accumulating a large fortune by forming a community at Lanark, in Scotland, consisting of poor laborers, but who were said to prosper into competency and affluence and contentment, while they made his fortune. But he was ambitious of working his system upon a larger scale; and he came to this country full of the scheme of new-modelling human society. He formed an establishment in the State of Indiana, named New Harmony, and delivered discourses on the new organization of society, and trumpeted abroad his Utopia, till it fell into ruin. His establishment was left a wreck, and he went back to his own country, to practise dupery again there.

Robert Owen and Fanny Wright have now come again to this country, and he apparently as crafty crazy as ever. He said he wanted to have a long interview with me; and I promised to receive him any morning from ten to twelve.

At the War Department I compared the handwriting of General Jackson's note accepting my invitation to dine on the 4th of March, 1819, with that of a letter from him to the Secretary of War of 1st February, 1819, and they appeared

¹ This was the third and last of the triumphs of Mr. Adams in his difficult career in the House of Representatives.

to be the same. Mr. Elliot was here this evening, and gave me a list of Whigs and Democrats who voted for and against rescinding the twenty-fifth rule.

6th. Mr. Robert Owen came again this morning, and mesmerized me for the space of an hour and a half with his lunacies about a new organization of society under the auspices of the two most powerful nations on the face of the globe—Great Britain on the Eastern and the United States on the Western Hemisphere. The materials, he says, are abundant, and the arrangements are all of simple and easy execution. He has prepared a plan in which all the details are set forth with the minutest accuracy. It is now in the hands of Mr. Pakenham, but he will ask him to return it, and will communicate it to me for my examination. It is a plan for universal education, for which the Smithsonian Fund may provide the means without interfering at all with my views. After the establishment of the system, there will be no war, and no such thing as poverty. Universal competency will be the lot of all mankind, and want will be unknown.

All this I had heard twenty-five years ago, and the humbug is too stale. His last departure from this country, he says, was in 1830, when, by his agency, General Jackson and Mr. Van Buren settled all the differences between this country and Great Britain. Since then he has been negotiating in Mexico, in Austria and Russia, and has been working five hours a day upon his great plan, which he has now brought to maturity.

I asked him if he was acquainted with the Fourier plan of a community. He said yes, and personally with the man; he was no more than a clerk in a merchant's counting-house, ingenious and fanciful, without experience of the world or knowledge of mankind.

Dr. Mayo was here, and told me that *he* meant to answer Andrew Jackson's indirect attack upon him about the letter to Fulton in his imploring letter to Blair, the editor of the *Globe*. Mayo had not seen my reply to Jackson's letter to Armstrong in the North Bridgewater address. I gave him a copy of the *Boston Courier* containing it. He said that Jackson was the greatest liar that this country had ever produced,

and that the committee on the Fulton claim had proved it upon him.

7th. Mr. Patterson, member of the House from Rochester, New York, called, and urged me very earnestly to come out with a severe declaration in the House against the Liberty-party abolitionists. I distrust very much the advice of Mr. Patterson. I told him I thought the Liberty party had taken the most effectual means to demolish themselves, and, as they had repelled and denounced me, it would have an appearance of private and personal resentment if I should retort upon them; they had done all the mischief in their power; it is irreparable. There may be an occasion upon which I may without impropriety express my opinion of them; but I shall not seek it.

Among the letters that I received yesterday was one from New York, dated 4th December, the writer of which says that, conversing a few days since with Governor Poindexter at the Galt House in Louisville, he (Poindexter) said, the morning when Jackson had the interview with me concerning the Florida Treaty, he had been at Poindexter's room, and, on leaving it, said that it was to fulfil an engagement to meet me and Mr. Monroe on that subject. But it was to meet me, and not Mr. Monroe; and this is an anonymous letter.

9th. At the House, Mr. Tustin opened the day with a short, studied prayer. On the reading of the journal, the standing committees were announced. The Speaker has again appointed me Chairman of the Committee of Manufactures. Thomasson came and told me that he and another anti-Texas member of the Committee of Foreign Affairs at the last session had been removed, and that the committee now are Texas. The reading of the journal was no sooner finished than Hammett, of Mississippi, began to move a resolution for referring to a select committee so much of the President's message as relates to Texas. Dromgoole told him that he had a series of resolutions ready, to distribute to the several standing committees the various topics of the message, for which purpose he should move to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union. Cave Johnson in the chair.

Dromgoole presented ten resolutions, distributing the message to as many standing committees. Only one question was taken upon the whole series of resolutions, and they were adopted in a lump. Dromgoole then moved that the committee should rise and report; which was done, and the report was adopted without a word of debate. But, before passing Dromgoole's resolutions, the committee of the whole on the state of the Union had taken up Duncan's bill for holding the election of the Presidential Electors on one and the same day throughout the Union. This gave rise to a dull and tedious debate, chiefly raised by Elmer, Chairman of the Committee of Elections, of which the committee soon got tired, and laid the bill aside.

This evening Mr. Samuel Hoar called on me, and told me the particulars of his expulsion by mob violence from Charleston, South Carolina, where he had been sent as a commissioner to protect the personal rights of colored citizens of Massachusetts imprisoned under a slave law of the State. He barely escaped with life and limb. I approved the whole of his conduct, and advised him to see the other members of the delegation from Massachusetts before proceeding home.

10th. Mr. Robert Owen brought me this morning a small bound printed book, by himself, a second edition, London, 1841, entitled *A Development of the Principles and Plans on which to establish Self-Supporting Home Colonies*. He left it with me, and said he would call for it again to-morrow.

From the cursory glance at its contents which is all that I can bestow, I find it a new edition of his old exploded projects.

At the House, Giddings asked the Speaker what was the regular business of the day; and he answered, the call of the States for petitions. Giddings then called for the order of business, and the Speaker announced petitions in order from the State of Maine. There were none from Maine. One or two from New Hampshire. The call came at once upon Massachusetts. I had only three petitions to present: 1. From John P. Andrews, of Salem, for the promotion of universal peace; referred to the Committee of Foreign Affairs. 2. From Edward Jarvis and J. Wingate Thornton, committee of the

American Statistical Association—a memorial concerning the errors in the census of 1840. I moved its reference to the Committee of Statistics of the last session, if it still existed, and that it should be printed. The Speaker said that was a select committee only for the session, and did not now exist. I then moved the reference to a select committee of nine; which was adopted, but objection was made to the printing. Preston King called for its being read. The Clerk read about five minutes, till they tired and dispensed with the further reading. A motion was made to lay the motion to print on the table; carried—one hundred and one to seventy-nine.

3. Petition from A. B. Kingsland, and four other residents of the city of New York, for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. I moved its reference to the Committee on the District. Black, of Georgia, objected to its reception. Brown, of Indiana, moved to lay the objection on the table; lost, by yeas and nays—ninety to ninety-nine. Question on the reception of the petition—one hundred and seven to eighty-one. Tibbetts moved to lay the petition on the table; lost—eighty-eight to ninety-nine—and it was referred to the Committee on the District. Much matter for reflection on these proceedings. The call for petitions proceeded, till they came to Ohio; and when Giddings rose, a motion to adjourn was made and carried.

11th. Mr. Owen came again this morning for his book. I told him I had cursorily looked over as much of it as my time would allow; and that I had not been able to bring my mind to the approbation of his plan. He went over the same preamble that I had heard from him twenty-seven years ago in London, which he had afterwards crowded upon me year after year here, when I was Secretary of State, and President, and from which I have hoped, for the last fifteen years, that this country was forever delivered. He said he wanted his book now, but he would send it to me again to be examined and studied at my leisure; for it required profound study to understand it. It was to change the basis of human society, to put every individual of the human race in the proper place to

promote his own happiness; and needed only to be put into operation to accomplish its purpose.

At the House, Douglas, of Illinois, gave notice that he would, at an early day, move for leave to introduce a bill to establish a new Territory with a strange name. Houston, of Alabama, moved to suspend the rules to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union to take up the bill No. 2, reported at the last session, from the Committee on the Territories. Duncan insisted upon the preference to his bill for holding the election of Presidential Electors throughout the Union on one and the same day. Houston yielded the precedence.

The House went into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, and first took up Duncan's bill. Elmer and Hannibal Hamlin still nibbled at the bill, till Duncan proposed an entire substitute for his bill, accommodated to their projected amendments. It was adopted by the committee, and laid aside to be reported to the House; but Dromgoole was still dissatisfied, and offered another entire substitute of his own; which the Speaker decided came too late, but said it might be offered in the House.

Houston's bill for reducing and graduating the price of the public lands was then taken up. It proposes to authorize the sale of all the public lands which have been five years upon sale, for one dollar an acre; all that have been ten years upon sale, for seventy-five cents; all that have been fifteen years in the market, for fifty cents; and all that have been twenty years on hand, for twenty-five cents an acre. This bill was supported by Houston, by Sample, and John W. Davis, of Indiana; and opposed by Collamer, of Vermont, and by Vinton, of Ohio. It will break up the whole system of the sales of the public lands, and will give them away.

12th. Much of this morning was consumed in a fruitless search for the pamphlet statement of the proceedings in the United States Courts in the case of the *Amistad* negroes. There are numerous documents relating to that case essentially necessary, to oppose a bill and report from the Committee of Foreign Affairs at the last session of Congress, but which I have not now at hand.

At the House, Douglas, of Illinois, gave notice of a motion for the purchase of certain copies of Greenhow's History of Oregon, California, etc. The name of the new Territory which he proposes to establish is Nebraska. Levy, the delegate from Florida, obtained an order to print five thousand copies of the Constitution of Florida reported in 1839.

The call for petitions was resumed. Giddings presented successively seven abolition petitions, memorials, and resolutions, and objection was made to the reception of them all. Rhett, of South Carolina, enquired if the question of reception was debatable. The Speaker answered that it was; whereupon Rhett said he wished to debate it. They were all laid over accordingly one day for debate, except a memorial from Ash-tabula County for the abolition of the slave-representation; which was laid on the table, by yeas and nays—one hundred and thirty-five to fifty-one.

Augustus C. Dodge, delegate from the Territory of Iowa, presented a memorial asking admission into the Union, and a copy of their Constitution, which, after some discussion, was referred to the Committee on the Territories. The committees were called for reports, but the only one presented was by Charles J. Ingersoll, Chairman of the Committee of Foreign Affairs—a joint resolution for the annexation of Texas to the United States, in exactly the same words with a joint resolution presented two or three days since to the Senate, by George McDuffie, of South Carolina. The resolution was read twice, referred to the committee of the whole on the state of the Union, and Ingersoll gave notice that he should call it up for consideration on Monday, the 25th of this month. The annexation is to be a complete ratification of the treaty signed on the 12th of April last and rejected by the Senate.

Ingersoll moved also the printing of five thousand copies of the map of Texas; which was agreed to. Winthrop, who is a member of the Committee of Foreign Affairs, gave notice that the report of the committee was not unanimous, that no discussion of it had been allowed in the committee, and that all he could do was to protest against it as unconstitutional in form and substance and tending directly to the dissolution of the Union.

13th. At the House, the select committee on the memorial of the American Statistical Association, concerning the errors in the census of 1840, was announced—John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts, Robert Barnwell Rhett, of South Carolina, Kenneth Rayner, of North Carolina, William H. Stiles, of Georgia, William B. Maclay, of New York, Francis Brengle, of Maryland, Shepard Cary, of Maine, Caleb B. Smith, of Indiana, and Henry A. Foster, of New York. The Speaker laid before the House sundry communications from the President and the Executive Departments, and with them a set of condoling resolutions of the corporation of the city of New Orleans upon the catastrophe on board the steamer Princeton. They reminded me of the deputation from Troy to Tiberius, to condole with him on the death of his son, many months after the event, which he answered by condoling with them for the death of Hector.

Dr. Duncan called up his bill for holding the election of Electors of President and Vice-President on one and the same day throughout the Union. Dromgoole, and Campbell of South Carolina, and Rhett annoyed him with amendments, till he tried, but failed, to carry the previous question. Adjourned over to Monday.

15th. About sunrise this morning, the *Globe* of last evening was brought to me, containing the address of Aaron V. Brown "to the public at large, and to the constituents of the Hon. John Quincy Adams in particular." This is the third of the gang of conspirators who opened their batteries on me in the *Globe* of the 20th of March last, and whom I exposed in my addresses at Boston, Braintree, and North Bridgewater. The lion and his two jackals are now out. The first tool of Jackson, George W. Erving, is yet to be heard from. I must reply at leisure to them all. But the whole tissue of falsehood of Jackson's Erving treaty is abandoned, without an attempt to support it.

16th. This day a grate for burning Lehigh coal was put up in my writing-chamber, instead of the open hearth and chimney corner in which for the last six winters I have been in the practice of burning wood. Few persons can imagine how

gravely the comfort of my life is affected by this trivial incident of mere personal habitude. Seven months of the year, from the 1st of October to the last of April, I can write only by the side of a fire. For as long a time I need the convenience of a morning and evening lamp—from six to eight hours every day. These are the hours of labor for the day—the hours of solitude and toil. I must light my fire and my lamp every morning; and my capacity to write depends upon the temperature of the atmosphere operating upon my sense of feeling. The experiment of the coal fire is now again to be tried; heretofore it has not suited me as well as wood.

At the House, the first business was the question upon the engrossment of Duncan's bill for holding the election of Electors of President and Vice-President of the United States on one and the same day throughout the Union. Duncan demanded the yeas and nays, and they were taken—one hundred and eighty-seven aye and one nay—Woodward, of South Carolina. James A. Black, only, of the South Carolina delegation, voted for the bill. Burt, Campbell, Holmes, and Rhett did not vote. The bill was then passed without an opposing vote.

Burke, of New Hampshire, moved a suspension of the rules for a motion to print ten thousand copies of the majority and minority reports on the Rhode Island Insurrection memorial; yeas, one hundred and three; nays, eighty-seven; motion lost.

Weller asked leave to introduce a bill to extend the right of suffrage in the city of Washington.

Campbell objected, that there was a bill before the House, reported by the Committee on the District, containing the same provision. Weller moved and carried a suspension of the rules—sixty-two to one hundred and twenty-four. Weller introduced his bill, and pressed for its immediate passage; but objections were started in his own gang, and the bill was referred to the Committee on the District.

Duncan moved and carried a suspension of the rules to introduce a bill for establishing the Territory of Oregon, and other purposes; which was referred to the Committee on the Territories. The annual reports of the Secretary of the Treasury on the finances, with the estimates, and of the Commis-

sioner of the General Land Office, were presented to the House. Phoenix moved to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union to take up the Warehouse bill, but could not get a quorum to vote. Adjourned before three.

17th. At the House, after notices given by several members of their intention to ask leave to-morrow or some subsequent day to bring in sundry bills, Mr. Vinton moved a suspension of the rules to call the States for resolutions; which was carried, and a budget of crudities of every sort and description issued forth, as always happens on resolution-day.

The first move was by Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine, to print ten thousand copies of the majority and minority reports on the Rhode Island memorials. Objection being made, the resolution, of course, went over one day; but Hamlin enquired if he could now cut off debate when the resolution shall come up in order. The Speaker said he could by now moving the previous question—which he did.

Winthrop objected to this, and I asked the Speaker to reconsider his decision, observing that the form of the previous question was, Shall the main question *now* be put? and it could not be in order when a positive rule of the House forbade the taking of the question *now*.

The Speaker said no debate was in order now; but that, although the form of the previous question was, Shall the main question *now* be put? it might be moved now and postponed to another day, because without the second of a majority it could not be put at all.

Cranston entreated of Hamlin, as a personal favor, to withdraw his motion for the previous question; but he would not.

Charles J. Ingersoll moved a resolution that the Tariff Act of 1842 should be modified so far as respects foreign wines, where it conflicts with treaties or is otherwise objectionable; also that a nominal duty be imposed on all free articles for the precise ascertainment of them.

Black, of Georgia, moved to strike out "nominal" and insert "revenue"—which produced shouts of laughter. Ingersoll was advised to change his motion into an enquiry of expediency. This he was glad to do, and in that form his motion passed.

Dromgoole produced a letter from Mrs. Madison, offering to Congress the remainder of her husband's manuscripts not heretofore purchased, and moved a resolution authorizing the Library Committee to contract for purchasing and printing them. Adopted.

18th. I had summoned a meeting of the Committee of Manufactures to meet in their chamber this morning at eleven o'clock. By a most vexatious incident, the clock in my writing-chamber ran down and stopped just at that time, so that I was belated in reaching the Capitol by half an hour. I found every member of the committee present in the chamber when I arrived, and apologized to them for my tardiness. I then said I had called them together merely to organize the committee, to tell them I had nothing to lay before them, and to take their commands. If any other member of the committee had anything to propose, they would now receive his communication. The word "manufactures" was not in the President's message, and there was nothing referred to the committee by the House. I proposed, therefore, to record a minute of the meeting and adjourn without day, to be called again if any reference should be made by the House or any member should desire it; which was forthwith unanimously agreed to.

I went down to my seat in the House. A page named Cox came and said, a few minutes before the House was called to order, that Mr. Sangster wished to speak with me at the door. I went to the door at the side, then to the central door, but no one accosted me. I turned back, and some one said, "The man is in the lobby." A man came up to me and said, "You are wrong, you are wrong, and I will kick you." He then passed his right hand before my face, and drew it back to strike me. I seized his two arms with my two hands, and held them till the bystanders came up and took charge of him. I returned to my seat. They afterwards arrested the man. A magistrate came and, in the Speaker's room, sent for me, took my affidavit of the assault, and committed Sangster to answer for it. Mr. Holmes, of Charleston, and Mr. Chilton were present. I have no room for the proceedings in the House.

19th. There was no room left on my page of yesterday to

notice the proceedings of the House. They consisted of little more than two speeches, both in form, against Phoenix's bill to repeal the duties on railroad iron, but directly opposite to each other in principle—one from Henry D. Foster, hot for a protective tariff, and one from W. W. Payne, of Alabama, red-hot against the protective tariff, and foaming for a horizontal duty of twenty per cent. Hammett, of Mississippi, saw they were coming to slippery Democratic ground, and moved to lay the whole subject on the table, which was carried by yeas and nays—one hundred and fifty-five to forty.

I said I was willing to lay the bill on the table, if Burt's bill to repeal the duty on cotton bagging and gunny-cloth should go on the table also. But Houston said, no more bargains, and the Speaker said there must be no debate on a motion to lay on the table.

Burt's bill had been twice read, and referred to a committee, without a word of opposition or remark.

Weller gave notice that he would this day offer a joint resolution for the annexation of Texas to the United States; and this day he did introduce it. Twice read, and he moved its reference to the committee of the whole on the state of the Union.

E. S. Hamlin, of Ohio, moved its reference to a committee of one member from each State, with instructions to report upon five questions. The question of commitment to the committee of the whole on the state of the Union was taken by yeas and nays, and carried—one hundred and nine to sixty.

Pollock gave notice of his intention to ask leave to introduce a bill or resolution to submit the question of the annexation of Texas to the people.

A message was received from the President, with the brawling correspondence between Calhoun, Shannon, and the Mexican Minister of Foreign Affairs, Manuel Cresencio Rejon. The message rails at the Mexican Government with the temper of a common scold, and concludes by saying that, although we should be fully justified in declaring war against them, he will not recommend that; but only that we should take Texas, and then, if Mexico makes war upon us, all the responsibility of it

shall rest upon her. The message was referred to the Committee of Foreign Affairs.

20th. I read this morning the whole correspondence communicated yesterday with the message of the President, and see the subjugation of the Union to the double slave-representation with deplorable certainty of proof. John C. Calhoun and South Carolina are in the ascendant, and an internal convulsion in Mexico happens this moment, as if by interposition of the evil principle, to help him to consummate his abominable purpose. The prospect is death-like. I found the House in session. Joseph Vance, Chairman of the Committee of Claims, was calling for the orders of the day—private business. Hardin wanted to get up the Post-Office bill. Dromgoole and Charles J. Ingersoll wanted to suspend the rules for notices of bills, and Aaron V. Brown for reports of committees. After two or three votes without a quorum, Dromgoole got the House into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, Cave Johnson in the chair. The bill for graduating the price of the public lands was the unfinished business, and Robert A. Smith, of Illinois, had the floor from yesterday. Dromgoole moved to postpone it, and said there were certain modifications of it about which its friends were in treaty with one another. To this postponement Robert Smith consented, and Dromgoole moved to take up the Sub-Treasury bill, reported by him from the Committee of Ways and Means at the last session. It was taken up without opposition, and, after two or three sections of it had been read by the Clerk, the further reading of it through was dispensed with, and it was read by sections. The Clerk had read through the first section, and begun upon the second, when, seeing it was going to pass without a sign of life from the opposition, I rose, and enquired if the first section of the bill, constituting certain vaults in the Treasury building the Treasury of the United States, was the same as in the old Sub-Treasury repealed law. It was. I moved to strike out the first section of the bill. The Chairman pronounced it not in order, and the question upon it was not suffered to be put. I gave my reasons, however, in substance, that it annulled the proviso in the Constitution, that no money shall be drawn

from the Treasury but in consequence of appropriations made by law. This started a debate, which continued till half-past four, when the committee rose, and the House adjourned.

In the evening I delivered my lecture on Society and Civilization, at the new Baptist Church.

21st. This morning Mr. Connell called upon me in high spirits, his bill for the relief of the heirs of Robert Fulton having again passed the Senate. One of the principal obstacles to the passage of this bill hitherto has been the false denial by Andrew Jackson of his own military order for the employment of a steamboat of Fulton's in the public service. The order, under his own hand, has been produced; but he has not retracted his denial. Mr. Connell entreated me not to notice this exemplification of Jackson's memory when the bill shall be before the House.

The business this day in the House was Dromgoole's Sub-Treasury bill. He had moved last evening a resolution to report it to the House in thirty minutes after it should next be taken up in committee of the whole; but the House adjourned without taking the question upon that motion. This morning he modified it so as to allow two hours instead of thirty minutes for debate. This was carried. The House went into committee of the whole, Cave Johnson in the chair, and the two hours were occupied by Henley, of Indiana, and others of the Democracy, in vilifying the Whigs and Henry Clay. Not a Whig was suffered to get the floor, and Cave, the Chairman, gave it, in flagrant partiality, to Henley, in competition with Clingman, of North Carolina. Shepard Cary, a new member from Maine, took the floor five minutes before the time fixed for reporting, and opened a flood of stench and filth upon the Whigs. He was interrupted by the report to the House, which the Speaker had no sooner announced than he started up and continued his speech begun in committee. Mr. Barnard objected to this, as violating the rule that no allusion shall be made in the House to what has passed in committee; but the Speaker sustained the maniac. But his own party soon got weary of him. One moved the committee to rise, another moved the previous question; and he gave up. I moved again

to strike out the first section. The Speaker said it was not in order. The question of engrossment was carried, by yeas and nays—one hundred and twenty-nine to sixty-nine; the question on its passage—one hundred and twenty-three to sixty-eight; close party votes.

22d. The speakers in the debate of yesterday, besides those mentioned on the other page, were Washington Hunt, of the Thirty-Fourth New York District—Orleans and Niagara District—resident at Lockport, a present Whig, T. H. Bayly, the successor of Wise, and W. W. Payne, of Alabama. Hunt alluded to the Democratic nomination, at Saginaw, for the Legislature of Michigan, of Birney, the Liberty candidate for the Presidency; which operated like a spark upon a barrel of gunpowder. The scene was ludicrous.

23d. In my conversation yesterday with Mr. Gouverneur, he told me that, while never doubting of the moral obligation resting on him to inform me of the letter from Andrew Jackson to President Monroe, extracts from which he gave me, he had been somewhat embarrassed as to the properest manner for him to proceed in the case. The partisans of Jackson would certainly assail him as in confederacy with me, and would bring against him the charge of betraying the confidence of private correspondence; and Jackson might deny his own letters, and charge him with forgery, as he had charged me with forging my own diary. He said he had consulted General Scott, and other friends, in this emergency, by whose advice he had drawn up a paper which he proposed to publish in the *National Intelligencer*, signed "G.," which he read to me; upon which he would be glad to have my advice, and after which I might make such use of the extracts from Jackson's letters, and other information received from him, as I think proper. He told me, further, that General Scott had assured him there were two officers of the army now in this city who were here in February, 1819, and then knowing to my consultation with Jackson about the Florida Treaty; but that he was not permitted to divulge their names.

This day, at a quarter-past twelve, I found the House in session, and the Speaker calling the committees for reports.

This was the day upon which Charles J. Ingersoll had given notice that he would call up for consideration in committee of the whole on the state of the Union the joint resolution reported by him from the Committee of Foreign Affairs, for the annexation of Texas to the United States, according to the treaty of 12th April last, rejected by the Senate. But he only moved a resolution to print ten thousand copies of the map of Texas at a cost not exceeding twelve cents a copy, instead of his former resolution for five thousand copies at not exceeding seven cents a copy.

But Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois, introduced another joint resolution for the re-annexation of Texas to the United States, according to the Louisiana Treaty of 1803.

Aaron V. Brown reported from the Committee on the Territories the bill for the establishment of the Territory of Oregon. The resolutions and notices of bills and resolutions were numberless. Charles J. Ingersoll presented, by special request, a petition for the abolition of slavery, and the application of all the proceeds of the sales of the public lands to indemnify the owners of the slaves for the loss of them as property. He moved reference to a committee; but the House laid the petition on the table, by yeas and nays—one hundred and seventeen to forty-nine. After a hard struggle to keep down the call for the yeas and nays, the House adjourned over to Thursday.

24th. I passed into the War Department, and had a long conversation with General Scott, now commander-in-chief of the army. He commenced it by observing that he had read the article in the *National Intelligencer* of this morning, signed "G."; being that which Mr. Gouverneur read to me the day before yesterday. He said that behind that article there was a great mass of evidence, which he had seen; that there were now in this city two persons who were in General Jackson's apartment in February, 1819, when I went there to consult him on the subject of the Florida Treaty; that they had recently each communicated the fact to the other, and to him; they perfectly agreed in their recollection; but they had laid him under an injunction of honor not to disclose their names.

I said that I should probably, in the course of next spring or summer, address my constituents again upon this subject, and I asked if I might state this fact as he had stated it to me, without naming the persons, but vouching him for the fact. He said I might; that it was due to historical truth; and he deemed it the duty of every man to bear testimony to historical truth, especially when the character of another was implicated in the fact. Mr. Gouverneur had told me that these two persons were officers in the army. I said to Scott that if officers of the army, bound by the laws of honor, thought they could withhold their names from testimony of facts known to them, I would not insist upon their names.

He said, "I do not say they are officers of the army."

I asked him to call at my house, and said I would show him the volume of my diary for 1819.

He said he would.

Mr. Frye was here this evening, and said a young man by the name of Sangster, a nephew of the man now in prison for assaulting me, had been to him and General Towson to obtain his release from prison by discharging so much of the justice's warrant as required bonds for keeping the peace. I said I was, so far as concerned myself, perfectly willing to release him if any security would be given by himself or his friends that he would keep the peace with me and with all others.

Christmas, 25th.—I can give no reason satisfactory to myself for having neglected attending upon the religious public services of this day. Never in my life have I more needed faith and hope in the promises of the gospel for relief from anxieties from sources public and private; never more fervent prayer for direction from above to lead me in the short remnant of the path before me. I have wasted the day, without being aware of my remissness till the day was gone. To the church of which I am a member there are no religious holidays, save the Christian Sabbath; but personally I sympathize with those who solemnize the two anniversaries Christmas and Easter—the birth and the resurrection of Jesus.

Mr. Frye was here again this evening, with a written statement of what had passed between him and me last evening

about the release of Thomas Sangster from prison, and with a letter from him to me. Mr. Thompson, the magistrate who committed him, admitted him last evening to bail, upon a certificate of a physician that he had examined him and found him of sane mind, and upon laying his nephew under bond of a thousand dollars for his appearance at Court next week, and keeping, in the mean time, the peace. His letter to me is respectful and apologetic, expressing great regret at his assault, attributing it to sudden and uncontrollable passion.

28th. Mr. Giddings was here this morning, and suggested to me the expediency of an address to the people, before or about the close of the present session of Congress, by the members opposed to the annexation of Texas; following up that which was issued at the close of the Twenty-Seventh Congress.

I told him I thought it would be highly advisable, if the deed should not be perpetrated at the present session.

He thinks there is no danger of the passage of that measure, even in the House of Representatives, at this session. I fear he does not sufficiently weigh the despotism of the party drill. He says there are forty members of the majority who will vote against every plan of annexation. I dread the effect of the revolution now raging in Mexico. I agreed with Mr. Giddings to speak further with him on this subject.

30th. Mr. Owen came this morning, and brought me again the book which he had lent me before. I had wasted a long hour in reading his manifesto, which he gave me yesterday—a farrago of confused, indefinite ideas, the only clear and distinct proposition in which is the formation of a community in or near Washington, to revolutionize the world, from a world of wretchedness and bad principles, to a world of wealth ad libitum, of peace, of plenty, and of love, without religion; to begin which considerable funds will be required, and an appropriation of not less than three millions of dollars.

He borrowed, in return, my lecture upon Society and Civilization, which he said he regretted not having heard; but which, being at precisely the opposite pole from his system, he will estimate, if he reads it, much as I do his manifesto.

The Sheriff of the county had notified me to attend this

morning, between ten and twelve o'clock, the Grand Jury of the Criminal Court at the City Hall. I went, accordingly, at half-past ten. The Court was in session, and they were about to swear in the Grand Jury. Nineteen men were accordingly sworn, and the Judge (Dunlop) made them a very brief charge, in a tone of voice so low that I heard scarcely a word that he said. They then retired to their chamber. I was sworn as a witness by the Clerk of the Court, William Brent, and the Grand Jury immediately afterwards sent for me to their room. I went, and related the circumstances of Thomas Sangster's assault upon me; and, having stated the facts, I said I was aware that it was not in my power to remit the breach of the peace, but I might without impropriety say that, so far as personally concerned myself, I should be glad to see Mr. Sangster discharged without further prosecution; that he had not struck me, nor had I suffered the slightest injury from him. I knew not what was the occasion of his movement against me, but I had received a letter from him apologizing for it, expressing great regret at what he had done, and assuring me that it was from a sudden impulse of passion, under influences which he could not control. From that moment all resentment had vanished from my mind. The letter was in the style and language of a gentleman. I understood he had been an officer in the army, and had faithfully served his country. I should therefore deeply regret if he should be severely dealt with for his mere attempt upon me.

31st. The closing day of every year is the special season for retrospection, for thanksgiving, for self-examination, for repentance. It bears every year with increasing gravity upon the conscience, and, at the stage of life which I have attained, every year with more irresistible demonstration of the decay of body and mind. I am sinking under them; yet I struggle to keep my head above the surface of the flood. My last night's repose was disturbed; I know not from what cause. I rose between three and four with an aching head, and returned for two more hours of waking dreams.

Mr. Daniel R. Tilden, a member of the House of Representatives from Ohio, brought me, some days since, a small

album, with a note, saying that he had purchased it for his little daughter Sarah, and requesting me to write something in it. These requests thicken upon me, greatly to my annoyance; and the time they consume, and the impotence of mind which they disclose, is a continual source of self-reproach and mortification. A sonnet for Miss Tilden's album occupied the morning.

At the House, John W. Tibbatts asked leave to introduce a bill to authorize the people of Texas to form a State constitution of government, and for the admission of the State into the Union; and a joint resolution pledging the protection of the United States to the people of Texas till the question of re-annexation shall be settled. Barnard objected to the introduction of these measures without a previous notice; whereupon Tibbatts turned his motion into a notice for to-morrow, or some subsequent day. James E. Belser, of Alabama, gave notice of his intention to move a joint resolution for the annexation of Texas to the United States.

WASHINGTON, *January* 1st, 1845.—The Whig members of the Massachusetts delegation in the House of Representatives had agreed to meet at my house this morning at ten o'clock, before the crowd of visitors should be coming, to consult together upon what we shall do in the critical state of public affairs, and whether any joint action on our part may be advisable. Six of them came, all of the right complexion except Daniel P. King, and we had some desultory conversation, without coming to any satisfactory result. We were soon interrupted by the entrance of other visitors, a stream of whom came and went for the space of three hours. The weather betokened May rather than January, and all the world was abroad. Great numbers of members of both Houses of Congress were here, and among them several of the bitterest political opponents that I have in the world. The personal hatred of the Southern slave-holders against me is evidently much envenomed by the extinction of the petition gag-rule, and my position as the head of the anti-slavery movement in this country, disavowed by the whole body of abolitionists, and bound hand

and foot and chained to a rock as I am, by the slave-monger brood linked together with the mongrel Democracy of the North and West.

When the throng had passed away, about three o'clock, I walked out, and paid a visit to Mrs. Madison. I found there Mrs. Dickinson, of Troy, and two or three others. In the evening I had a visit from Commodore Jesse D. Elliott, who gave me a bronze medal which he has had struck in honor of J. Fenimore Cooper for his vindication of the Commodore's character in his *Naval History of the United States*. He related to me the circumstances which induced him to have this medal struck, and the distribution which he proposed to make of it. He related to me also his pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and mentioned to me many of the curiosities which he collected there, and of which he has made a donation to the Girard College.

2d. I received this morning a letter from Commodore Elliott, with one of his medals, and a direction, "For Henry Clay, from his old friend J. D. Elliott," which he requests me to forward to Mr. Clay. He also requests me to furnish him with a list of all the Historical Societies to which I had suggested to him the idea of his sending a medal each, and that I would forward the medals to them, and one to the representative of my brother as an heir-loom. I saw him afterwards at the House, without the bar, and promised to perform his requests. He was to leave the city this afternoon to return to Philadelphia, where he is stationed in command of the navy-yard.

My opinions and feelings have been, ever since the duel between Barron and Decatur, very unfavorable to Commodore Elliott; but I have not tried him as a judge or juror, and I could not justify to myself a repulse of the courtesy and personal respect which he now manifested to me, in the midst especially of that league of villainy and power combined against me and plotting the destruction of my life and my good name.

In the House, Tibbatts, of Kentucky, asked leave to introduce a bill to authorize the people of Texas to form a State constitution of government, and for their admission into the

Union as one of the original States; and a joint resolution pledging the protection of the United States against all foreign interposition in the interval. But the House refused to suspend the rules to let them in.

The Rhode Island question then came up, and first Burke's motion to print ten thousand copies of the majority and minority reports of the committee on the Rhode Island memorial, instead of five thousand copies of the majority report alone, which he had first moved. Burt, of South Carolina, moved to lay the resolution on the table; lost, by yeas and nays—seventy-eight to one hundred. Burke moved the previous question on his resolution, but he could not obtain a majority to second him. He then modified his resolution back to the original number of five thousand, and moved again and carried the previous question. The vote for printing five thousand copies was carried—one hundred and two to eighty—and then the Speaker announced (that) the resolutions with which the majority report concluded were the subject under consideration of the House. The resolutions are seven in number, rabid with mock Democracy. L. Q. C. Elmer commenced a speech against them, but was arrested at the expiration of the morning hour. The rest of the day there was snarling upon the Land bill.

3d. The debate on the Land robbery bill yesterday had become so vapid that, while Thomas Smith, of Indiana, was hammering out his hour upon it, I went into the Senate and heard a debate on another Land pilfering bill, quite as dull as that I had escaped from in the House. I met there Mr. Calderon de la Barca, the Spanish Minister, who asked me when I proposed to publish my translation of Wieland's *Oberon*.

I told him I did not intend it should ever be published; I had made it as a school-exercise in learning German, and, though far more literal, it could bear no poetical comparison with Sotheby's translation, which had cured me of all temptation to publish mine.

He said his reason for asking me the question was that he had made a Spanish translation of the *Oberon*, much as I had

made mine in my daily walks about the streets and out of the gates of Berlin. He did not like Sotheby's translation, for two reasons: first, because he had changed the form of the stanza from the light, airy ottava rima, for the heavy, cumbersome ten lines closing with an Alexandrine, thereby changing entirely the character of the poem; and, secondly, because he had omitted the sprightly tale of January and May.

How Mr. Calderon came to know anything about my translation of *Oberon* I know not, and did not enquire. I suppose it was from Alexander H. Everett.

At the House, this day, immediately after the reading of the journal, Charles J. Ingersoll moved a suspension of the rules to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, to take up the joint resolution reported by the Committee of Foreign Affairs for the annexation of Texas to the United States, according to the treaty of 12th April last rejected by the Senate. This was carried by yeas and nays—one hundred and seven to sixty-three. George W. Hopkins was Chairman of the committee, and the joint resolution was taken up. Weller then moved his project of annexation, as an amendment to the resolution reported by the committee, and Douglas moved his project as an amendment to the amendment. The first question was thus upon Douglas's project; but C. J. Ingersoll made his hour speech on the bare question of annexation. He scarcely glanced at the questions of right and of constitutional power, but very positively affirmed that the annexation of Texas would not produce a rupture either with Mexico or with England. Belser, of Alabama, followed with an hour speech.

4th. I dispatched this morning Commodore Elliott's medal to Mr. Henry Clay, with a letter by the mail; and I received from Commodore Elliott another note, requesting my opinion and advice whether he might without impropriety present a copy of his medal to each of the foreign Ministers residing here. I called on him at Fuller's Hotel, and said to him that I did not see any objection to his presenting a bronze medal to each of the foreign Ministers, though there might be some objection to his receiving presents from them in return.

He then told me of the presents that he had made to the Sultan of Muscat and the son of the Bey of Egypt, and their return presents, which he had transmitted to the Department of State.

They told me at Fuller's that Mr. Caleb Cushing had arrived there this morning, returned from his mission to China, in which he succeeded to negotiate an advantageous treaty.

At the House, I found them taking the yeas and nays on a motion made by McClernand, of Illinois, to lay on the table a memorial from certain Quakers of the city of New York, presented by Mr. Phoenix. The vote to lay on the table was carried by the casting vote of the Speaker—eighty-seven to eighty-seven. Chapman had previously made a long personal explanation about a complaint he had made against an article in the *National Intelligencer* last August, charging the State of Alabama with repudiating her debts.

Bayly moved to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union to take up the resolutions for the annexation of Texas; which was done.

Douglas wanted to speak upon his own amendment, but, not having his papers with him, was not ready; he moved the committee to rise, but they refused.

Rhett advised him to withdraw his preamble and let the debate proceed on his first resolution, which was the simple proposition that Texas should be annexed to the United States. Douglas assented.

Joseph R. Ingersoll made an hour speech against annexation, and W. W. Payne a furious one in favor of it. Winthrop then took the floor, the committee rose, and the House adjourned. C. H. Upton invited me to a lecture by him this evening against the annexation of Texas, but I missed it. General Parker was here this evening. I supped with the Typographical Society.

5th. Public worship in the hall of the House of Representatives. The prayer, the singing, and the reading of a chapter were performed by Mr. Tustin, the Chaplain of the Senate. The sermon was preached by Dr. Stephen Olin, the President of the Wesleyan University at Middletown, Connecticut. His text was John xiv. 1: "Let not your heart be troubled: ye

believe in God, believe also in me." Dr. Olin is a man upwards of six feet tall, framed for a ploughman or a wood-cutter; with an anxious, deeply thoughtful, not unpleasing countenance, sprawling limbs, and great awkwardness of gesticulation. But he preaches without notes, with uninterrupted fluency, plain but very appropriate language, close argument, well-chosen and at times elegant elocution. After some verbal criticism upon the two moods in the application of the verb "believe," the doctrine that he derived from the text was, that Jesus Christ, assuming as a fact that the disciples to whom He spoke believed in God, warned them that this belief was of itself not sufficient to satisfy the wants of their nature; that belief in God was taught by the visible creation; but the belief in God is a barren and profitless creed, unless subsidiary to it is the belief of a responsible hereafter to the existence of man; and to this the belief in Christ is indispensable.

This appears to me a very ingenious exposition of the text, and the developments of the argument were all consistent with it, judiciously selected and happily combined. The House was crowded, and the auditory chained in attention for an hour and a quarter.

After the service, I returned the visit received on Friday from Mr. Thomas Hart Benton, Senator from Missouri—the first in a period of twenty-five years of a common residence of him and me in this city. His wife and three daughters were there, and Lieutenant Fremont, his son-in-law.

After dinner, at St. John's Church. Mr. Pyne read the evening service for the second Sunday after Christmas, and preached from Hebrews xiii. 5: "Let your conversation be without covetousness; and be content with such things as ye have: for He hath said, I will never leave thee nor forsake thee." An exhortation to contentment.

Mr. John Mason, Junr., told me that the Grand Jury had indicted T. Sangster, and said he hoped I would not interpose to screen him from punishment.

6th. My conversation with General Parker on Saturday evening was interrupted by an engagement to attend the lecture of Mr. Upton against the annexation of Texas, which was an-

nounced for seven in the evening. It was half-past seven when I went to Concert Hall, but not a soul was there. I had another engagement at half-past eight, and walked home to meet it. I had received a written invitation from F. Jefferson, James N. Davis, and William J. Delano, a committee of invitation of the Columbia Typographical Association, to a supper on the temperance principle, in celebration of their thirtieth anniversary. I had accepted this invitation, and at half-past eight Mr. Davis and Mr. Delano came in a carriage and accompanied me to Congress Hall. The supper was plentiful, but not luxurious; the beverage, cold water, coffee, and lemonade; the company, about seventy, journeymen printers—F. Jefferson President. The invited guests, besides myself, were W. W. Seaton, Mayor of the city, Luther Severance, member of Congress from Maine, and editor of a newspaper there, and Mr. Gallagher, a member of the Senate of Virginia. The exclusion of all spirituous liquors, Mr. Jefferson said, was an experiment; and it succeeded admirably well. There was much hilarity, but no disorder nor indecency. The regular toasts were given in continual succession; the volunteers, complimentary to the invited guests, and drew a speech and a sentiment from each of them. I left them and came home shortly before midnight.

At the House, this day, after short preliminaries, the rules were suspended to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, Hopkins in the chair, upon the resolutions for the annexation of Texas to the United States. Robert C. Winthrop, who had taken the floor on Saturday, made an hour speech against the resolutions, and was followed by one of an equal length by Douglas in their favor. Clingman, of North Carolina, employed his hour, not in the discussion of the Texas question, but in exposing the frauds practised by the Democratic party in the recent Presidential election. When his hour expired, Yancey, a new member from Alabama, moved the committee to rise; which they did. McKay, Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, reported four of the General Appropriation bills—Indian, Pension, Military Academy, and Post-Office; referred.

7th. At the House, before I reached it, the Speaker had

made an explanation referring to a statement by Clingman yesterday, that the abolition reporter Joshua Leavitt had been refused a seat at the last session, and now occupied one of the best in the House; said that he had assigned no seat to Mr. Leavitt, but had merely directed that until the arrangements should be made for about thirty reporters, which took time, no one should be ejected from any seat that he should take.

I found John P. Hale offering eight resolutions of the Legislature of New Hampshire in favor of the annexation of Texas, the last of which declared their opinion that the annexation of Texas would increase instead of diminishing the number of the free States. The resolutions were read and referred to the committee of the whole House on the state of the Union, Hopkins in the chair; and Yancey, of Alabama, and Bayly, of Virginia, used up two hours for annexation, and Stetson, of New York, one for and against it. The committee rose at the motion of Caleb B. Smith. I moved for the use of the hall for Robert Owen to deliver four lectures, but before I could get the question the House adjourned.

8th. When I made the motion of yesterday in the House, that the use of the hall should be granted to Robert Owen for the delivery of four weekly lectures upon his projects of reformation in human society, there was evidently a majority of the House favorable to the motion. But two large classes of the members were startled—the Whigs generally, who entertain strong prejudices against the man and his projects, and the Southern slave-mongers, in a state of perpetual panic, and who suspected that I made this motion only to get a precedent settled and to ask the use of the hall hereafter for some abolition or anti-slavery meeting. Arrington, of North Carolina, moved to lay the resolution on the table. This was, by a considerable majority, refused. Black, of Georgia, and Reding, of New Hampshire, successively moved to adjourn. Black failed, but Reding succeeded, and the question was not taken.

This morning Mr. Owen came, and said he had heard from his son and some of his friends that the objection was to the expense of lighting up the hall, and that he would compress

his discourse so as to ask the use of the hall for only two evenings—on the 29th of this month and the 5th of February.

At the House, Mr. Tustin formed his prayer for the day, being the anniversary of the battle of New Orleans. I called up the question upon my motion to grant the use of the hall to Robert Owen, and modified it so as to ask it only for two nights. Hammett, the Irishman of Mississippi, opposed it, on the pretence that he would never vote for granting the use of the hall for any purpose other than its appropriate use. Arrington moved again to lay the resolution on the table, and it was carried, by yeas and nays—ninety-one to sixty-three—twenty-four Whigs among the ayes.

Dromgoole introduced, by leave, another bill for the annexation of Texas, which was twice read and referred to the committee of the whole on the state of the Union. Burke offered inflammatory resolutions of the Legislature of New Hampshire concerning the Dorr controversy; but they were not received. Caleb B. Smith and Robert Dale Owen, of Indiana, made adverse speeches on the Texas annexation question.

9th. Mr. Robert Owen came, and thanked me for offering the resolution to grant the use of the hall of the House of Representatives for the delivery of his lectures. He professed to be satisfied with the result, and said he would find some other mode of communicating his views to the public. My only doubt is, whether I did not stretch my complaisance too far in asking for him the use of the hall.

Mr. Gouverneur was also here, returned from Virginia. He put into my hands a number of letters to Mr. Monroe, received by him during the negotiation of the Florida Treaty. I asked him to let me see the letters from General Jackson to Mr. Monroe, from which he had given me extracts. He said he would send them to me by his son, and he did so; he came with them while we were at dinner. He told me Major Lewis had asked him to give *him* these letters, but he declined. He advised me to see General Jesup.

10th. Dr. Mayo came, and, with much mystery of manner, asked for a word of private conversation with me, which was only to suggest to me the idea of offering a resolution to refer

this question to the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States. But there is no doubt that, constituted as it is, with a majority of slave-holding Judges on the bench, they would decide that Congress, in the power of admitting new States into the Union, have the power incidental to it of acquiring by purchase the territory of which new States may be formed; and that the power of declaring war carries with it the power of acquiring territory by conquest. The real constitutional incompetency of Congress is that of conferring the civil and political rights of citizens of the United States upon the people of the acquired territory, and of holding them to the duties of allegiance without their own consent. This objection is insurmountable; but the Supreme Court would consider it settled by the precedents of Louisiana and Florida.

At the House, this day, John P. Hale made two attempts to introduce his amendment to all the proposed bills or resolutions for the annexation of Texas. It is, that the Territory should be divided into two equal parts, and that in the part south and west of the line there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude. His first attempt was pronounced by the Speaker to be not in order. At the second, he moved a suspension of the rules, and called for the yeas and nays. The vote was ninety-two to eighty-two—a majority of ten for the leave to offer the amendment, but not two-thirds, and therefore it was not received. ✓

Committee of the whole on the state of the Union, G. W. Hopkins in the chair. Samuel C. Sample, of Indiana, and Ezra Dean, of Ohio, made hour speeches against and for the annexation of Texas. John P. Kennedy then moved the committee to rise; carried. A message from the President. The instructions to G. W. Erving. Laid on the table, and ordered to be printed.

11th. Morning visit from Brevet Major-General and Quartermaster-General Jesup, and I had a conversation of nearly three hours with him. He was, on the 30th of January, 1809, appointed a Second Lieutenant of infantry in the army of the United States, and has continued in the service ever since. At an early period he became a highly confidential officer, and,

during the war with Great Britain, was sent in secret and confidential mission to watch the movements of the Hartford Convention, and to keep President Madison and Mr. Monroe, then Secretary of War, constantly advised of them. From that time till the close of Mr. Monroe's Administration he was in the intimate confidence of Mr. Monroe, and was often consulted by him with regard to the measures of his Administration. He was so particularly upon the secret mission of George Graham to Galveston in 1818. Jesup gave to C. J. Ingersoll the information upon which he procured at the Department of State the copy of my instructions to George Graham on his departure upon that mission. Jackson has always been friendly to Jesup, and supported him against the intrigues and persecutions of Jesup's enemies during Jackson's Administration and that of his successor, Van Buren. He confidently believes that George W. Erving did pretend that he had brought the Spanish Government to agree to a treaty making the Rio del Norte the boundary. He said he had made the late Judge Baldwin believe it, and also Colonel Benton, and he was under a strong impression that Erving had attempted to shake Mr. Monroe's confidence in me.

13th. Committee of the whole on the state of the Union, G. W. Hopkins in the chair. Cave Johnson had previously offered a resolution to close the debate in committee on the annexation of Texas next Thursday afternoon at two o'clock. He moved the previous question; but Sample moved to lay the resolution upon the table; upon which Schenck called the yeas and nays, which were one hundred and twenty-seven to fifty-four. They are not yet ready to close the debate. But Foster, a Senator from Tennessee, in the Senate, and Milton Brown, in the House, offered this day the most insidious proposal yet made—a Missouri Compromise, giving to slavery all the territory south of 36.30, and preparing to re-cede to Mexico all the territory north of that line.

Tibbatts, of Kentucky, made an hour speech for the annexation upon the constitutional question, the whole compass of which was intrepid assertion of the prior right of France to Texas over that of Spain, and misapplication of numerous extracts from Judge Story's Commentaries on the Constitution.

He was followed by Jacob Brinkerhoff, an Ohio Democrat, against all the annexation projects, and exposing with great spirit the sectional and slave-mongering aspects of the whole subject.

Absalom H. Chappell, of Georgia, replied to Brinkerhoff, maintaining that the annexation of Texas is a great national question.

14th. The *Globe* of last evening contains the letter from George W. Erving to a friend, dated 12th November, 1844, Paris, being his answer to my charge against him in my address of 7th October, 1844, to the young men of Boston. He had it printed on a folio sheet of paper at Paris, of which he sent three copies, one to Robert C. Winthrop, and one for each of the newspapers the *Globe* and the *Madisonian*. Winthrop had mentioned this to me last Friday, and yesterday morning he lent me the copy of the printed sheet that Erving had sent him for himself.

Hammett moved a suspension of the rules to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union—which was done. Hopkins, of Virginia, took the chair. Isaac C. Holmes, of Charleston, South Carolina, made the most powerful and most eloquent speech in favor of annexation that has yet been made. William J. Brown, of Indiana, made a base one of equal length on the same side.

15th. Mr. Woodbury's discourse last evening was of about two hours' duration, delivered with great rapidity, replete with various and minute details of modern and especially American improvements in the arts and sciences, physical, moral, political, and intellectual, tinged throughout with the wormwood of Democracy, like ocean brine boiled down to freshen it, with a mawkish tang of the salt remaining in the taste. It was a defence of our national character against the reproach of neglecting the progress of science. He drew from the nature of our democratic government the inference that scientific improvement must be the result of individual exertion and private enterprise, and enumerated a great multitude of American inventions, from Fulton's steamers and Whitney's cotton-gin to the Western Railroad, the Fairmount Water-Works at Philadelphia, and the Croton Aqueduct at New York.

Then he touched lightly upon the promotion of science which the Government has actually patronized—the survey of the coast, the astronomical observatory, and the exploring expedition. He made out, on the whole, a very good case, and closed with a liberal exhortation to Congress to foster science within the constitutional limitations, and to interweave together the capabilities of the National Institute and the Smithsonian Fund. Immediately after he closed, W. W. Seaton took the chair of the meeting, a vote of thanks was passed for the discourse, with the request of a copy for publication, and the meeting was dissolved.

16th. Mr. Gouverneur called on me this morning and showed me a letter from General Jackson to him, dated at the Hermitage, the 4th of this month, demanding copies of his letters to President Monroe alluded to in the publication signed "G." in the *National Intelligencer* of 24th December last, and also of the letters from Mr. Monroe to him, to which his were answers. He alleged as his reason for the demand, that many of his own papers were destroyed when, a few years since, his house at the Hermitage was burnt; and the letter is addressed to the care of Benjamin F. Butler, at New York, who forwarded it to Major Lewis, from whom Gouverneur received it yesterday. He had already on the 2d of January offered copies for General Jackson of his letters, if he desired them. I returned the letters to him, and he said he should immediately furnish copies of them to Major Lewis, who told him in candor yesterday that copies of them would also be furnished to the editors of the *Globe*. Gouverneur proposes ultimately to deposit them in the hands of some trusty person a friend of Jackson. He promised me a copy of this last letter.

At the House, William Taylor, of Lexington, Virginia, Chairman of the Committee of Accounts, gave notice to the House that the committee were ready to make a report upon an interesting subject, but, owing to circumstances of a favorable character which had occurred this morning, they had agreed to postpone their report till to-morrow.

Preston King, of Ogdensburg, New York, offered a resolution for the appointment of a committee of five to enquire and

report to the House whether a duel had been fought by two of its members, and, if so, to report a resolution of expulsion of all parties concerned therein. Yancey and Clingman had, last Monday, cracked a shot at each other, and then shook hands and come home. A motion to lay the resolution on the table followed, and was lost—seventy-nine to ninety-three. Then a mock debate of two hours—Rayner and Causin for the bullies, and Hannibal Hamlin for the Yankees. Causin moved again, and carried, to lay the whole matter on the table.

17th. This day was signalized by a memorable development of Democratic defalcation. Taylor, Chairman of the Committee of Accounts, asked leave to make a report; which was granted without opposition. The report was a statement, not remarkably lucid, that of the sum of two hundred and thirty-seven thousand dollars received by Caleb J. McNulty, Clerk of the House, on account of its contingent fund, there is a defalcation of about forty-five thousand dollars, for which he gives no account; and that he has drawn from the Treasury large sums and placed them in the hands of sundry persons in the city of New York and in the State of Ohio. He has not only failed to account for these deficiencies to the committee, but has repeatedly disregarded their calls upon him for his attendance before them. The report concluded with three resolutions: 1. That Caleb J. McNulty be dismissed from the office of Clerk of the House. 2. That the Secretary of the Treasury be directed to institute forthwith the necessary legal proceedings to ascertain and secure the balance of public money due from him as Clerk of the House. 3. That the President of the United States be requested to cause a criminal prosecution to be commenced against Caleb J. McNulty, late Clerk of the House of Representatives, for an embezzlement of the public money, and all persons advising or knowingly or willingly participating in such embezzlement, according to the provisions of the Act of Congress approved 13th August, 1841.

Weller, of Ohio, presented a letter from a commercial house in New York, acknowledging a credit to McNulty on their books of thirty thousand dollars; and Weller pledged his

personal conviction that, whatever may have been McNulty's conduct, the public will not lose a dollar by him.

Cave Johnson moved an order to the Sergeant-at-Arms to *arrest* McNulty and bring him before the House. I moved to strike out arrest and insert *summon*; which was debated, but the arrest was sustained.

Committee of the whole on the state of the Union, Hopkins in the chair. Hammett spoke about ten minutes—when the Sergeant-at-Arms returned with McNulty, who took his place at the Clerk's table as usual. The committee of the whole rose. The resolutions of the Committee of Accounts were read to McNulty. He gave some explanations, and promised that not a dollar should be lost. The subject was postponed till to-morrow, two P.M.; he is in the mean time suspended from his functions as Clerk, to be performed by the Assistant Clerk, French.

18th. At the House, Joseph Vance, Chairman of the Committee of Claims, succeeded in a motion to go into committee of the whole, John White, of Kentucky, in the chair, to take up the calendar of private bills, from twelve o'clock to two. Several private bills were disposed of, and among the rest that for the relief of Captain Allen and the owners of the ship *Cadmus*, for the passage of General La Fayette and his family from Havre to New York, in 1824. It was, after considerable debate, laid on the table. A shabby proceeding on the part of the Government.

At two o'clock the committee rose, and the report of the Committee of Accounts in the case of Caleb J. McNulty, the Clerk of the House, was resumed. He did not make his appearance. He had promised yesterday that on the return of his accounting clerk, Kershaw, he would settle his accounts with the committee in the space of half an hour. His clerk, Kershaw, arrived last night, and was before the committee this morning. He had a large mass of papers, which the committee had no time to examine, and produced a certificate that McNulty had a credit for twenty-nine thousand dollars at the Bank of America, in New York. When the committee asked an order for the money, he said the Clerk must do that himself.

After two or three enquiries without satisfactory answers, Cave Johnson moved the question on the first resolution reported by the Committee of Accounts, dismissing McNulty as Clerk of the House. One hundred and ninety-six members answered aye; not one voice in the negative. The second resolution passed without counting, and the third, after debate, one hundred and seventy to four. Weller made an apology for having credited what McNulty had told him yesterday, but said he still believed there would be no loss of money to the public.

George W. Hopkins moved to suspend the rules of the House requiring that the election should be held *vivâ voce*, and moved that Benjamin B. French be appointed Clerk of the House; which passed by an unanimous vote. The Speaker swore him in, and the House adjourned.

21st. Linn Boyd, of Kentucky, moved a resolution that all debate should cease in committee of the whole on the state of the Union, on Saturday next, at two o'clock P.M., on the joint resolution No. 46, for the annexation of Texas to the United States, and that it should then be reported to the House, with such amendments as should have been agreed to; and he moved the previous question.

Darragh gave notice that he would ask leave to introduce a bill for the adjustment and settlement of claims of citizens of the United States upon the republic of Mexico.

22d. Mr. Lewis Johnson came this morning, and requested me, by advice of Mr. Maffitt, to call again upon Mr. McCulloh, the Comptroller, to urge upon him the allowance of the remnant of claims of the representatives of William Otis; which I promised to do, but must postpone until next week. Till this Texas question is decided, I can think of nothing else; I am crushed between the upper and the nether millstone, of the question to speak or not to speak in this debate. If possible, speak I must. Yet I make no progress in my preparations.

Douglas, of Illinois, introduced a bill, of which he had given notice yesterday, for establishing military posts in the Territories of Nebraska and Oregon. Twice read, and referred to the Committee of Military Affairs.

Orville Robinson, a New York Van Burenite, asked leave

to introduce a bill for the annexation of Texas to the United States. I called for the reading of the bill, and, upon its being read, quite a commotion rose among the Southern members. Payne, of Alabama, objected to its reception.

It proposes to admit so much of Texas now as will constitute one slave-holding State, and no slavery in all the rest of the Territory, nor slavery but by the consent of Congress hereafter. Payne was frantic about it. Andrew Stewart, on the other side, moved to reject the bill at the first reading, to make an issue with the slavers. The House refused to reject the bill, by yeas and nays—sixty-eight to one hundred and nineteen. The bill was referred, with all the rest, to the committee of the whole on the state of the Union.

Tilden, of Ohio, presented resolutions of the Legislature of that State against the annexation of Texas, and for the occupation of Oregon. Referred to the committee of the whole on the state of the Union, and ordered to be printed.

Committee on the Union, Hopkins in the chair. Rathbun made a warm hour speech against annexation, and Cobb, of Georgia, one in its favor. Haralson took the floor. The committee rose, wanting a quorum; and, after a struggle of half an hour for a call of the House, a third motion to adjourn was carried, by yeas and nays—forty-six to forty-four.

24th. I had hesitated, down to the present day, whether to address the committee of the whole House on the state of the Union, upon the various projects for the annexation of Texas to this Union, which have been so long under consideration, or to sit and witness in silence the perpetration of the wrong which I too clearly saw was unavoidable. I had collected numerous documents for reference to them, and took with me sundry volumes this morning to the House.

About half an hour was consumed on miscellaneous subjects. Hardin, from the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads, reported an amendatory bill for one which had been recommitted to them for reducing the rate of postage. Bayly, from the Committee of Foreign Affairs, reported a bill for the relief of Alexander H. Everett; which was referred to a committee of the whole House.

A message from the President, which had lain two days on the table, was now presented, and proved to be a communication of the treaty with China, negotiated by Mr. Cushing, now ratified with the unanimous advice and consent of the Senate. The message recommends an appropriation for a regular diplomatic mission to China. At my motion it was read, referred to the Committee of Foreign Affairs, and ordered to be printed.

Sundry other communications from the Executive Departments were presented and disposed of—laid on the table, or referred. Sixteen bills from the Senate were read twice, and appropriately referred.

Jameson, of Missouri, presented resolutions of the Legislature of that State in favor of the annexation of Texas to the United States. Committee of the whole on the state of the Union, Hopkins in the chair, upon the resolutions for the annexation of Texas. Dromgoole began with an hour speech in support of his own project. He was followed by Barnard in a conclusive but unavailing argument against the constitutional power of Congress to consummate this transaction. I then obtained the floor, and at the expiration of my hour had barely reached the threshold of my speech. Daniel, of North Carolina, Stone, of Ohio, Morse, of Maine, occupied each his hour. Ellis read a rhapsody of an hour for the annexation. Norris railed an hour against his colleague Hale. Stephens, of Georgia, took the floor, but yielded it to Darragh, which brought the time to half-past eight in the evening, when, for lack of a quorum, the committee rose, and the House adjourned.

25th. At the House, as soon as the journal was read, I asked the permission of the House to make an explanation of an expression which I had used yesterday, and which had been by some persons misunderstood. No objection was made. I had said that if slavery were totally abolished forever in Texas, and the voluntary consent of Mexico could be obtained, I would vote for the annexation of Texas to-morrow. This expression had been snapped up by the slave-mongers that it admitted the constitutional power of *Congress* to annex Texas; the whole drift of my speech had been exactly the reverse. I had not been three minutes speaking, and was referring to my

argument of yesterday, founded on my whole course on the Louisiana purchase in 1803, in the Senate—when Saunders, of North Carolina, interrupted me, said I had made my explanation, and objected to my proceeding further. The Speaker would have put me down. I did not give him time, but concluded; and Saunders moved to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, and Hopkins took the chair.

Stephens, of Georgia, made a sophistical speech for and against the annexation, and Woodward, of South Carolina, who got the floor unfairly, made a stupid speech for annexation. I say stupid, for so he insolently called a speech made by a member from Vermont.

Douglas, of Illinois, was in the chair.

Rathbun rose, and asked if that epithet of Woodward's was in order.

Douglas said it was not strictly in order, but that so much latitude of reflection had been allowed throughout the whole of this debate that he had forborne to notice it in this particular case.

Rayner complained that by the management of the Chairman none of the Southern Whigs had been allowed to explain their reasons for opposition to the annexation; which Hopkins resented. Causin closed the debate, and at two came the hour of doom. All the propositions were successively rejected, till that offered simultaneously by Milton Brown in the House, and Foster in the Senate; which was carried in committee—one hundred and seven to one hundred and two, and, by yeas and nays, in the House—one hundred and twenty to ninety-eight. Let the will of God be done!

27th. When I got to my seat in the House, they were taking the yeas and nays on a motion of Aaron V. Brown, Chairman of the Committee on the Territories, to suspend the rules to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union. The vote to go into committee was one hundred and thirteen to forty. Weller, of Ohio, was placed in the chair. Cary, of Maine, asked if the bill to graduate the price of the public lands was not the first to be taken up. Chairman answered, yes. A. V. Brown moved to lay that aside, and to take up the

bill for establishing the Territory of Oregon. And here commenced an ominous struggle. Douglas, of Illinois, moved to take up a bill introduced by him to purchase fifteen hundred copies of a history of Oregon, California, etc., for the use of the House, and in the use of them to distribute one copy to each member of the two Houses of Congress. Cave Johnson's economics took fire; he moved to take up the Oregon bill, and it was done.

Charles J. Ingersoll moved to lay it aside and take up the Greenhow Book bill, and it was done.

Duncan railed and raved, insisting that the question had not been understood, and must be put again. The Chairman stuck to his text. Cave Johnson moved again to lay the Book bill aside and take up the Oregon bill, but lost the vote, and started a speaking debate of two hours about the honesty or the shame of purchasing books at the public expense for the private use of the members themselves.

Half a dozen dirty amendments were moved, and all rejected, till the bill was laid aside to be reported, and the Oregon bill again taken up. The first section was read, and Hammett moved the committee to rise and report and pass the Book bill. Committee rose and reported the bill. Douglas moved the previous question on engrossment. Cave Johnson moved to lay the bill on the table, and called yeas and nays—eighty-four to ninety-four. Yeas and nays on the passage of the bill—one hundred and seven to seventy-nine. A. V. Brown then moved to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union again; which was carried. The first section of the Oregon bill was read, and Brown moved to strike out nine from the northern boundary in the bill, to read fifty-four forty instead of fifty-four forty-nine, whereupon I began a debate which continued till four o'clock, when the committee rose, and the House soon after adjourned.

28th. Morning call from Dr. Todson, who told me he was now employed in making some translations for the Department of State, because they could find no other person here who could do the work, for they were extremely hostile to him for his political opinions. The Doctor would have been more

communicative, but Robert Owen came in, and he withdrew. Mr. Owen gave me to read an address, which he said he had determined to make directly to both Houses of Congress, requesting the use first of the Senate-chamber and then of the Representative-hall, to deliver three lectures upon his system for the improvement of human society. He intimated a wish that I should present his memorial to the House—which I consented to do; but he read to me a separate paragraph on a small slip of paper which he wished to introduce into his address, and which affirmed that I had a favorable opinion of the usefulness of his system.

I told him that I could not permit the introduction of my name, and that if I should it would of itself be fatal to his application. He acquiesced.

At the House, the day was spent in calling for reports of committees and the States for resolutions which would give no rise to debate. I asked Preston King if he intended to move a call on the President for the correspondence in the negotiation for Oregon. He said, no, because it would be taken as a symptom of hostility to the Administration; but if I would move the call he would vote for it. The House had been some time in session when I took my seat. A bill from the Senate to establish the Smithsonian Institution had been received, read, and referred to the committee of the whole on the state of the Union. After all the committees had been called, the States, beginning with Maine, were called for resolutions. Burke moved an order to the Clerk to suspend the compilation of a tenth volume of United States Laws ordered at the last session of Congress, till a joint resolution for a new edition of United States Laws pending before the Senate shall be disposed of by Congress; carried. Burke moved also an investigation, by the Committee on the Expenditures of the Navy Department, of a swindling contract with James C. Zabriskie, of New Jersey; and he presented a paper containing evidence of the filthiness of this contract. He moved the previous question, and the resolution was adopted. I moved a call upon the President for copies of the negotiation for Oregon. C. J. Ingersoll attempted to evade the call; but it

was carried by yeas and nays—one hundred and sixty-six to four.

29th. At ten this morning, meeting of the select committee on the memorial of Edward Jarvis and J. Wingate Thornton, for the American Statistical Association, concerning the errors of the sixth census. It was but a quarter-before eleven when a quorum was formed—R. Barnwell Rhett, Kenneth Rayner, Henry D. Foster, and Shepard Cary, four members of the committee, being absent. I read a few pages of the memorial, but the warder of the committee-rooms soon gave us notice that the House was in session, and we adjourned to next Wednesday, ten o'clock.

I found the House engaged in the consideration of resolutions, the call of the States for which had not been completed yesterday. Among those adopted yesterday was one offered by Hopkins, that copies of all the printed bills and of the calendar of the House should be regularly laid on the reporters' desks. Houston now moved a reconsideration of this resolution. On this question the vote by rising was sixty-seven to forty-one; no quorum. The yeas and nays were called. I asked if all the printed documents of the House were to be laid on the desks of all the reporters—thirty in number.

The Speaker did not know.

I asked if the Speaker did not understand the meaning of the resolution. He said I was as able to understand the order as he was. The vote to reconsider was one hundred and nineteen to thirty-two, and then the resolution was laid over for debate.

Reuben Chapman offered a resolution yesterday, and moved the previous question, that the members of the House consider that the public offices of the Union ought to be distributed among the States according to their federal population.

I enquired if he had considered the bearings of his resolution upon the constitutional Executive power of appointment to office.

He said that it was nothing but the opinion of the members of the House. His motion for the previous question failed.

I said I wished to debate the resolution ; and it was laid over.

Belser moved to suspend the rules to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union to take up the Oregon bill.

I urged a postponement of some days for Greenhow's book, and for the answer to the call upon the President for the state of the negotiation ; but the House went into committee. Duncan, Belser, and Bowlin made hour speeches for the immediate passage of the Oregon bill. The committee then rose, the House went again into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, passed three Appropriation bills, and adjourned.

30th. Mr. Owen called on me this morning, and said he had received a number of copies of his newly published book from New York, and would send me one ; which he did. Its title is, "The Book of the New Moral World, containing the Rational System of Society, founded on Demonstrable Facts developing the Constitution and Laws of Human Nature, and of Society." This is an octavo volume of two hundred and sixty-four pages, in very small type, and contains the system which he has been forty years preaching, without running himself entirely down, and without being discouraged by failure.

At the House, Henley, of Indiana, moved that twenty-five thousand copies of the report of the Committee on Patents, without the list, and three thousand copies of the whole report, be printed. Objection made. He moved to suspend the rules ; carried. Weller moved to reduce the number to fifteen thousand ; lost, and the resolution was adopted.

Hardin moved to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, to take up his Post-Office bill. The House went into committee, but when Hardin moved to take up his bill, the Chairman (Weller) said that the Oregon Territory bill was the first subject before the committee, upon which Thompson, of Mississippi, had the floor ; which he declined to yield, and so he wore out his hour in a fourth declamation for the establishment of the Territory of Oregon. He was followed for another hour by McClelland, of Illinois ; and he by Robert Dale Owen, who first infused a small spice of variety into the debate by declaring his readiness to vote for the bill, but inti-

mating that immediately upon the heel of it he will call up his joint resolution, offered and urged by him at the last session, that the twelve months' notice, stipulated by the Convention of 1827 of joint occupancy, of its annulment, should be given to Great Britain. Owen made also some objection to the section of the bill promising grants of lands to settlers.

Joseph R. Ingersoll opposed the bill. While he was speaking, John Tyler, Junr., brought in a message from the President, which raised the expectation that it related to this subject, but which proved to be a mere communication from the Governor of Illinois upon reports of the decisions of the United States Supreme Court. Hamlin, of Maine, then made a fiery speech for Oregon, and against England.

31st. Mr. Persico came this morning, to solicit my influence in his favor for employment to execute a colossal equestrian statue of Washington, in bronze, to be located south of the southern wing of the Capitol, for which he has applied by memorial to the Senate. The Library Committee on the part of the Senate have reported favorably upon his memorial, and he wishes me to speak a good word for him to Mr. George P. Marsh, or Mr. Edmund Burke, or Mr. Lucius Lyon, who are the members of the Library Committee on the part of the House.

I promised to speak to Mr. Marsh. I found the House in session. Tibbatts, from the Committee on the Militia, had reported a joint resolution for an appropriation of fifty thousand dollars for Samuel Colt's water-proof cartridges—a gimcrack new invention; referred to the committee of the whole on the state of the Union.

Romulus M. Saunders, from the Committee on the Judiciary, had reported a bill professedly for altering and amending the naturalization laws, but in substance utterly impotent and delusive—an insulting mockery to the native American petitioners for a novitiate of twenty-one years as the condition of naturalization.

Weller moved a resolution to take the Oregon Territory bill out of committee at two o'clock P.M. to-morrow, and called for the previous question. The resolution was carried, by yeas

and nays—ninety to sixty-five; after which the House went into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, Weller in the chair; and Aaron V. Brown, Chairman of the Committee on the Territories, presented three wretchedly-drawn-up amendments to remove, as he said, objections which had been made yesterday.

Washington Hunt made a short, feeble, and pointless speech against the bill.

Edward Joy Morris followed in the same course, willing to give notice to the British Government that the joint-occupation Convention is abrogated and annulled, but not to pass any further act of legislation upon the subject at present.

Douglas, of Illinois, raved an hour about democracy and Anglophobia and universal empire.

Severance answered by a cool, sensible, and moderate speech opposed to the whole bill, and even to giving the notice of annulment of the joint-occupation Convention.

I spoke about half an hour, remonstrating against the heedless haste with which the bill is to be driven through the House, without waiting for the book they have decided to purchase, or for the answer of the President to the call for the documents of the negotiation. I declared myself willing to give the notice of annulment to the British Government, and to constitute the Territory—to take effect after the expiration of the term of notice. Aaron V. Brown answered me. Committee rose; adjourned.

February 1st. In the House, after the usual number of spiteful and stupid preliminaries by the patent Democracy of the House, they went into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, Weller in the chair, upon the Oregon Territory bill.

Winthrop, who had taken the floor yesterday, made an excellent speech against the bill, and was answered with brutality by Shepard Cary, of Maine, and Andrew Kennedy, of Indiana.

Morse and Severance had a sparring bout with Shepard Cary and Hannibal Hamlin about the Ashburton Treaty.

I moved as amendment for the first section of the bill, that the President should cause to be notified to the British

Government that we annul and abrogate the joint-occupation Convention of 1827.

My amendment was lost, by tellers—seventy-five to seventy-seven. Hammett moved in substance the same amendment as the last section of the bill; and it was carried, by tellers—seventy-nine to seventy-seven.

Winthrop moved an additional section, prohibiting slavery throughout the Territory; carried, by tellers—eighty-five to sixty-six. Sundry other amendments were proposed and rejected, and the bill was thus reported to the House. Then came the previous question; carried. Motions to adjourn; that the amendments might be printed; rejected. In order to make it the unfinished business of Monday morning, the previous question was put and carried; and then the House adjourned without taking the main question.

3d. I attended the House at its first meeting; there were not sixty members present. The usual pressure of interloping business occurred, and I addressed the Speaker three or four times before he would hear me. I asked him if this was not the regular day for the call of the States for petitions. He said the first business of the day was the unfinished business of Saturday—the questions upon the amendments reported by the committee of the whole on the state of the Union to the Oregon Territory bill. I said I took it for granted that those questions would not be taken till the House should be full. In the mean time, I asked leave to present a memorial from John J. Abert, and five others, a committee of the National Institute, asking aid from the Government; together with sundry documents.

The Speaker said it could only be received with the unanimous consent of the House; and, after a pause, he said, "The Chair hears no objection," and the memorial was received. I moved its reference to a select committee of five, requesting that my name may not be of the number, considering myself as one of the petitioners. The motion was agreed to without opposition. I went to Joseph R. Ingersoll and asked him to give me five names to recommend to the Speaker for the committee. He accordingly gave me five names, but my own was

at the head of them. I struck it out, and inserted that of Ingersoll himself in its place. I changed one other of the names, and sent the list by French, the Clerk, to the Speaker.

A debate of two hours arose about a bill from the Senate concerning the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, in which all the members from Maryland took a deep interest.

Then came the questions on the Oregon Territory bill. Aaron V. Brown moved that a separate question should be taken on Hammett's amendment requiring the President to give notice to the British Government that we annul and abrogate the joint-occupation Convention of 1827. And Campbell demanded a separate question on Winthrop's amendment prohibiting slavery throughout the Territory; it was carried, by yeas and nays—one hundred and twenty-one to sixty-nine; and Hammett's amendment was carried—one hundred and twenty-one to eighty-two. The bill passed—one hundred and forty to fifty-nine.

4th. In the Senate, this day, Evans, Chairman of the Committee of Finance, reported against the revived Sub-Treasury bill which had passed the House, and Archer, Chairman of the Committee of Foreign Affairs, reported for the rejection of the joint resolution from the House for the annexation of Texas. Buchanan, a minority of one in the committee, undertook to support the joint resolution from the House.

In the House, on the motion of Burke, a resolution from the Senate for the appointment of a joint committee of three members from each House to ascertain the mode of counting the votes of the election of President and Vice-President of the United States, and of informing the persons chosen of their election, was concurred in by the House.

Tibbatts moved a suspension of the rules to smuggle in a bill of his own, making an appropriation for the improvement of certain harbors and rivers. There was a bill already reported by the Committee of Commerce for the same purpose. Tibbatts wanted to explain, but the House would not hear him; his motion to suspend the rules was rejected—fifty-two to ninety. Hardin moved to suspend the rules to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union to take up the

Post-Office bill. They went into committee, Linn Boyd in the chair, but, instead of the Post-Office bill, took up Houston's Land plunder bill. It was debated by Shepard Cary, Thomasson, Andrew Stewart, Bidlack, and Payne, till Weller got out of patience, and moved the committee to rise for him to offer a resolution to close the debate and take the bill out of committee to-morrow at twelve o'clock; which was done without opposition, Weller consenting to take one o'clock instead of twelve.

Then the House went into committee again on the same bill, and Bower, David L. Seymour, Jameson, and Hannibal Hamlin discussed the choicest mode of robbing the public lands, until the committee rose again.

6th. At the House, John P. Kennedy slipped in a call upon the Secretary of the Treasury for copies of certain instructions to the Collectors of Customs since last June. Committee of the whole upon the state of the Union upon the Indian Appropriation bill, which was not reported to the House yesterday, as I had supposed. Sundry amendments were offered and rejected.

Giddings made some enquiries concerning infamous items of expenditure veiled under charges such as for important services rendered the Commanding General in Florida, the real payment being to the owners of runaway slaves. Base as this transaction was in itself, it has been aggravated by fraudulent charges for the pretended increase of the slaves while fugitives, and hundreds of thousands of dollars deducted from sums due to the Indians to pay for fictitious runaway slaves from Georgia swindlers and for their pretended increase. Giddings now exposed this abomination again, as he had done before.

Edward J. Black, of Georgia, by a virulent personal invective upon Giddings, provoked him to return it with more than interest, but without its brutality.

Black, in his rage, crossed over from his seat, went round behind the Speaker, and, coming within the bar behind Giddings as he was speaking, made a pass at the back of his head with a cane. Slidell and Hammett, however, watching Black's movements, crossed over so as to meet him as he re-entered within the bar, before he had approached near enough to reach

Giddings with the cane. As he pressed on, with a face convulsed and the look of a coward fiend, Hammett threw his arms round him, and bore him off as he would a woman from a fire. Black sneaked back to his seat, and, in a tone so low that he could not be heard, whispered an apology for having trespassed on the order of the House.

8th. The bill for the relief of the heirs of James C. Watson, deceased, came up. A Georgia slave-trade speculation; Seminole Indian negro slaves taken prisoners by Creek Indian allies of the United States, said to have been promised by General Jesup as spoils of war to the Creeks; sold by them to Watson for fourteen thousand six hundred dollars, but refused to be delivered to Watson's agent because General Jesup had promised to restore them; and they were actually restored to their Seminole masters; and so the United States are to indemnify Watson for the loss of his bargain. It was debated a full hour, and then Hammett moved the previous question on the engrossment of the bill. I moved to lay it on the table. The House adjourned.

10th. The address to the people of the United States of the State Convention of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, held at Boston on the 29th and 30th of January, and the report of William S. Archer, Chairman of the Committee of Foreign Relations of the Senate, against the joint resolution sent to them by the House for the annexation of Texas to the United States, absorbed this morning's hours till I went to the House. These two state papers form a perfect parallel and contrast of intellect, politics, and morals between Virginia and New England. They are upon one and the same subject, and embrace the same topics. Archer's report is a daguerreotype miniature portrait of Virginia; Webster's address is a full-length likeness of New England, or, rather, of Massachusetts. For Webster's mind, though a native of New Hampshire and graduate of Dartmouth, has been moulded by thirty years of association with Massachusetts to the Boston standard of thought and the mental scale of Harvard.

At the House, the bill for the relief of the heirs of Samuel C. Watson, with the question to lay it on the table pending

over it, was the unfinished business from Saturday; but this day and to-morrow had been specially assigned for the business of the Territories, and, after not more than a quarter of an hour of smuggling, the rules were suspended, and the House went into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, John W. Davis in the chair. Robert Dale Owen had introduced a substitute for the bill from the Senate to dispose of the Smithsonian bequest. Without reading, it was ordered to be printed, and referred to the committee of the whole on the state of the Union. Some half a dozen bills for squandering money in the Territories went through the committee without opposition or remark. They were chiefly gotten up by the Jew delegate from Florida, Levy. Cave Johnson stopped one or two of them, which were no sooner looked into than they were found to be gull-traps, and were rejected.

At last, one bill was brought up for the admission of the Territories of Iowa and of Florida, each as a State, into the Union. A question arose about fixing the boundaries of the State of Iowa—with regard to which there is a controversy between them and the State of Missouri. Duncan moved an amendment specially defining the boundary of Iowa; against which Augustus Dodge, the delegate from the Territory, most solemnly protested. But Vinton rose in support of Duncan's amendment; the committee rose, and the House adjourned.

11th. This was the second of the days specially assigned for the consideration of the business relating to the Territories. By a slave-monger trick, the admission of the two Territories of Iowa and of Florida was included in one bill. There is a controversy concerning their respective boundaries between the Territory of Iowa and the State of Missouri, which occasioned much of yesterday's debate, and which terminated in a political dissertation by Vinton, of Ohio, one of the best and ablest men in the House, upon the future power and influence upon this Union of the Valley of the Mississippi. Just as he began, the committee rose, and the House adjourned over to this day—when, upon going into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, Vinton took up his theme, and expatiated upon the future centripetal glory and conservative power of the West

for the preservation and perpetuation of the Union, for his allotted hour.

I dare not say how I felt when he closed.

Belser, of Alabama, followed him with a bathos of sequel to his argument, sinking into the slough of slavery. There was a proviso in the bill that when the population east of Suwanee River shall amount to thirty-five thousand federal numbers they shall be set off as a separate State; but this was struck out, notwithstanding a desperate struggle by Levy. Morse, of Maine, moved a proviso that the admission of Florida should be on condition of her people's expunging from their Constitution two articles—one prohibiting their Legislature from emancipating slaves, and the other authorizing them to pass laws excluding colored persons from the State. Levy asked him if he was serious.

The Committee rose—seventy-six to seventy-six, by the casting vote of the Chairman. Cave Johnson moved to go into committee again, and take out the bill in twenty minutes, and the previous question. I moved to adjourn. Not in order. I moved to lay Johnson's resolution on the table; tug of an hour and a half, closing with an agreement to resume the debate on the bill next Thursday. Adjourned, past five.

12th. The select committee on the memorial from the American Statistical Association upon the errors of the sixth census should have met this morning, but Mr. Brengle was, except myself, the only member who attended. I had received a memorial from the Massachusetts Medical Society upon the same subject, which I entered at the Clerk's office and had referred to the same committee.

This was the day for opening and counting the votes of the Electoral Colleges for the offices of President and Vice-President of the United States for four years from the 4th of March next. The House met, as usual, at eleven, and was busily occupied until twelve in receiving and disposing of Executive communications and bills from the Senate. I asked leave to present a memorial from Enos Stevens, offering an invention which he calls a legislative teller, for taking the yeas and nays

expeditiously; but one objection was made, and the memorial was not received.

Precisely at noon the Senators came into the hall, and took seats provided for them in front of the Clerk's table. Willie P. Mangum, President of the Senate, took the Speaker's chair, and the Speaker occupied a chair at his left hand.

The votes were counted, and the result announced: one hundred and seventy votes for James Knox Polk, of Tennessee, as President, and George Mifflin Dallas, of Pennsylvania, as Vice-President; and one hundred and five votes for Henry Clay, of Kentucky, as President, and Theodore Frelinghuysen, of New Jersey, as Vice-President. The Senate then withdrew.

The House passed a joint resolution to inform the President and Vice-President elect of their new dignities, and adjourned. I had in the midst of the ceremony received from the Marshal, Hunter, a summons to attend the Criminal Court, to testify against Sangster. I went immediately after the adjournment of the House; but the cause was already continued to the next term of the Court, in March.

13th. Last evening I was visited by Judge William A. Duer, and by Mr. Morehead, one of the Senators from Kentucky, who came to enquire if I could inform him where he could find a letter from Thomas Jefferson to Dr. Sibley, written in the summer of 1803, and giving in more detail than in any other of his published letters his reasons for the opinion that the annexation of Louisiana to the United States transcended the constitutional powers of Congress.

My recollection did not enable me to give him the desired information. He wanted it to use in a speech which he proposed to make, and did make, in the Senate this day in support of the report of the Committee of Foreign Relations of that body against the joint resolution from the House for the annexation of the republic of Texas to this Union.

I went to the House this morning with the intention, if the opportunity should be allowed, of making an hour speech on F. H. Morse's proposed amendment to the bill for admitting Iowa and Florida as States into the Union; but, immediately after the meeting of the House and the appointment of Burke

and Linn Boyd as the committee on the part of the House to notify Polk and Dallas of their election as President and Vice-President of the United States, John W. Davis, of Indiana, renewed the motion which Cave Johnson had failed to carry on Tuesday, that all debate should cease on the bill for admitting Iowa and Florida as States into the Union, in twenty minutes after going into committee of the whole on the state of the Union and taking it up.

I protested again against this precipitation, and moved to lay Davis's resolution on the table, and asked, and barely obtained, the yeas and nays. Davis, upon advice of some of his associates, extended his time from twenty minutes to two hours, and my motion to lay his resolution on the table was rejected—fifty to ninety-one.

The House then went into committee, John W. Davis in the chair, and the two hours were occupied—by Morse about half an hour in support of his amendment, and an hour and a half by Bayly, of Accomack, and Levy, the delegate from Florida, in railing against the Northern States and the abolitionists. I was allowed no opportunity to speak. Other amendments were introduced. The provision in the bill that when the white population east of Suwanee River shall amount to thirty-five thousand they shall be set off as a separate State was struck out.

When the bill was reported to the House, the Speaker decided that the question upon that amendment should not be taken in the House. I appealed from that decision. Winthrop read a passage from Jefferson's Manual. The Speaker recanted, and the House concurred with the committee and struck out the proviso—one hundred and twenty-three to seventy-seven. The bill passed—one hundred and forty-five to thirty-four.

14th. Mr. James Knox Polk arrived last night in this city. His arrival was notified by a Democratic cannonade upon the Capitol Hill, and a Democratic escort from the depot of the railroad-cars to his lodgings at Coleman's National Hotel. He brought with him his wife and a small retinue, and was accompanied by the Vice-President elect, George Mifflin Dallas, who, coming from his residence at Philadelphia, joined him at the

Relay House, nine miles on this side of Baltimore. The parade of his reception was all partisan, and a display of one Democratic member of Congress to represent each State and Territory of the Union formed a congenial part of his cortège from the cars to his lodgings. He has affected to speak, at Nashville and at Cincinnati, of being the President of the nation, and not of a party; but he is sold soul and body to that grim idol, half albino, half negro, the compound of Democracy and of slavery, which, by the slave-representation in Congress, rules and ruins the Union.

Mr. Houck, the man from Missouri recommended to me yesterday by Garrett Davis, of Kentucky, came this morning, and I went with him to the lodgings of General Almonte, the Mexican Minister; but he was sick in bed with a fever. It was relief to me, for the morning's mail had brought the tidings of Santa Anna's final overthrow and captivity in Mexico.

The House very soon after meeting went into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, and, after a close and convulsive disorderly struggle to take up the Cumberland Road bill, the Post-Office bill, the bill for extending the right of suffrage in the city of Washington, settled first on the unfinished business at the last rising of the committee, the bill of appropriation for the improvement of the Fox and Wisconsin Rivers, which was amended, reported, and passed without opposition; then upon the Navy Pension bill, passed also without opposition; and then upon the Annual Appropriation bill for the West Point Academy, which brought up the prince of demagogues, Duncan. He made a furious speech of an hour and more, of charges against the Whigs of frauds in the recent Presidential election. He was repeatedly called to order, and pronounced by the Chairman Jameson out of order, just feebly enough to encourage him to proceed, as he did proceed, without in the least heeding the decision against him. He attacked also the abuses of the army and navy, the epauletted loafers, and was answered, but not silenced, by Haralson, Dromgoole, and Parmenter. But the West Point bill passed by yeas and nays—eighty-five to forty-two.

17th. Mr. C. Colton, during the late Presidential canvass a

devoted partisan of Henry Clay, and some time editor of a newspaper called *The True Whig*, called on me this morning and told me that he was now engaged in the composition of a work to be published in four octavo volumes, and to be entitled *The Life and Times of Henry Clay*; that he has been passing the winter at Ashland with Mr. Clay collecting materials for this work, which will be published in numbers of ninety-six pages each; that the first number was already prepared for the press, and would be published very soon; that this number and a part of the second would contain all the personal biography of Mr. Clay; that Mr. Clay had not been in the habit of keeping copies of his letters, and that he (Colton) was therefore under the necessity of applying to Mr. Clay's correspondents for a sight of the originals; and he thought it probable I might have some such letters which it might be desirable for him to see.

I told Mr. Colton that I had a few letters from Mr. Clay, written at different and distant periods of time, and in a very different state of the personal relations between us; that I should cheerfully allow him (Colton) to see them all so far as I could collect them; but with regard to certain transactions at Ghent, and to one event during my Administration, his duel with John Randolph, there had been a depth of dissension between him and me which I desired not to disclose to the public, but would wish to be buried in oblivion.

Mr. Colton said that Mr. Clay would desire nothing which might disturb the friendly relations now subsisting between him and me; and we had an hour or more of full and free conversation, which I have neither time, space, nor inclination here to record.

At the House, after a sparring debate upon questions of distribution of copies of the great work on the exploring expedition, on motions to reconsider the votes laying on the table the bill for a free bridge over the eastern branch of the Potomac, and the bill for compounding with the sureties of Samuel Swartwout, both of which were lost, the bill for regulating the pay of the army was taken up. The question of its engrossment had been ordered under the screw of the previous

question. It was now taken, and the bill was ordered to be engrossed. Cave Johnson called for the yeas and nays on the passage of the bill, but forgot to move the previous question. I seized the unexpected moment and took the floor, intending to speak about five minutes. James A. Black, the reporter of the bill, called me to order, thinking the previous question yet in operation. The Speaker told him it was not. I spoke at random till the hammer of the Speaker dropped.

18th. My speech of yesterday was a random shot—a mere digression, of which, with a dozen reporters in the House, no report was made. Stansbury, the reporter for the *National Intelligencer*, and, excepting Leavitt, the only good one in the House, was in the Senate-chamber, reporting a speech of Levi Woodbury for the annexation of Texas.

My speech, therefore, is as if it had never been made. Its only effect was to give rise to that of Kenneth Rayner, which was an apology to his constituents for voting against the annexation joint resolution.

James A. Black, Chairman of the Retrenchment Committee, who had reported the bill regulating the pay of the army, and for other purposes, without replying either to Rayner or me, moved the previous question, and his bill was passed, by yeas and nays—one hundred and seven to thirty-seven—every one knowing that it will not pass the Senate.

Three boys, Neely, Wise, and Dietz, members of a juvenile debating society, came to me last Saturday morning with a subscription paper to purchase a library. I desired them to come again; which they did last evening, with a small manuscript volume containing a well-kept record of their proceedings as a society. At my request, they left this volume with me, and will call again in two or three days.

This morning, Mr. C. Cushing visited me, and left with me the printed Executive message to the Senate of 10th December, 1844, containing the treaty with China. I spoke of the message to the House, which, at my motion, was referred to the Committee of Foreign Affairs, from which no report upon it has yet been received. I asked Mr. Cushing if he knew what the Administration proposed in this case to do.

He said Mr. Calhoun proposed a Minister with six thousand dollars salary. I said it ought to be a full mission of the highest order in our diplomacy.

He asked if he might give that as my opinion to the President and Mr. Calhoun. I said he might. He will see me again.

19th. I read a series of twelve letters printed in the Boston Atlas, addressed to me, on the subject of the annexation of Texas to the United States; well written, though I know not by whom; well reasoned and conclusive against the measure; but without avail, for it is now apparent that it will be consummated, and is written in the Book of Fate. The only insurmountable objection against it—the perfidious robbery and dismemberment of Mexico—is lost in the anarchy and civil war into which, precisely at this moment, Mexico has fallen. She cannot maintain her own identity; she is falling to pieces, and if Texas were restored to her she could not hold it. The opposition is now confined to the mere mode of making the acquisition, and the question of power will be finally decided by the will. The Constitution is a *menstruous rag*, and the Union is sinking into a military monarchy, to be rent asunder like the empire of Alexander or the kingdoms of Ephraim and Judah.

At the House, even while a quorum was forming, the question was taken on McKay's motion to cease debate in committee of the whole on the state of the Union on the Civil and Diplomatic Appropriation bill, and take it out of committee, at two o'clock to-morrow; and it was carried. Slidell then moved a reconsideration of the vote yesterday rejecting Pratt's bill appropriating twenty thousand and eight thousand dollars for refurnishing and repairing the President's House and out-houses and surrounding grounds; whereupon the debate of yesterday was rekindled for another term of two hours or more. The vote was reconsidered, the bill re-debated, and, after abortive motions for the previous question and to lay the bill on the table, it was again rejected, by yeas and nays—seventy-five to seventy-seven—many of the Whigs not voting at all.

The House then went into committee of the whole on the

state of the Union, Saunders in the chair, on the Civil and Diplomatic bill, which was debated till past five; when the committee rose, and the House adjourned.

As I was walking home, I met Mr. Gilpin and Mr. Bancroft, who turned and walked with me to my house, and came in and sat down a few minutes. Gilpin was Van Buren's Attorney-General the last half-year of his term. Bancroft was his Collector at Boston.

22d. Great preparations are making for what is called a National Birthday ball next Monday—intended as a celebration of Washington's birthday. But, as the festivity will run into the succeeding day, to avoid the profanation of the Sabbath the joyous anniversary is postponed from this day to Monday. Among other ceremonials to give splendor to the occasion, they appointed committees of the managers to wait personally on Mrs. Madison, Mrs. Hamilton, and me, to invite and escort us to the ball, and yesterday Mr. Evans and Mr. Bayard, Senators from the States of Maine and Delaware, called me out from my seat in the House and announced to me their mission to tender me the invitation; which I declined, owing to my age and state of health.

I had also received a written invitation to an Inauguration ball, to be given on the 4th of March, which, in like manner, I have declined.

This morning Mr. Goodman came, and I took his *Social History of Great Britain during the Reign of the Stuarts*, beginning with the seventeenth century, being the period of the settlement of the United States, in two duodecimo volumes.

In the House yesterday, I met Albert H. Tracy, and Andrew T. Judson, United States District Judge in Connecticut. I asked him if he had seen C. J. Ingersoll's report and bill appropriating seventy thousand dollars to indemnify the owners of the schooner *Amistad*; he said he had, and had intended to publish some remarks upon it, but had waited in the expectation that it would be duly exposed in the House.

24th. At the House, the day was almost entirely consumed in a struggle to "pass per saltum" a bill for reducing the rates of postage, received from the Senate. There is in all the free

States a loud popular clamor for a great reduction of the postage of letters, and it has taken a deep hold of the candidates for popular favor and votes in those parts. The sectional interests of North and South are in conflict with each other in this case. The Committee of Post-Offices and Post-Roads had reported a bill in the House to reform the postage, but it fell far short of the bill from the Senate. McKay had given notice on Saturday that he should this day move to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, to take up the Army and Navy Appropriation bills. He moved accordingly to go into committee this morning; and they did so. But they refused to take up his Army bill, and took up the Postage bill from the Senate. Hopkins moved to substitute the House bill in its place. But Rathbun moved the committee to rise for a resolution to take the House bill out of committee in ten minutes. The committee rose, and Hamlin, of Maine, made the ten minutes' motion; but it kindled a blaze of such indignation from the South that he soon flinched, and extended the time for debate in committee to two hours.

The Northern and Southern Democracy battled it all day, but the North finally prevailed to take the bill out of committee, after two hours of debate, to-morrow. Shepard Cary, by a small stratagem, got an additional hour for himself, and W. W. Payne took another to rave this day.

27th. The Senate, this evening, by a vote of twenty-seven to twenty-five, adopted the resolutions of the House of Representatives for admitting Texas as a State into this Union, with two additional resolutions giving the President an alternative as to the manner of consummating this transaction. This addition was proposed by Robert J. Walker, Senator from Mississippi, and is, in substance, the plan of Thomas H. Benton. It is a signal triumph of the slave-representation in the Constitution of the United States.

28th. The day passes, and leaves scarcely a distinct trace upon the memory of anything, and precisely because, among numberless other objects of comparative insignificance, the heaviest calamity that ever befell myself and my country was this day consummated. Immediately after the meeting of the

House, the joint resolutions of the House for the admission of Texas as a State into this Union were returned from the Senate, with an amendment consisting of two additional resolutions.

A motion was made to supersede the reading of the journal; but objection was made, and the journal was read. I presented the report of the joint committee of the Legislature of Massachusetts, by Mr. Bell, and the resolutions of the Legislature, concerning the annexation of Texas to the United States; and they were received.

The River and Harbor bill was taken up at the stage where it was last left, and, after several of the amendments adopted in committee of the whole were rejected, Tibbatts's substituted bill was carried, by yeas and nays—one hundred and two to ninety-two; and passed—one hundred and six to ninety-five. McKay moved to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union to take up the Army and Navy Appropriation bills; but the Texas resolutions had not yet been referred to that committee, and the House refused to go into committee—eighty-two to one hundred and seven. So the report of Burke's committee on the Rhode Island resolutions came up for the morning hour. Elmer finished the speech which he had begun against the report the last time it was before the House, and Henry Williams made a speech to sustain the report. Then, after another struggle to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, which the majority inflexibly refused until the Texas resolutions were referred to that committee, they were referred, and, after many fruitless efforts to delay their passage, were forced through without the allowance of any debate, and with stubborn rejection of every proposed amendment.

I took in this transaction (no part) save that of silent voting. I regard it as the apoplexy of the Constitution. The final vote of concurrence with the amendment of the Senate was one hundred and thirty-two to seventy-six. After which, on McKay's motion, the House resolved itself into a committee of the whole on the state of the Union, and crowded through the Navy Appropriation bill, alternating at pleasure between the committee with Duncan in the chair, and the House with Hopkins, Weller, and Linn Boyd by turns, the Speaker, Jones,

being indisposed. The Army Appropriation bill came next, and was squeezed along to its last lines, till the quorum failed, and at ten P.M. the House adjourned.

March 1st. As the day of inauguration of President James Knox Polk approaches, the city fills with strangers, chiefly of the Democratic party. For "wheresoever the carcass is, there will the eagles be gathered together;" and so will the carrion-crows.

This morning, at the House, John Campbell, of South Carolina, dying by inches of pulmonary consumption, immediately after the reading of the journal, entreated and obtained permission to have his name recorded in favor of the Texas resolutions adopted yesterday while he was absent from extreme indisposition. Campbell's life is probably not worth a year's lease. He said it was probably one of the last votes he should ever give in the House. He is one of those who, in the commission of crimes, think they are doing God service. He represents about eighty thousand slaves.

Committee of the whole on the state of the Union, McClelland in the chair. The bill for establishing new post-offices was taken up, loaded with a number of amendments, reported to the House, and passed. Then, committee of the whole again, Hannibal Hamlin, Chairman, and the Army Appropriation bill was taken up where it had slumped last night. Lucas, the member from the district in which is the Harper's Ferry Armory, moved to strike out the item of two hundred thousand dollars for the manufacture of arms, and insert three hundred and sixty thousand dollars. He had polled a large majority of the committee for it, but there was no quorum present. Hamlin, the Chairman, pronounced the amendment carried. I remonstrated against such a reckless waste of the public money, and made Hamlin revoke his decision, and compelled the adjournment for want of a quorum.

This morning Winthrop came and told me that half this money was wanted for the Springfield Armory, and that the item of three hundred and sixty thousand dollars was the estimate from the War Department which McKay and the Committee of Ways and Means had cut down. Lucas and

Harper's Ferry, however, carried the increased appropriation this morning, through the committee first, and then, by yeas and nays, through the House—eighty-five to seventy-five. The Army Appropriation bill, with sundry other encumbrances, was passed, and also an amendment of the Senate to the bill for reducing postage.

The House took a recess from three to half-past four o'clock, during which I came home and dined; then went back and sat till half-past ten; and then adjourned to ten o'clock Monday morning.

The Senate this day passed the bill from the House for admitting Iowa and Florida as States into the Union.

3d. Close of the Twenty-Eighth Congress, and of the Administration of John Tyler, Vice-President of the United States, acting as President—memorable as the first practical application of the experimental device in the Constitution of the United States, substituting the Vice-President as the Chief Executive Magistrate of this Union in the event of the decease of the President.

The House met at ten this morning, and business began by the call of all the committees for reports. They were chiefly asking to be discharged from the further consideration of the subjects referred to them—an office which I performed for the Committee of Manufactures and the select committee on the memorials of the American Statistical Association and the Massachusetts Medical Society relating to the errors in the returns of the sixth census. The day was consumed in the convulsive agitations and fraudulent devices usual on the closing day of a Congress. The session was protracted till three in the morning of Tuesday, and the time was passed in shuffling bills and amendments between the two Houses, in concurring and non-concurring with amendments, in receiving reports from the Committee of Enrolled Bills, in messages between the two Houses, and from the President announcing his signature of bills. The sixteenth joint rule, that no new bill shall be sent from either House to the other on the last three days of the session, and the seventeenth, that no bill shall be sent to the President on the last day, were suspended.

Numerous incidents characteristic of a last day, of which I can take no notice. Among them, the blow-up between Cave Johnson and Romulus M. Saunders, rival candidates for the office of Postmaster-General, and the triumph of Cave, sympathetic with his triumph as a candidate. So much for post-office patronage.

Owen and Burke made desperate attempts to force down a swindling Smithsonian bill, which I barely succeeded in defeating.

McKay, by a knavish trick, strangled an appropriation of forty thousand dollars for a sea-wall to preserve the Great Brewster. President Tyler vetoed a bill prohibiting payment for certain armed steamers for which he had contracted without law. He sent the bill back to the Senate, which, upon reconsideration, passed the bill with only one opposing vote. It came to the House, and was there passed again—one hundred and twenty-six to thirty-one. The first law passed in defiance of the veto precisely as midnight came. Adjourned at three A.M. of

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE TWENTY-NINTH CONGRESS.

March 4th, 1845.—Inauguration of James Knox Polk as President of the United States. The day after the closing scene of a dying Congress reminds me of what is said of a typhoon in the Asiatic seas, and of a West India hurricane, when it often happens that the transition from the most terrific fury of the tempest to a dead and breathless calm is instantaneous. Such is the change of one's personal existence between the whirlwind of yesterday and the tranquillity of this day. There was an unusual degree of pomposity paraded in the inauguration of James Knox Polk as President of the United States by the Democracy; but I witnessed nothing of it. A committee of arrangements for the reception and inauguration of the President elect had been appointed by the Senate, consisting of Levi Woodbury, of New Hampshire, Sidney Breese, of Michigan, and Walter T. Colquitt, of Georgia—all rank Democrats—who, in a very polite note, enclosed to me three printed copies of the arrangements, with a notification that a position had been assigned to the ex-Presidents, which the committee would be happy to have me occupy.

I did not avail myself of the invitation.

There was a procession of ten or eleven military companies, who escorted Mr. Polk and Mr. Tyler, who rode together in an open carriage from Coleman's National Hotel to the Capitol. They first assembled in the Senate-chamber, where George Mifflin Dallas, as Vice-President, was qualified as President of the Senate, and whence they proceeded to a platform protruding from the portico at the top of the flight of stairs ascending the eastern front to the entrance of the rotunda. There Mr. Polk delivered his inaugural address, half an hour

long, to a large assemblage of umbrellas, for it was raining hard all the time. The official oath was then administered to him by Chief-Justice Taney, and the draggle-tail procession, thinned in numbers, escorted him back to the President's house.

At night there were two balls: one at Carusi's Hall, at ten dollars a ticket, of all parties; the other, of pure Democrats, at five dollars a ticket, at the National Theatre. Mr. Polk attended both, but supped with the true-blue five-dollar Democracy. My family and myself received invitations to both, but attended neither.

5th. Numerous visitors this day, none of whose names, except that of Mr. Johnson, do I remember, absorbed my time, so that I could not even redeem the arrears of the last three days in this diary.

Mr. Lewis Johnson came, to relieve me from the trouble of calling again upon Mr. McCulloh, the Comptroller, to convince him of the justice of the remnant of claim of the estate of William Otis; for that last Monday morning he had promised a member of the Senate, a lawyer, five hundred dollars to get the claim through on that day, which he had done, not only by pressure upon the accounting officers of the Treasury, but by two personal visits to the then acting President, John Tyler, from whom he obtained a written order for the allowance of the claim, which passed through all the offices on that day. Mr. Johnson said he had not yet received the money, but it was ready for him at the Treasury, and when paid he would tell me who this Senator lawyer is; he had paid him the stipulated five hundred dollars, and found him greedy for more. I guess his name.

I rode with my wife and Mary to the Capitol, where they left me. I found some documents at the Clerk's office, and met John W. Jones, late Speaker, McKay, and Cobb, in the Post-Office. I had voted against the thanks to Jones. The testimony to his impartiality was too broad a lie for me to swallow. But I shook hands with him now—as I did with McKay, and told him it was to part from him forever for his baseness in defeating the appropriation of forty thousand dollars for a sea-wall in Boston Harbor.

President Polk this day nominated James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania, Secretary of State; Robert J. Walker, of Mississippi, Secretary of the Treasury; William L. Marcy, of New York, Secretary of War; George Bancroft, of Massachusetts, Secretary of the Navy; John Y. Mason, of Virginia, Attorney-General; and Cave Johnson, of Kentucky, Postmaster-General. They were all confirmed by the Senate, except Bancroft, whose nomination was laid over.

An entire new Cabinet, at the accession of a new President without a reverse of politics, is a novelty under the present Constitution. Rumors of it have been in circulation for some weeks, which I did not believe. I doubted especially the removal of the Secretary of State, John C. Calhoun, and even now cannot account for it, or for the tame complacency with which the Senate confirmed this day all the nominations but one.

7th. Mr. Lewis Johnson came this morning and told me the sequel of the negotiation of last Monday for the recovery of the remnant of claim upon the Treasury of the legal representatives of William Otis, deceased. He said he had yesterday received eight thousand six hundred and twelve dollars and twelve cents; that the Senator lawyer was William D. Merrick, by the magic of whose eloquence, on the last day of the Administration of John Tyler and of his own service as a member of the Senate of the United States, a written order from Mr. Tyler to the accounting officers of the Treasury to allow this sum on that day was obtained—the fruit of two personal visits of Mr. Merrick to Mr. Tyler on the same day.

Two years next June will have passed, during which has Mr. Johnson been urging the allowance of this claim, aided with all the legal abilities of two eminent lawyers—Fendall and Moffitt. I have twice visited the First Comptroller, McCulloh, to impress it upon his sense of justice, in vain. Mr. Merrick, for a fee of five hundred dollars, obtained it in one day. Mr. McCulloh, the First Comptroller, did not disguise his reluctance to sign the order. Mr. John Underwood, chief clerk of the First Auditor, who had thoroughly examined the claim and was strongly prejudiced against it, was still more averse to its allowance; but the order was obeyed.

I said the claim was just, and I was glad it had been allowed and paid; but I should have been more rejoiced if it had been more regularly allowed.

He said Mr. Merrick did not consider it irregular; he had given a receipt for the five hundred dollars, and had expressed a lively desire for more, particularly for the odd one hundred and twelve dollars and twelve cents over the eight thousand dollars. He had thought himself fully justified in resorting to this expedient, frequently used for the settlement of accounts at the Treasury, and much more efficacious than any accumulation of vouchers. He would, however, thank me to consider what he had said to me as confidential. I told him I should not be indiscreet. But this is the key to Merrick's Texas annexation vote—the "*præmium pudicitiae*."

12th. On the last night of the late session of Congress, close upon midnight, Samuel F. Vinton, an able and excellent member of the House, from Ohio, came to my seat and showed me a printed letter signed in manuscript by Mr. Bartley, Governor of Ohio, dated Columbus, 6th February, 1845, transmitting resolutions of the Legislature of Ohio, printed on the other leaf of the sheet, and rescinding certain resolutions of censure passed upon me by a former Legislature of the State in 1842. The rescinding resolution is preceded by a complimentary preamble, and an additional resolution requests the Governor to forward copies of the preamble and resolutions to each of the Representatives in Congress from the State, as he might think proper, with a request that they be laid before the House of Representatives. Mr. Vinton thought it was too late for that—in which I fully concurred.

Alexander Harper, of Zanesville, another worthy member from the State, afterwards came, and showed me the copy of the same document which he had received; and Robert C. Schenck, of Dayton, gave me the one that he had received. The next morning I received under a blank cover, directed to me, without post-mark, a copy of the same document; but it was addressed to John B. Weller, the very gall-bladder of the delegation from Ohio. I enclosed it under a cover and sent it to his lodgings at Brown's Hotel.

I took to the office of the National Intelligencer, and gave to Mr. Gales for publication, the closing sheets of the list of petitions, memorials, and remonstrances presented by me to the House of Representatives during the recent session.

13th. At the Patent Office, I applied to the Commissioner, Henry L. Ellsworth, for the ivory cane made from a single tooth, presented to me by Julius Pratt & Co., of Meriden, Connecticut, and which on the 23d of April last I deposited in the Patent Office. There is in the top of the cane a golden eagle inlaid, bearing a scroll, with the motto "Right of Petition Triumphant" engraved upon it. The donors requested of me that when the gag-rule should be rescinded I would cause the date to be added to the motto; which I promised to do, if the event should happen in my lifetime. Mr. Ellsworth sent the cane to my house. There is a gold ring immediately below the pommel of the cane, thus engraved:

"TO JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

Justum et tenacem propositi virum."

I crave pardon for the vanity of this memorial. Mr. Ellsworth told me that Edmund Burke, of New Hampshire, had attempted to get him displaced, on the plea that he favored the home interest. I had heard that Burke had a shark-like appetite for the office himself.

14th. On the 2d of January last, I received a letter from Benjamin S. Cowen, then a member of the House of Representatives of the State of Ohio, dated Columbus, 30th December, 1844, informing me in terms of great kindness that he had that day had the pleasure of voting for a resolution rescinding the resolution of censure which had passed upon me in the Legislature of the same State in February, 1842, for having presented the Haverhill petition. Mr. Cowen was at that time a member of Congress from Ohio. He mentioned in his letter to me that the resolution of censure was a joint resolution of the two Houses, that the rescinding resolution was introduced into the House by a young member from Portage County, named Paine, and that it must go to the Senate. On the 26th of February last, I received a letter from R. F. Paine

himself, dated Columbus, 21st February, 1845, informing me that his rescinding resolution had that day passed the Senate by a vote of twenty-one to fifteen. He speaks of the indignation which he had felt at the passage of the resolution of censure, and of the determination he had then formed, if he should ever have the opportunity, to get it rescinded; and he enquires whether, if I should reply to his letter, I should be willing to have the correspondence published. This proposal suggested to me the idea of reviewing the transactions in connection with my presentation of the Haverhill petition, in the nature of a deposition "in perpetuam rei memoriam," and for that purpose I began last Tuesday my answer to Mr. Paine, to which I have devoted ten days, and for which I need, above all, the daily admonitions of a cool and friendly mentor.

17th. I undertook this day to dispatch to the several Historical Societies in the United States the medal in honor of James Fenimore Cooper, which I promised (Commodore Elliott) to distribute, and which he sent me several weeks since for that purpose. I addressed a circular letter to the Presidents of the several societies—Albert Gallatin, at New York; Thomas Day, Hartford, Connecticut; James M. Wayne, Savannah, Georgia; James Savage, Boston; the President of the Historical Society of Ohio, Columbus; John Howland, Providence, Rhode Island; and the President of the Historical Society of Kentucky, Louisville; with each of these I forwarded one of the medals, and a card of Commodore Jesse D. Elliott. In the afternoon I took the ivory cane to Fischer's shop, and directed the date 3d December, 1844, to be engraved on the breast of the eagle, directly under the words, "Right of Petition Triumphant," on the scroll, that being the day on which the gag-rule against the reception of petitions touching the abolition of slavery (was rescinded). I walked round over the Tiber Creek, and by the Potomac Bridge, reflecting how strange it is that the recent session of Congress began with a silent vote by yeas and nays—one hundred and six to eighty-four—to rescind the rule excluding anti-slavery petitions, and ended by receiving the resolutions of the Legislature of Ohio rescinding the resolutions of censure upon me of the Legislature of 1842 for having presented

to H. R. U. S. the Haverhill petition; and yet this is the same House which, together with the remnant ruin of a Whig Senate, passed the resolutions for the robbery of the Mexican provinces, and the admission of Texas as a State, and future States, into this Union. ✓

19th. I received this morning a note from Philip R. Fendall, United States District Attorney, dated at the Court-house, and requesting my immediate attendance before the Criminal Court, held by Judge Dunlop, to give my testimony in the case of Thomas Sangster, indicted for an assault upon me on the 18th of last January. I walked accordingly to the City Hall, and on my way was accosted by a man from the State of Illinois, near Chicago, who said he merely wanted to shake hands and speak with me. I found the Court engaged in a trial for a small theft of a breastpin from Mr. Stiles, the member of the House of Representatives from Georgia, who was present. Some question upon the admission of certain evidence arose in that case, and it was intermitted to take up that of Sangster, who was seated in the rear of the lawyers' bar.

I was sworn, and requested to take the witness's stand—which I did. The indictment was not read; he had pleaded to it before. At Mr. Fendall's request, I related the circumstances of Sangster's assault upon me, as briefly as possible. A lawyer by the name of Ratcliff appeared in his behalf.

He asked if I had observed anything peculiar in his condition at the time.

I said I saw he was in a state of violent excitement, which I attributed either to intoxication or insanity, but I did not know which.

He asked if anything had subsequently passed between Captain Sangster and me.

I said I had received a few days (ago) a letter from him, containing a very handsome apology for the act, declaring his deep regret for it, and that it was a sudden and violent impulse, which he could not control, and which he should never cease to lament. He did not say what had been the cause of his passion; but from the moment that I received his letter every trace of resentment was banished from my bosom, and I should

have been happy to have buried the whole transaction in oblivion. I had so declared when called before the Grand Jury, and had expressed to them (a wish) that, so far as concerned my personal injury, they would in considering the case set it entirely aside.

Mr. Ratcliff asked if I believed that Mr. Sangster's letter to me was sincere.

I said I had not a particle of doubt that it was so, and that from the moment of receiving it I had banished every trace of resentment from my mind.

Mr. Ratcliff then read several letters, from General Scott, Adjutant-General Jones, and several officers, testifying to the high character and distinguished military services of Mr. Sangster. The Judge sentenced him to thirty days' imprisonment and one hundred dollars fine.

20th. When Mr. Ratcliff had read the letters yesterday testifying the honorable character and services of Captain Sangster, he addressed to the Court an argument founded upon them, and upon my disclaimer of all desire for his punishment on my account, for the mitigation of the sentence upon him. Mr. Fendall, the District Attorney, made no reply. Captain Sangster in his apology to me had not stated what his motive for his assault upon me was, nor how it had originated. I mentioned this fact in my testimony, and it was specially noticed by the Judge. Mr. Ratcliff said there *was* no motive; it was a sudden uncontrollable impulse of intoxication, without a motive. But he knew better. The studious concealment of the motive is some indication of its nature. All the testimonials to Sangster's character were given him as recommendations of him for appointments to petty offices which he solicited. He was moved to his assault upon me as a passport to a lucrative office. That he was instigated to it by some jackal of Jackson's is highly probable; or he had the instinct to see that nothing could so effectively recommend him to the patronage of John Tyler.

The Judge seemed somewhat embarrassed in delivering his judgment, acknowledging the weight of the certificates of character and of my desire that he might be dealt with mercifully, but not overlooking the aggravated nature of the unprovoked

offence, and the necessity of vindicating from outrage the immunity of the Representatives of the people in Congress. When he pronounced his sentence, Mr. Ratcliff earnestly entreated that its execution might be suspended until there should be time for an application to President Polk for a pardon; to which the Judge assented. Within an hour afterwards, Mr. Ratcliff came to my house with the written application to the President, to which I readily subscribed my name, declaring my concurrence in its prayer.

25th. I finished an address to my constituents, the inhabitants of the Eighth Congressional District of Massachusetts, with the speech which I intended to have made on the bill reported on the 10th of April, 1844, by the Committee of Foreign Affairs of the House, to indemnify the owners of the Spanish schooner *Amistad*. A baser and more profligate misapplication of public money was never made than that proposed by this bill; and seven years in a penitentiary-cell would be a strictly just retribution for the report. In examining the compositions of Charles J. Ingersoll it is impossible to suppress indignation, and next to impossible to speak of them in terms of moderation. There is in this report a long, specious, snakish argument against the decisions of the United States Courts in the case of the *Amistad* captives. But it turns upon a gross and glaring forgery, a false date, alleging that the schooner *Amistad* was seized by Lieutenant Gedney on the 26th of August, 1839.

I took my manuscript to the office of the National Intelligencer and left it with Mr. Gales, who promised me to publish it after two or three other speeches delivered at the late session which he has yet on hand. It will work out not quite six columns of the paper; and he promised to send me the proof-slips for revisal. It is so slovenly and weak of composition that I hesitated whether to publish or give it to the flames.

In the evening I wrote a short letter to H. L. Ellsworth, Commissioner of Patents, to return the ivory cane presented to me by Julius Pratt & Co., of Meriden, Connecticut, in deposit at the Patent Office.

28th. Morning visit from Mr. Heap, heretofore Consul of the United States at Tunis, afterwards Dragoman of the mission to

Constantinople, and now a solicitor for restoration to his office at Tunis. Conversation with him—anodyne.

Mr. Bodisco, the Russian Minister, said to me last evening, "Sir Robert Peel adds six thousand seamen to the British navy for the service of the present year, and raises the estimates for the navy to the round sum of seven millions sterling—thirty-five millions of dollars. That is for your special benefit. He takes your occupation of Texas very quietly, but he will send a large naval force into the Pacific, and then, if you touch Monterey, war, universal war, will blaze out." Whereupon I observe—1. Mr. Bodisco blows the coals. 2. He has no objection to the annexation of Texas to the United States. He said, laughing, that Russia, herself in the habit of taking ten times the amount of Texas, could not object to that measure, but the main point was to do it in a genteel way; and the inconceivable thing to him was that, with the measures of Congress for the annexation of Texas, there was not a dollar of additional expense appropriated in preparation for war.

J. S. Skinner told me last night that when I was President and he was Postmaster at Baltimore he had written and published in the newspapers sundry pieces against me, till he was told that I had heard of it, and, after enquiring whether he faithfully performed the duties of his office, and being answered that he did, had said, "Then tell him that he may write against me as much and as often as he pleases." Skinner added that from that day he never published or wrote a line against me.

The rumors now are that Polk has consulted his Cabinet on the principle of political proscription; that Buchanan, Walker, and Mason were against it, Marcy, Bancroft, and Cave Johnson for it, and that Polk himself decided for the turn-out.

29th. Mr. Lewis, the contractor with this Government for the supply and support of the light-house establishment, called on me this morning and invited me to inspect in the basement story of the Patent Office the new apparatus of light-house lamps, invented in France by Fresnel, and imported from France by Mr. Lewis himself. I went accordingly, and saw three of the four classes of refracting glasses substituted in the place of the old semi-spherical metallic reflectors. The lamps are of

brass; the machinery for circulating the oil and preserving the proper measure of the wicks curious and complicated. The polygonal lenses, round which a flame horizontally revolves, with a similar denticulated glass of smoky-crimson color, form a column of splendid light, which must be seen to be understood. The four classes are graduations of the size of the lenses, the largest of which are in eight concentric circles. The smallest of the four is of the size introduced at the entrance of Boston Harbor. I agreed with Mr. Lewis to go and see one lighted up next Monday evening at seven o'clock. Fresnel first published a notice of this invention by a memoir read before the Academy of Sciences at Paris, "*Sur un nouveau Système d'Éclairage des Phares*," in 1822. It has now been introduced in all the maritime countries of Europe.

Mr. Campbell dined with us, and has taken lodgings at Mrs. Bihler's, three doors west of our house. He has succeeded in obtaining an office of Confidential Clerk under the Secretary of War, Marcy; but the city is in an uproar at the system of proscription from Executive offices upon which President Polk has commenced, and which threatens to be far more extensive than any that has ever before been carried through.

31st. I became immersed this morning in the annual report of the Commissioner of the Patent Office, Henry L. Ellsworth—a document which he has rendered so interesting that at the recent session of Congress the House ordered twenty-five thousand extra copies of it to be printed for circulation by the members. He has for a succession of years been improving it from year to year, till it now forms a volume of five hundred pages, and a calendar of mechanical and agricultural inventions and discoveries more sought after than any other annual document published by Congress. Ellsworth has turned the Patent Office from a mere gimcrack-shop into a great and highly useful public establishment. Yet there has been from the day of Polk's inauguration to the present a report in circulation that he has been, or is this day to be, removed, and that Edmund Burke or Benjamin F. Bidlack is to be appointed in his place. I read the report this morning. It consumed an hour of time, and diverted me from my prescribed and appropriate employment; further,

it seduced me to turn over for another hour and more the subsequent pages and the appendix to the report. As I proceeded, I found continual instigation to further enquiry, and was finally obliged to break off so as not to lose the whole day.

April 1st. I went to the Astronomical Observatory, within the last two years on the hill upon the borders of the Potomac, and under the charge of Lieutenant Maury. I found him there; but it was past meridian, and with a beclouded sky. The site is beautiful, on the spot originally reserved by General Washington for a University. The building is small and low, without any dwelling-house or garden connected with it. The instruments which I saw were on the first floor: a mural circle fastened to a granite pier, perhaps seven feet high; a transit instrument in the form of a double cone suspended between two granite cubic columns. These two are in one room, and with sky-light doors on the roof over them, and a sidereal clock in the room. In another, there is an excellent solar clock, and about forty box-chronometers kept for regulation, to be supplied from time to time to the ships of the navy going to sea. On the chamber-floor, under a dome easily movable round, is a Fraunhofer refractor of fourteen feet focal distance, with an object-glass of nine inches diameter. These instruments are susceptible of being used for valuable observations; but the building is not yet completed, and, I apprehend, not well built. They concluded to make the magnetic observations under-ground, and have accordingly a subterranean station; but it leaks, either from springy ground or from rain; the stone floor is covered with water. They have been obliged to suspend the observations; and the instruments which are there, if suffered to remain there long, will perish by the dampness of the atmosphere. Lieutenant Maury was very obliging, and promised to call on me the first clear and dark evening, to go and look through the large refractor at the nebula in the sword of Orion.

2d. Mr. Lewis Johnson came and gave me to read the letter from Mr. John Otis, of Barnstable, which I had delivered to him two days since. Mr. Johnson told me of several strange rumors which had got abroad and come to his ears, arising from

the successful interference of the late Senator from Maryland, Merrick, on the very last day of John Tyler's Administration, which obtained from him an order for the payment of his claim of six thousand eight hundred and twelve dollars and sixty-eight cents, as administrator of William Otis. He said Mr. Merrick had been attacked in the *Baltimore Patriot* for his final speech and vote on the Texas question, and had published in the *Globe* an answer in his own defence addressed to the editor of the *Patriot*, who in his reply charges Mr. Merrick with this arrangement for extracting money from the Treasury. And he added that he heard, as if by casualty, severe and very erroneous remarks by strangers relating to this affair, charging not only Mr. Merrick, but Mr. Tyler himself and the Comptroller, with sharing largely of the money.

I said I was not surprised at the circulation of such rumors; they were natural exaggerations of what I thought very exceptionable in the conduct of Mr. Merrick—receiving five hundred dollars for obtaining by personal influence from Mr. Tyler the positive order on the last day of his Administration for the payment of this claim, against the earnest opposition both of the Auditor and Comptroller of the Treasury. I believed the claim just, and rejoiced that it had been paid; but I could not approve Mr. Merrick's agency in obtaining it.

I received from the office of the *National Intelligencer* the proof-slips of my address and intended speech on the bill to indemnify the owners of the Spanish schooner *Amistad*, and the report with which that bill was ushered into the House. I revised the copy, and took it to the office for publication to-morrow. Mr. Gales promised to print for me one hundred copies in octavo form. He spoke of the multitudes of removals from public offices, the besom sweeping at the present time without remorse, and being for the first time avowedly founded not only upon the principle of dismissing political enemies and providing for friends, but for the further purpose of official rotation.

3d. I shall have finally to break away from hence without accomplishing almost any of those tasks which I had imposed upon the leisure of the present spring and summer. I have

effected only the letter to R. F. Paine, and the address and speech on the bill to indemnify the owners of the Spanish schooner *Amistad*, with the slanderous report of the Committee of Foreign Affairs. The address and speech were published in the *National Intelligencer* this day. I called at the office, and took back my manuscript and three copies of the paper, which I directed to the editors of the *Old Colony Memorial*, at Plymouth, of the *Quincy Aurora*, and of the *American Whig*, at Taunton, requesting each of them to publish the address and speech in his paper. Mr. Gales had forgotten his promise to print for me a hundred copies of the address and speech in octavo form, and he said the types were already distributed, but he would in two or three days print a hundred copies for me in another form without charge; and he gave me to read a letter from Charles J. Ingersoll, with two slips from the *Philadelphia Public Ledger* of 25th and 26th October, 1843, being a Law Academy lecture on the law of foreign missions, delivered by him, and which he requests Gales to republish in the *National Intelligencer*. It is the offscouring of a commonplace-book of extracts from a multitude of writers, from Moses to Sir James Mackintosh, upon the laws and usages of embassies. This republication now must be to remind Mr. Polk of his peculiar qualifications for a foreign mission. The lecture is an olla podrida, written in a lively style, and, as in all his compositions, full of inaccuracies.

4th. I find it impossible to carry out the resolution formed during the session of Congress, to devote the recess to subjects of public interest which I was then compelled to overlook. I have, indeed, disposed of two of them for the present; but the rescinding of the gag-rule, the Jackson fable of the Erving Treaty with Spain, the Smithsonian bequest, the controversy between Massachusetts and South Carolina, the new States of Texas, Iowa, and Florida, the Territories of Nebraska and Oregon, and the errors of the sixth census—all subjects which I did intend thoroughly to sift before the next session of Congress, they are slipping through my hands.

I called this day on Mrs. Madison, and delivered to her, according to the request of Commodore Jesse D. Elliott, the

silver medal in honor of James Fenimore Cooper, which he caused to be struck, and which he left with me for the purpose. The other copies, for the Historical Societies, for Henry Clay, and for myself, were all in bronze; this one only was in silver. Her son, John Payne Todd, and her niece, Anna Payne, were with her.

I then paid a visit to Mr. Pakenham, the British Minister, and had a conversation of more than two hours on the general politics of the present times, and especially upon the Texas and Oregon questions. I spoke to him with unlicensed freedom, without drawing out anything but generalities from him. He lent me a small volume, by Thomas Falconer, London, 1844, on the discovery of the Mississippi, and on the Southwestern, Oregon, and Northwestern boundary of the United States.

I took my twilight walk, and, as it darkened, Lieutenant Maury came with a hack and took me to the Observatory, where I looked through the large Fraunhofer refractor at the nebula Orionis, at the cluster of spangles in Auriga, at the blazing light of Sirius, and at the double stars, orange and blue, in Andromeda.

6th. At the Second Presbyterian Church this morning, Mr. Knox preached from Matthew xxvi. 38: "Then saith He unto them, My soul is exceeding sorrowful, even unto death." The sufferings of the Saviour constitute an inexhaustible fund for pulpit eloquence. The mystery of those sufferings is incomprehensible. The narrative, by its simplicity and minuteness, beggars all human invention, and staggers all rational belief. He was executed for blasphemy, in strict conformity to the Mosaic law delivered from Sinai. The accusation, attested by two false witnesses, was, that He had said He was able to destroy the temple of God, and to build it in three days. He had said what was equivalent to it, but in a figurative sense, referring to His own death and resurrection. When charged with the words before the high-priest, He answered nothing, till, by him adjured by the living God to say whether He was the Christ, the Son of God, He answered, "Thou hast said;" and then added, "Nevertheless, I say unto you, Hereafter shall ye see the Son of man sitting on the right hand of power, and

coming in the clouds of heaven;" whereupon the high-priest rent his clothes, declared Jesus guilty of blasphemy upon His own confession, and took a vote of the chief priests, elders, and council, who sentenced Him to death. All this He before knew; yet He had three times prostrated Himself in prayer to God the Father, that if possible this cup might pass from Him. And yet when Peter smote off the ear of the high-priest's servant, Jesus sharply rebuked him, said He could pray to his Father, who would give Him more than twelve legions of angels; and Luke says that He touched the man's ear, and healed him. Mr. Knox's argument dwelt chiefly on the mental agony of Jesus in the garden of Gethsemane, of far more cruel torture than the suffering of the body by crucifixion; and this was urged as a consideration to fortify the doctrine of the Atonement.

In the afternoon, at St. John's Church, Mr. Pyne read the evening service for the second Sunday after Easter, and Professor Goodman preached from Matthew xxvii. 54: "Truly this was the Son of God." It seemed little more than a continuation of Mr. Knox's morning discourse. The sufferings of the crucifixion, and the incidents of humility, resignation, benevolence, and self-sacrifice, then exhibited by Jesus Christ, were recapitulated in a very well written, though not very well delivered, sermon. The Roman centurion exclaims, "Truly this was the Son of God." The high-priest adjures Jesus to say whether He is the Son of God. But are we not all sons of God? Mr. and Mrs. Polk were at the Presbyterian Church this morning; and as we came out, after handing his ladies into their carriage, he turned back and came up to me and shook hands with me very courteously. I received these advances with a return of equal civility.

7th. After much waste of time in deliberation, I concluded to prepare a historical memoir on the Patent Office, to be read at a meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society—the work of a month, if ever accomplished. I began upon it last evening, and despair of being able to write more of it than the average of one page a day. I begin with the paragraph in the Constitution authorizing Congress to promote the progress of science and the useful arts.

10th. My enquiries concerning the patent laws are leading me into a boundless ocean, upon which I am already afloat without rudder or compass. In analyzing the first patent law of Congress, of 10th April, 1790, an example of the exercise of the power granted by the Constitution, and considering whence it originated, I was brought immediately to a search into the details of the English law. I came at once to the statute of James I., chapter iii., 1624, which unfolds the whole theory of natural right. That statute, published in Godson's Treatise, declares all monopolies, and grants of special privileges by the Crown, contrary to law, null, and void. By a section of the Act, patents for new inventions for fourteen years and under are specially excepted, provided they do not increase the price of goods, are not contrary to law, or inconvenient. The authority of the Crown to issue such patents is recognized as a part of the common law. I hunted an hour or two in the Madison Papers to see if there was any trace of a debate in the Convention which formed the Constitution upon the introduction of the clause giving the power to Congress to issue patents. In England it is a flower of the royal prerogative. The inference from the clause in the Federal Constitution is, that it was held to have reverted by the Revolution to the whole people of the Union, and was proper to be conferred upon Congress. It is a nominal power to promote the progress of science and useful arts by a specific power to secure to authors and inventors, for a limited time, the exclusive right to their writings and inventions. I found nothing about it in the Madison Papers.

I had received last evening a note from Mr. G. W. S. Lewis, advising me that he would this evening, at half-past seven, light up his French light-house lamps on the ground-floor of the Patent Office building, and inviting me to come and see them. I went accordingly, and was astonished at the effect of the lighting of the French lamps. There were lighted at the same time two of the lamps late in use at the Boston light-house, and similar to those now in use there. The difference is scarcely conceivable between the illumination of the old lamps and the first class of the new. But it was not equal to the

difference between the illumination of the first and fourth class. This last produced a blaze as insupportable to look at as the sun at noonday with a clear sky.

11th. Mr. George Bancroft, now Secretary of the Navy, called on me this morning, and again in the evening, and I had two long conversations with him, on subjects connected with the Navy Department, the Observatory, the magnetic apparatus and observations, the Smithsonian bequest, and the National Institute, and finally upon Mr. Lewis's catoptrical light-house lamps and the Patent Office. He asked for advice with regard to the Observatory, and the magnetic observations, which are suspended.

My advice was: 1. To build a dwelling-house adjoining the Observatory. 2. To order immediately the resumption of the magnetic observations. Much, too much, loose and desultory conversation besides, to be very much restricted hereafter. Mr. Bancroft professes great zeal to make something of his Department. I heartily wish he may. He intends to be a hard-working man. Practice should follow and realize theory. Drop the anchor, Hope!

17th. Mr. Markoe, from the Department of State, called on me this morning, to enquire if I could refer him to any book which would indicate the origin of some commercial privilege in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, first enjoyed by France and Spain by virtue of some secret article and stipulation in a treaty, afterwards obtained by Great Britain by force, and which all the diplomatic agents of the United States have endeavored to obtain, without success.

I told him I had never heard of this privilege before, and knew not what it was; but I referred him to Martens's, Jenkinson's, and Chalmers's Collections of Treaties for the Family Compact, Treaties of the House of Bourbon, and to Flassan's *Histoire de la Diplomatie Française*.

I read the remainder of the message of 20th February last, with the correspondence of H. A. Wise concerning the slave-trade. Wise's passion for notoriety and his mountebank abhorrence of the African slave-trade have drawn him into a position from which it will be curious to see how he will extricate

himself. The slave-trade piracy is carried on from Brazil, as it was and is from the Havannah. Instead of falling in with and aiding and abetting it for a share of the plunder, as Trist did at the Havannah, Wise sallies forth like a knight of the sad face against it. He moralizes and heroizes with the British Minister Hamilton and with the slave-mongers of Rio, till he takes a lover's leap from the sublime to the ridiculous.

18th. I had read part of the book lent me by Mr. Pakenham, on the discovery of the Mississippi, and on the Southwestern, Oregon, and Northwestern boundary of the United States; by Thomas Falconer, of the Honorable Society of Lincoln's Inn. London: Samuel Clarke, 18 Pall Mall, East. I resumed the reading of this book this morning, which is a sort of argumentative treatise upon the Texas and Oregon questions, of such fearful magnitude in the present condition of our country. There is much information, with some important errors, in the dissertation of Mr. Falconer; but the chief interest of his book is in the translation of original memoirs of La Salle and Tonti, and other documents recently published, which I had never before seen.

I called this morning first at the Department of State, and had a long conversation with the Secretary, Buchanan. I enquired what had been done with the call of 25th February for the correspondence of the former Consul at Rio de Janeiro, Slacum. He made enquiry of Mr. Derrick, who found the resolution and said it had been received too late to be answered before the close of the session.

I enquired if any further dispatches had been received from Mr. Wise since his letter to Mr. Calhoun of 14th December, 1844, communicated with the message of 20th February last.

He said, speaking confidentially, that a very long dispatch had been received, and a voluminous correspondence, which he had not yet had time to read through; but there had been great excitement, and a quarrel, of which he gave me a brief summary. A confused account of it has been published in the newspapers in a private letter from Rio de Janeiro, dated 9th February last.

I said I highly approved Mr. Wise's exposure of the scan-

dalous slave-trade carried on by Americans and English from Brazil; but I was apprehensive he had carried out the spurious doctrine, that the flag carries territorial jurisdiction with it all round the world, to an untenable extent; and I hoped the President would not assume it, for it could not be maintained.

He said he thought so too. He would examine the whole correspondence, and see me again.

In the Chief Clerk's (Derrick's) chamber I met Mr. Ellsworth, the Commissioner of Patents, and shortly afterwards called on him at his office. I put many questions to him concerning the early history and origin of the Patent Office; but the fire of 1836 has consumed almost all the primitive records. The Digest of 1839 divides all the patents issued into twenty-two classes of subjects, with an alphabetical list of patentees. I asked if there was a chronological list marking the succession of time in the dates of the issues. There is not; nor any list of the eminently useful, important, and successful patents.

Mr. Ellsworth spoke to me of the obstinate resistance he had to encounter from John C. Calhoun to the improvements in his reports since the new organization of the office in 1836, and the bitter complaints of Edward J. Black, of Georgia, that the Patent Reports are regarded as tariff documents, and actually defeated his election.

20th. I had received a written invitation, signed by F. S. Evans in behalf of the committee of arrangements, for the attendance of myself and my family at the dedication, at eleven o'clock this morning, of the Methodist Episcopal Church on Massachusetts Avenue, near Ninth Street. I went accordingly, and found the place—not without difficulty; for, long as I have lived at Washington, I did not even know in what direction Massachusetts Avenue was to be found. I was wandering round in the neighborhood of Ninth Street, when a stranger who was walking with a lady met me, and, seeing I was upon the search, asked me if I was looking for the Methodist church. I said I was; and he told me it was two squares above. The Massachusetts Avenue runs parallel with the Pennsylvania Avenue, due north, and about half a mile distant from it; but it

is not laid out as a street. My strolling had belated me. The church was excessively crowded, and there were numbers of people standing in the street, without the doors. An attendant at the church saw me as I approached, beckoned me to follow him, and made way for me through the throng up to the chancel fronting the pulpit, where they gave me an arm-chair. The Secretaries of State and War, Buchanan and Marcy; the Mayor, W. W. Seaton; J. C. Rives, one of the editors of the *Globe*; and the Rev. Dr. R. Gurley, were there. President Polk and his wife, with a younger, handsome woman, soon after came in. The President had a chair given him in the chancel, and the ladies two in the side aisle. Mr. John Y. Mason, the Attorney-General, soon after came in, with two little daughters.

I found the Rev. William Ryland, a chaplain at the navy-yard, in the pulpit, reading the first chapter of *Isaiah*; after which he read the latter part of the fourteenth chapter of *Matthew*. Then the choir sung a Methodist hymn, and Mr. Ryland preached from *Isaiah* xi. 9, the latter clause of the verse: "The earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea." Then notice was given that the Rev. Mr. Slicer would preach this afternoon at half-past three, and this evening at half-past seven; and Mr. Slicer himself made a cormorant exhortation for a bountiful contribution to pay the debt for building the church, and he gave a pleasant account of how Methodist churches are built and maintained—all by voluntary contribution. Then the *Hallelujah Chorus* was sung by the choir, and the congregation was dismissed.

21st. Mr. Bond was here, and I had much conversation with him respecting the astronomical and magnetic observatories. He thinks the dwelling-house and the building for the magnetic observations indispensable here, and that they may be detached from the Observatory, but connected with it by covered ways. The magnetic observations have been superseded at Cambridge, as well as here, and I see that Bancroft will talk more than he will act. I finished the reading of Mr. Thomas Falconer's book on the discovery of the Mississippi, and on the Oregon, which gives me an entire new view of the Louisiana question. The second memoir of La Salle, printed first in this (book), proves

that his expedition from La Rochelle in 1684 was warlike against the Mexican mines. But I must suspend my further enquiries on this subject, and return the two volumes of Hennepin, Tonti, and Joutel to the library of Congress.

Mrs. Thornton sent me several papers of the late Doctor relating to the Patent Office, useful to my enquiries, but which suggest others. I find myself continually arrested by chronological uncertainties, which I cannot stop to ascertain. In all undertakings to write lectures, addresses, orations, or memoirs, if I suffer myself to be interrupted I scarcely ever am able to resume the subject. My abortions of this kind are almost numberless. As Napoleon said to Count Romanzoff, "*il faut que j'aille*"—I must go ahead.

30th. The morning was occupied with packing up and preparations for my departure—always an irksome condition. Between one and two, afternoon, Mr. McClintock Young, Chief Clerk of the Treasury Department, sent me word that the Secretary was in his office, and would see me. I went immediately, and found the anteroom and the entry before his door crowded with persons waiting for admission—four out of five, if not all, place-hunters. The door-keeper opened the door for me, and Mr. Walker received me with civility. I had about half an hour's conversation with him concerning the Smithsonian bequest, and gave him my reasons for arresting in the House of Representatives, on the last night of the session, the bill which had passed the Senate. I mentioned to him my objections to the organization of the Board of Managers, qualified as a committee of Congress, but a majority of whom, though elected as members, three from the Senate by their President and three from the House by their Speaker, would be no longer members when called to act as members of the institution. I told him of the absurd amendment proposed in the House to the bill from the Senate, by Robert Dale Owen, of Indiana, and the desperate plunges made by him, and by Burke, of New Hampshire, to force the bill upon the House in its last agonies, and the selfish purpose transparent through their motions—Burke's, made close upon the midnight hour, to take it out of committee in ten minutes.

Mr. Walker, after referring to his agency heretofore as a member of the National Institute, which was unsuccessful, said that his preference for the employment of the fund was, first, for an astronomical observatory on my plan; and, secondly, for a large library, chiefly of such books as are not to be found in other public libraries. He would cheerfully co-operate, as far as he might be able, to carry such a purpose into effect. He agreed with me that a corporation, and not a committee of ex-members of Congress, was the proper organization for the management of the fund, and that measures should be taken for redeeming the principal and interest from the State of Arkansas. I left him, with a lingering hope that something may be done for the disposal of the bequest at the next session of Congress.

QUINCY, *June 26th.*—I saw the sun rise and set, clear, from Charles's house on the hill. The pleasure that I take in witnessing these magnificent phenomena of physical nature never tires; it is a part of my own nature, unintelligible to others, and, I suppose, a singularity which I should suppress or renounce. The sensations which affect me at the rising and setting sun are, first, of adoration to the power and goodness of the Creator of this wonderful universe, mingled in the morning with thanksgiving for the return of the great luminary of heaven, the source of life and of light; in the evening, with sadness at the departure of this greatest of blessings, with a conscious sense of the dependence of all animated nature upon the constant beneficence of the Creator, and with humble supplication for forgiveness of my own errors and infirmities, and for the continuance of the never-ceasing bounties of the omnipotent and all-seeing God. These sentiments are always the same, and are rather quickened than deadened by repetition. I take pleasure in indulging them, and wish that my conscience could testify to the influence of these sentiments on my conduct in life.

29th. Mr. Lunt preached this morning from Ecclesiastes iii. 1: "To every thing there is a season; and a time for every purpose under the heaven." He had given out as the first hymn to be sung the 138th of the Christian Psalter—his compilation,

and the hymn-book now used in our church. It was my version of the 65th Psalm; and no words can express the sensations with which I heard it sung. Were it possible to compress into one pulsation of the heart the pleasure which, in the whole period of my life, I have enjoyed in praise from the lips of mortal man, it would not weigh a straw to balance the ecstasy of delight which streamed from my eyes as the organ pealed and the choir of voices sung the praise of Almighty God from the soul of David, adapted to my native tongue by me. To this thrill of rapture, the composition of which I dare not analyze, there was one drawback. In the printed book the fifth line of the second stanza reads, "The morning's dawn, the evening's shade," and so it was sung; but the corresponding seventh line of the same stanza reads,

"The fields from thee the rains receive,"

totally destroying the rhyme. I instantly saw that the fifth line should read, "The morning's dawn, the shades of eve;" but whether this enormous blunder was committed by the copyist or the pressman I am left to conjecture. That it was committed by me is scarcely possible. The correction is so obvious that it could scarcely escape the notice of any intelligent reader of English versification.

The sermon was ingenious and eloquent, but somewhat eccentric, embracing remarks upon the melancholy paroxysms of Swift and Cowper, and a critique and commentary upon Shakspeare's Hamlet. The specifications of the opposite objects for which the royal preacher says there are appropriate times, has one item which the purer morality of Jesus Christ has reformed. He says there is a time to love, and a time to hate. The precept of Christ forbids hatred at all times, and, probably with reference to this very passage, commands His disciples to love their enemies.

July 7th. We have the first news that the Congress of Texas, assembled on the 17th of last month, immediately and by unanimous votes of both Houses accepted the terms prescribed by the joint resolution of the Congress of the United States of

the 1st of March last for annexing Texas to the United States, and that the Senate of Texas have unanimously rejected the treaty negotiated for them by the Ministers of France and Great Britain with Mexico. If the voice of the people is the voice of God, this measure has now the sanction of Almighty God. I have opposed it for ten long years, firmly believing it tainted with two deadly crimes: 1, the leprous contamination of slavery; and, 2, robbery of Mexico. *Victrix causa Deo placuit*. The sequel is in the hands of Providence, and the ultimate result may signally disappoint those by whom this enterprise has been consummated. Fraud and rapine are at its foundation. They have sown the wind. If they reap the whirlwind, the Being who left to the will of man the improvement of his own condition will work it out according to His own good pleasure.

8th. At one o'clock I left home in the carriage with Miss Cutts and my granddaughter Mary Louisa. At Mr. Thomas Moseley's house in Dorchester I found the bridge party, and alighted. Mary Louisa went to Boston, and, on her return, took me up about half-past five o'clock. In the interval, the proprietors of the Neponset Bridge had taken their annual dinner, under an open shed, of chowder, soup, fish, fowls, and fruit, strawberries, raspberries, and cherries, with champagne and Madeira wine; after which they occupied an hour in bowling—a sport of which only the younger members of the company partook, including, however, Dr. Frothingham and Mr. Lunt, Mr. Wales and Mr. Beale. Forty-two years have passed away since the proprietors of the Neponset Bridge were incorporated by the Legislature of Massachusetts; forty-one years and three months since, on the 14th of April, 1804, I first passed it on my return from the first session of Congress which I attended as a member of the Senate of the United States. The anniversary dinners are of more recent origin. The last six or seven years they have taken place when I have been absent from the State. Of the original proprietors there was now present, besides myself, only one person, President Josiah Quincy. The bowling in Dorchester brought fresh to my recollection scenes of yet earlier date, from 1790 to 1794, when

with other young men, then my cotemporaries and associates, I frequently spent summer afternoons in riding out from Boston for a party at bowls, and when the Saturday Evening Club, which met in winter at Concert Hall, came out and dined at Pierce's, in Dorchester. There is always something sweet and something sad in the remembrance of ancient enjoyments. Robertson, in relating a visit of Charles the Fifth in his old age to Ghent, where he was born, says he reviewed with a pleasing and tender melancholy the scenes of his early childhood. My reminiscences are complicated and associated with very different sensations when bearing upon different periods of life. The siege of Boston, the battles of Lexington and Bunker's Hill, the death of my grandmother Smith, the evacuation of Boston, the smallpox, and the Declaration of Independence, are among the first; then the pleurisy fever of 1777, the Boston frigate, the voyage to France, the schools of Le Cœur and Pechigny, the return home in the *Sensible*, and the second voyage to Europe the same year—Spain, France, Holland, Russia, Sweden, Denmark, the Hague, Paris, my return home in 1785. I must pause.¹

19th. The steamer *Acadia*, Captain _____, departed last Wednesday from Boston for Liverpool, and this morning the steamer *Britannia*, Captain John Hewitt, arrived, having left Liverpool on the 4th of this month. Louis McLane goes, with his wife, one son, and three daughters, to take the place of Edward Everett as Minister of the United States at the Court of Queen Victoria. McLane, originally from Delaware, and son of a distinguished and well-rewarded military officer of the Revolution, was named Louis, in glorification of Louis Seize, being born at the moment when the American army, in one tremendous chorus, were shouting—

"A dauphin born, let cannons roar,
Let trumpets rend the sky.
All hail to Gallia's king!
Columbia's great ally."

After the Revolution, Allan McLane was a Federalist of the

¹ Here is continued a summary of the chief events of the writer's life extended to 1803, which, being already incorporated at large in this diary, has been omitted.

hottest metal—Marshal of the District of Delaware under two appointments for four years by Washington, who in the last days of his Presidency appointed him to the then permanent office of Collector of the District of Delaware and Inspector of the port of Wilmington, which he held till Crawford, Secretary of the Treasury, wriggled through Congress a law limiting the commissions of revenue officers to four years, and contriving the limitation so that almost all the commissions would expire precisely at the time when Crawford expected to come in as President.

Louis, the Dauphin, had been bred a Federalist as hot as his father, and was member of the House of Representatives from Delaware when the Presidential election of 1825 came into the House. His vote was the vote of a whole State, and he had sold it to Crawford, I have no doubt, for a pledge that in the event of his election Allan should be renominated for his collectorship and inspectorship; but, being afraid of my resentment, he was constantly tampering with my friends for a pledge from me to the same effect.

Jackson and Crawford were at swords' points till my election, a few days after which Jackson paid a visit of peace to Crawford, whose party was thenceforward transferred to Jackson. Louis gave the vote of one of the four States for Crawford, and when his father had got, by my nomination, his re-appointment, went quietly under the wings of Van Buren to Jackson. Four years after, Van Buren turned up Secretary of State, and Louis the Dauphin Minister to Great Britain, under Jackson, and then they consummated that sacrifice of the Colonial trade, to propitiate the smile of George Canning to the Democratic party of the spoils. Louis the Dauphin is precisely the man to cower before the British lion, and to consummate another sacrifice.

24th. I went this morning in the barouche to Boston, walked to the State-House, and attended a meeting of the Board of Overseers of Harvard University in the Senate-chamber. The time of meeting was twelve o'clock, and I was punctually there to the minute, but it was near half an hour before any other member came, and more than half an hour before the meeting

was opened. Neither the Governor nor the Lieutenant-Governor was there; nor was President Quincy. Rev. Dr. Pierce, of Brookline, the Secretary, said that, those officers being absent, the rule of the Board was that the senior member of the Executive Council present should preside. This was now Mr. Samuel Hoar, who accordingly took the chair.

The first communication was of the appointments to honorary degrees to be conferred at the approaching Commencement. They were all referred to a committee of three members, to report at the adjourned meeting of the Board, on the 21st of next month, at half-past twelve o'clock, at the Senate-chamber.

The next communication from the Corporation was that Josiah Quincy had resigned the office of President of the University, that they had accepted his resignation, and asked leave of the Overseers to elect a President in his place. There was an honorary resolution of the Corporation accompanying that of the acceptance of his resignation. A vote was immediately taken, confirming the acceptance of Mr. Quincy's resignation; after which Mr. John C. Gray enquired if it was not usual for the Board of Overseers, on accepting the resignation of the President, to pass some resolution expressive of their sense of the services of the retiring officer. It was suggested that it would be necessary to reconsider the acceptance of the resignation before acting upon Mr. Gray's enquiry; and he made a motion to that effect, and that a committee of three be appointed by the Chairman to consider and report upon the whole subject at the adjourned meeting. I observed that there seemed to be no need of reconsidering the acceptance of the resignation; but the appointment of the committee to report at the adjourned meeting remained. Mr. Gray modified his resolution accordingly, which was adopted, and the Chairman appointed me, Daniel A. White, and Samuel H. Walley, Jr., the committee. They agreed to meet me on the day of the adjournment, at the Senate-chamber, an hour before the meeting of the Board.

26th. Anniversary of my marriage. Forty-eight years have since passed away. A small remnant only can be before us. A merciful Providence has hitherto conducted us along the

path of life. We have enjoyed much. We have suffered not a little. Good and evil have followed us alternately. The thread has been of checkered yarn. Altogether, my lot has been a happy one upon earth, and every feeling of my heart ought to be a sentiment of gratitude to Him who is the disposer of events. I have met with bitter disappointments. Heavy calamities have befallen me. All my children, with one exception, have been taken from me—one in infancy, two in the prime of life; and this bereavement has once been extended to the second generation. The successive decease of my brother Charles, of my sister, of my mother, of my father, and of my brother Thomas, have for the last thirteen years left me the only member of the family of the past and the present generation surviving on this earth. The common theme of reason is death of fathers, and it is one of the fatalities of old age to follow to the tomb all the joys of cotemporary kindred and friendship.

As those we love decay, we die in part;
String after string is severed from the heart.

With regard to what is called the wheel of Fortune, my career in life has been, with severe vicissitudes, on the whole highly auspicious. With advantages of education perhaps unparalleled, with principles of integrity, of benevolence, of industry and frugality, and the lofty spirit of patriotism and independence taught me from the cradle, with the love of letters and the arts, useful and ornamental, and with aspirations of science, limited only by the scanty spark of ethereal fire in my soul, my intercourse with my cotemporaries has in all its fluctuations been more successful than I deserved. My life has been spent in the public service. Washington, Madison, Monroe, were my friends and benefactors; Jefferson, a hollow and treacherous friend; Jackson, Charles J. Ingersoll, George W. Erving, Jonathan Russell, base, malignant, and lying enemies—a list to which I might, but will not, add other names. I have enjoyed a portion of the favor of my country at least equal to my desert, but have suffered, and yet suffer, much from that slander which outvenoms all the worms of Nile. But I am wandering from my wedding-day.

August 11th. Mr. Colton came in soon after breakfast, and remained with me till near one o'clock P.M. He has ready for the press and stereotyping at New York a book in two octavo volumes, to be called the Life and Times of Henry Clay. Mr. Colton spoke to me of this work last spring, at Washington; and he comes now to gather materials to interweave in the narrative of Mr. Clay's life. Among others of those materials are the incidents of the controversy between me and Jonathan Russell concerning our negotiation at Ghent, one of the critical periods of my life. In that controversy Russell performed the part of a bungling assassin, for the benefit of Mr. Clay against me. He broke down, and Clay deserted him. In 1843 Daniel Mallory published in two large octavo volumes the Life and Speeches of Henry Clay—an electioneering mass of fulsome adulation, with not a little misrepresentation of the questions relating to the fisheries and the Mississippi. There is another life of Henry Clay, by an editor of a newspaper at Louisville, Kentucky, named Prentice, equally partial and falsifying. Mr. Colton's life will be an unqualified panegyric, and I do not much rely on the frankness and candor with which he will deal in the differences between Mr. Clay and me. But he comes to me for information, and I gave it, sparing Clay as much as truth and my conscience would let me.

He asked me to lend him my book upon the duplicate letters, the fisheries, and the Mississippi—which I did. He took it with him Saturday evening to his lodgings at French's Tavern. He returned it to me this morning, and said he had read it. He was inquisitive concerning the Panama mission, out of which he expects to weave a magnificent monument of glory to Mr. Clay's statesmanship. But there is not much in it.

I read to Mr. Colton all the entries in my diary of July, 1818, of Mr. Monroe's Cabinet meetings upon General Andrew Jackson, his invasion of Florida, and the Seminole War.

Mr. Colton finally took leave of me, and returns to New York to superintend the publication of his book.

21st. Went to Boston this morning. At eleven o'clock I walked up to the State-House, and, after half an hour waiting in the Secretary's office, Judge White and Mr. Walley came in.

We repaired to the Council-chamber, and I read the report which I had drawn up on the reference of the communication from the Corporation of the resignation of President Josiah Quincy. The report was of three resolutions proposed for adoption by the Board of Overseers:

1. A full and unqualified concurrence with the sentiments of personal respect and approbation of the administration of the President's office by Mr. Quincy, expressed by the letter of the members of the Corporation to him of 29th March, 1845, accepting his resignation.

2. A resolution of special commendation upon three points of peculiar merit in the administration of Mr. Quincy, not noticed in the letter signed by the members of the Corporation: 1, his inflexible firmness in maintaining the necessary discipline; 2, his exertions to elevate the standard of acquisitions for admission to the University, and to enlarge the circle of science attainable within its system of instruction; and, 3, his history of the University.

3. That a copy of these resolutions, signed by the Governor of the Commonwealth, as the presiding officer of the Board of Overseers, be communicated to Mr. Quincy at the close of the performances on the approaching Commencement-day.

Mr. Walley intimated some objection to the first of my resolutions, expressing entire concurrence with the letter of the Corporation. I offered to consider any amendment which he would propose; but Judge White defended the resolution so earnestly that Mr. Walley said he would assent to it as it was. The meeting of the Overseers was thinly attended. John P. Bigelow, as a member of the Council, presided. As Chairman of the committee on the honorary degrees, he reported the confirmation of them all—which was unanimously adopted. I read my report, which was also unanimously accepted, without a word of remark from any one.

23d. Mr. Minott Thayer was here, with a young man by the name of Ide, a son of the Rev. Jacob Ide, of Medway. They had two petitions, addressed, one to the Governor of Maryland, the other to the Governor of Virginia, couched in the most abject language of supplication, praying for pardon for the Rev.

Charles T. Torrey, now for six years, the first of which is nearly completed, in the Maryland Penitentiary, for aiding and abetting slaves in the attempt to escape from their chains. They call it negro-stealing. For the offence in Virginia Torrey has been indicted, and demanded by the Governor of Virginia of the Governor of Maryland, but never tried, nor even arrested. Yet the prayer for pardon is in the same terms with that to the Governor of Maryland. A crouching spaniel under the lash of its master is an image of lofty independence, compared with the prostration of these petitions signed by Levi Lincoln, John Davis, and thirty or forty names of the brightest stars of Massachusetts. I was requested to sign them, and young Ide said his father had been desirous that my name should stand first of the signers. Mr. Torrey's wife is a daughter of Dr. Ide, and he has several children.

I said I should be glad to render any service in my power to obtain the release and liberation of Mr. Torrey; but I declined signing the petition, and thought it a much more grievous offence against moral principle than the acts which Mr. Torrey is expiating in the penitentiary. I specified my objections to the petitions, and Mr. Thayer said he had foreseen and foretold that I would refuse to sign them. He asked if I had any objection to their being presented to my son for his signature.

I answered, none in the world: my son had a judgment of his own, and I wished him to exercise it. Mr. Ide said he had no doubt his father would approve my decision.

29th. There is such an excitement in the multitudes of persons and rapid revolution of incidents in the two successive days of Commencement at Harvard University, and of the prize declamations, and *Φ. Β. Κ.* of the next day, that after they are over it seems to me as if I have been in a trance, living, moving, and being in another world, different from that of my present habitual existence. Commencement-day carries me back to that on which I was myself graduated—one of the exquisitely happy days, yet saddened with the pang of parting forever from loved associates, and from cherished studies, to enter upon another career of anticipations full of timid hope and awful fear—one of the "*dies fasti*" of my life—and that

by an association of ideas opens the vista of my whole collegiate period, so short and yet so memorable to me. The friendships then contracted, the extraordinary incidents of my preceding life, and the long interval of fifty-eight years, with all its eventful vicissitudes, since elapsed—all these retrospections, crowding at once upon my memory, shake my shattered nerves and confuse my mind, till my whole past life flashes before me like a luminous dream.

I said yesterday, at the dinner, that I had entered upon the sixtieth year of my membership of the *Φ. B. K.*; and it startled the juveniles before me. The retirement of President Josiah Quincy, after sixteen years' successful administration of that office, gave an additional pleasing and painful interest to all the ceremonies and performances of the two last days.

September 1st. I devoted the morning to the journal of yesterday, and after dinner to writing two short letters—one in answer to Calvin Colton, who, in a letter dated New York, 28th August, asks my permission to publish a paragraph of my last letter to him of 25th August, concerning the letter of John Rhea, in the imbecility of second childhood, or bought with the money or promises of Andrew Jackson, affirming falsely the connivance of Mr. Monroe with Jackson's military occupation of Florida in 1819. Colton wants to disclose all the facts of this specimen of Jackson's honor and honesty. Gouverneur also wishes the whole story divulged, but kept the secret during Jackson's life, from motives of prudence, and now keeps it still, for fear of Jackson's ghost. To all these transactions I was knowing only by correspondence. It is not for me to make myself busy for its publication. Jackson's vengeful hatred of Monroe was stimulated by Monroe's disavowal of his conquest of Florida; his hatred of me was stimulated by my services in saving him from the public indignation; and he glutted his revenge upon us both in the same way—by spinning out of his own brain fictitious and slanderous charges against us. If the metempsychosis of Pythagoras were a doctrine of Christian faith, the soul of Andrew Jackson would be a derelict from the body of William the Third of Orange, the glorious deliverer of Ireland, the murderer of the two De Witts, and the hero

of the battle of St. Denis, fought four days after the Peace of Nimeguen.

2d. A black man by the name of Joseph P. Humphries came this morning to visit me and ask for advice. He comes from Charleston, South Carolina, with certificates of conduct and character from white men of whom I know nothing, but who, I suppose, pass for respectable persons in that region. He comes from Charleston, because, being free, having learnt to read and write, and being a tailor by trade, he cannot live in that glorious exemplification of democracy, the State of South Carolina. He comes to settle in Massachusetts, and, apprehensive of the prejudices against his color in Boston, said his inclination was to fix himself in some small country town.

I told him that I thought the prejudice against his color would be more annoying to him in any country town than in Boston; that in country towns he would find very few, if any, of his own color with whom to associate or from whom to derive countenance and support. In Boston he might exercise his trade, and the people of his color, of whom there are many of respectable standing, would afford him society and employment. He thanked me for the advice, and said that several of his friends in Boston had given him the same.

This afternoon Mr. Elliot C. Cowdin and Mr. F. A. Peterson came, as a committee on behalf of the Mercantile Library Association, and requested me to deliver a lecture before that institution this autumn, before the next meeting of Congress. I assured them it would give me great pleasure to comply with their request if possible, but I apprehended that it would not be in my power. They said if I would repeat any lecture that I had given heretofore elsewhere, it would give the company entire satisfaction; but I have an invincible repugnance to that. I have now on hand more than I can possibly perform for the present autumn. These gentlemen were, however, so urgent that I requested them to call on me again about the 20th of this month, and promised to give them a definitive answer, so far as may be in my power. To this they acceded.

4th. On my return from Boston yesterday, I found the five volumes of my miscellaneous writings, which I have collected

to leave as a bequest to my son, returned from the bookbinder, Caleb Gill, handsomely bound in calf. There are articles in volume i., seventeen; vol. ii., eight; vol. iii., fourteen; vol. iv., twenty-four; vol. v., twenty-eight—in all, ninety-one. The first volume begins with the oration delivered at Boston 4th July, 1793. The fifth volume closes with the lecture on Society and Civilization, chiefly written in 1822, but first delivered in 1840, and first published in the *American Review* of last July. The article immediately preceding it is my address to my constituents of 2d April, 1845. The space of time between the first and last of these publications is fifty-two years. The lectures on Rhetoric and Oratory, two volumes, and the Silesian Letters, one volume, are distinct publications, not included in these. The oration which I delivered at Cambridge July, 1787, was published in a magazine or review at Philadelphia in September of that year, of which I had at the time a copy; but it has disappeared. The papers signed "Publicola" in the *Boston Centinel*, 1791, were republished in a pamphlet in England, but I was never able to procure a copy of it. Those of Marcellus, Columbus, and Barnevelt were published only in the Boston newspapers. The report to the Senate in the case of John Smith should have been in this collection, but whatever copies I had of it, when published in 8vo, are lost. The correspondence with the British Government upon the slaves carried away in violation of the Treaty of Ghent before the reference to the Emperor Alexander, and sundry other diplomatic documents, are yet missing; but this is the most complete daguerreotype reflection of my mind for more than half a century that ever has been, or ever will be, made.

17th. My practice of rising at four o'clock in the morning was commenced in the summer of 1796, at the Hague. I had never before been an early riser upon principle, though I had been taught from a child that early to bed and early to rise was the way to be healthy, wealthy, and wise. I had been very late to bed and late to rise the preceding winter and spring at London. Returned to the Hague, and no longer stimulated by the same motive to sit up late, I chanced to read, in an *English Review* of the life of John Wesley, the founder of the

Episcopal Methodist Church, a statement that at a certain period of his life he formed the deliberate determination to rise every morning at four o'clock. The morning after coming to this resolution, he commenced the practice, and continued it through his whole life. Profoundly struck with this narrative, the first thing I said to myself was, What John Wesley accomplished, cannot I undertake? I was not sure of my perseverance, but I thought I could try it for a time. I began it by going to bed in June, 1796, at the Hague, before nine o'clock in the evening. I slept sound, and, after a refreshing night, awoke and rose with the sun. The experiment was cheering. I continued it through the summer and autumn, and when winter came, with its long, cold nights, I still took to an early bed, with provision made for a lamp to be lighted and a fire to be kindled at four o'clock the next morning. The fiftieth year has now commenced since I went through this process, and I rose this morning at four o'clock and lighted my lamp and kindled my fire. I have not perhaps so inflexibly adhered to the rising hour of four as he did, but the average of my rising hour for the fifty years has not exceeded half-past four. One consequence has been, that the hours before breakfast have been the most contented, the most active and efficient hours of the day. My habitual practice of summer sea and river bathing and swimming began much later, and I have of late years been obliged to abandon them altogether. The shower-bath was my last resource; and I must now give up that. The jar is too racking, and I cannot recover the composure of the hand through the day.

18th. I went to Mr. Abbott Lawrence's counting-house, in Milk Street, and had an hour of conversation with him.

First, upon the papers relating to the Observatory. With regard to these he is in consultation with Samuel A. Eliot, the Treasurer of the University, and with Bowditch, and they have not yet fixed upon the plan of operations to be pursued to raise the fund of fifty thousand dollars for the salary of an observer and the incidental current expenses of the establishment; but he thought they would be prepared at our next meeting, on Saturday, when he engaged me to dine with him

again. O that I may be able to discharge my duty in this concern!

Secondly, Mr. Lawrence gave me to read the letter of Daniel Webster to Nathan Appleton of 8th August last. It is an answer to one from Appleton to him of the 4th of the same month, in which he had expressed a hope that the relations of friendship and cordiality which had formerly subsisted between Webster and Lawrence might be restored. Webster declares his willingness and earnest desire that this may be effected, and, with regard to the past, that bygones may be considered as bygones. Mr. Lawrence's answer, addressed to Appleton, and dated the 13th of this month, accepts this proposition purely and simply, repeating Webster's words that bygones are to be considered as bygones. The intimate and cordial personal relations heretofore existing between Mr. Webster and Mr. Lawrence are thus restored; but it is very apparent that confidence between them never can be restored. All Webster's political systems are interwoven with the exploration of a gold-mine for himself, and all his confidential intimacies with Lawrence have been devices to screw from him, or, by his agency, from others, money by the fifty or hundred thousand dollars at a time.

Mr. Lawrence further told me that Louis McLane, when recently here to embark in the steamer as Minister to England, told him that when Lord Ashburton arrived here for the negotiation of the treaty, Tyler sent for him (McLane) and offered him the Department of State, with the commission to negotiate with Lord Ashburton, and to turn Webster out of the Department of State for that purpose.

19th. I answered John G. Palfrey's letter of enquiries concerning Joseph Nourse. He held the office of Registrar of the Treasury from 19th of September, 1781, till 1829, when he was removed by President Andrew Jackson, and Thomas L. Smith was appointed in his place. Jackson not only removed him, but, it is said, insulted him when he applied to know the cause of his removal, by telling him that it was his old age, and that it was time for him to be making his preparation for another world. He also ordered a prosecution of him as a defaulter on the settlement of his accounts. The case was tried in the

Circuit Court of the United States, and the verdict of the jury found a large balance due to Nourse. The judgment of the Court was conformable to the verdict of the jury, and was, on appeal, confirmed by the Supreme Court of the United States. Mr. Nourse then petitioned Congress for payment of the balance which, upon judicial investigation, had been found due to him. On the 19th of May, 1832, the Judiciary Committee of the Senate reported a bill in his favor; on the 29th of March, 1834, the Committee of Claims of the House of Representatives did the same; and at every session of Congress from that time until his death, in 1842, one of these bills was before one or the other House—always defeated by the Democratic party. After his death the claim was pursued by his widow, Maria L. Nourse, with the same issue, until her death, last year, and at the last session of Congress a petition from his son and legal representative shared the same fate. All this forms no part of the enquiries of Mr. Palfrey, nor of my answers to them. They were of the offices held by Mr. Nourse, and about the time of his death. This I ascertained by the petition of his widow to the House of Representatives, which was presented by Daniel D. Barnard on the 14th of December, 1842.

This afternoon Mr. N. W. Coffin came with my son and delivered to me a letter from Joseph Bell, Chairman of the Whig State Central Committee, inviting me to attend at a Whig convention to be held at Boston next Wednesday morning, and to preside at the meeting. I declined very reluctantly, on the ground of disability by the state of my health; and I was compelled to give the same answer to Messrs. Cowdin and Peterson, the committee from the Mercantile Library Association on their invitation to deliver a lecture before them.

BOSTON, *November* 17th.—Morning visit from President Quincy, to whom I delivered all the papers relating to the Observatory at Cambridge, which it was my business to prepare, but which I have not been able to get ready. I mean it was my business to prepare an address to the friends and supporters of this establishment, with a view to a subscription making provision for the support of an observer, who it is desired should

be Mr. Bond, who now performs the duties of that office, and resides at the dwelling-house connected with it, but without other compensation. The failure of my health has prevented me from executing this duty, and I thankfully accepted the offer of Mr. Quincy to undertake it for me.

Mr. J. G. Palfrey also called to see me, but I was out. I called at the Tremont House, and enquired for Mr. Hackett, to return to him his manuscript with my answer to his letter received some weeks since. But he was no longer lodging there, nor do they know when his return is to be expected. I received invitations to dine next Saturday from Mr. F. C. Gray and from Mr. Edward Everett, the first of which I accepted, and declined the second; also an invitation from Colonel Swett to name a day of this or the next week to dine with him, for which I answered by fixing next Friday. He invited us also to call and see his pictures—which I did, with my daughter, at one o'clock this day.

I am reading the correspondence of Edmund Burke, recently published in four volumes, and in the first volume, page 281, I find a letter from Dr. John Curry, an Irish Roman Catholic, dated the 6th of August, 1779, in which he informs him of a present—a bill of three hundred guineas—offered to him by a meeting of the Roman Catholics, and at page 290 a letter from Mr. Anthony Dermott, dated 9th August of the same year, enclosing a bill for three hundred guineas, in part of a sum of five hundred, in consequence of an unanimous resolution at a meeting of the Roman Catholics, of which they pray his acceptance, as a mark of their gratitude for the many eminent services he had rendered their body, and he adds that as soon as in cash he shall have the pleasure to send him a bill for the remaining two hundred guineas. P. 291 is the answer of Mr. Burke, declining to receive the present, and he says, "It is impossible for me with any agreement to my sense of propriety to accept any sort of compensation for services which I may endeavor to do upon a public account. If the bill you allude to should come before you receive this, I must return it by post to the gentlemen who transmit it;" and in page 295 is the answer to Mr. Dermott, dated August 17th, returning the bill as he had received

it. I note specially this correspondence to mark my approbation of the principle involved in this transaction. His services for which this offer of a private gratuity was made were performed in the discharge of his duties as a member of Parliament. The refusal to receive it was the act of a lofty and independent spirit, the more creditable in him as his circumstances in life were far from affluent. His friend Charles Fox was not so scrupulous—he permitted his friends to pay his debts for him. His great rival and adversary, William Pitt, had the same offer made to him, which he rejected. There may be some casuistical argument for and against the acceptance of large and costly presents under such circumstances, but for the preservation of a pure, disinterested character my opinion is that they should always be refused. In this, however, I do not mean to include articles of trifling value, being unwilling to stake a great principle on a very small object.

24th. I received letters from B. Darwin Ames, from Elizabethtown, Essex County, New York, requesting an autograph; also an anonymous letter, signed "A real friend," from New York, stating, after many fulsome compliments, that he could not but call in question my piety and real faith in our crucified Redeemer, from the fact that he saw it announced in the New York Sun that my health was so good that I was seen in a theatre the other evening—with three notes of admiration.

I have had such epistles from such anonymous rascals before—men who deem it a heinous crime to be seen in a theatre, but quite moral to write insulting letters without daring to sign their names to them.

Also, a letter from B. H. Epperson, at Nassau Hall, Princeton, New Jersey—I suppose a student at the college—asking me to give him some rules for the guidance of a young man just about entering upon the theatre of action. The patient must minister to himself. Also, a printed circular, signed Robert Mitchell, Joseph H. Smith, A. C. Hall, James Hamilton, Andrew Dickson, and Joseph Campbell, members of the Liberty Executive Committee of the County of Indiana, asking my counsel and advice respecting the continuation of the publication of the *Clarion of Freedom*, a petty newspaper, anti-Masonic and anti-

slavery, in that western part of Pennsylvania; a question of not five cents' consequence whether answered or not.

WASHINGTON, *December 6th.*—With Mr. Bancroft I had a free and long conversation on politics, and especially on the parts of the message of the President of the United States relating to the controversy with Great Britain concerning the Territory of Oregon. He appeared anxious to know my opinion on that subject, which I freely gave him. I said that I approved entirely of Mr. Polk's repeated assertion of the principle first announced by President James Monroe in a message to Congress, that the continents of North and South America were no longer to be considered as scenes for their future European colonization. He said he had heard that this part of the message of Mr. Monroe had been inserted by him at my suggestion. I told him that was true; that I had been authorized by him to assert the principle in a letter of instruction to Mr. Rush, then Minister in England, and had written the paragraph in the very words inserted by Mr. Monroe in his message. It was Mr. Monroe's custom, and has been, I believe, that of all the Presidents of the United States, to prepare their annual messages, and to receive from each of the heads of Departments paragraphs ready written relating to their respective Departments, and adopt them as written, or with such modifications as the writer of the message deemed advisable. That this principle thus inserted was disagreeable to all the principal European sovereigns I well knew, and that those of Great Britain, France, and Russia had explicitly expressed their dissent from it; notwithstanding which, I adhered to it, and was glad that Mr. Polk had so emphatically referred to and repeated it. I hoped he would adhere to it; but I must in candor say that with it I believed it indispensably necessary to make large expenditures for preparation by sea and land, to maintain it if necessary by force of arms, but had not been entirely without apprehension that Mr. Polk would ultimately recede from it.

He asked me if I disapproved of Mr. Polk's repeating the offer of assuming the forty-ninth degree of latitude as the boundary-line between us and the British possessions to the Pacific Ocean. I said that I did not disapprove it, as the

refusal of the British to accept it would strengthen our final adherence to our whole claim, but that I should not have repeated it myself at this time.

Mr. Bancroft spoke of the Astronomical Observatory here, said he hoped Congress would make an appropriation for building a dwelling-house in connection with it, and that he thought it would be necessary to attach to it an observer from civil life, such as Mr. Bond. It was now under the charge of Lieutenant Maury, of the navy. I said I was perfectly willing that an observer from civil life should be attached to the Observatory here, but that I hoped he would not take Mr. Bond away from Cambridge. Mr. Bancroft's manner and deportment to me was conciliatory and apparently cordial.

8th. Before the House was called to order this morning, a gentleman, whose name I did not ascertain, requested of me for a friend a copy in my own handwriting of the resolution which I offered to the House on the 3d December, 1844, rescinding the twenty-fifth rule, commonly called the "gag," excluding from reception all petitions relating to the abolition of slavery. I promised him; and the resolution itself on the files of the House was brought to me from the Clerk's office. This evening I made and certified a copy of it in my own handwriting.

9th. The Speaker then called for petitions, two or three of which, of no interest, were presented from Maine and New Hampshire; and when Massachusetts was called, no one of the members from that State rose until the Speaker called for Rhode Island; whereupon I rose and presented a remonstrance of citizens of the town of Denmark, in the county of Lewis, in the State of New York, against the admission of Texas into the Union as a slave-holding State. I had waited, as has been my custom heretofore, for the other members from the State of Massachusetts to present the petitions with which they were charged, before beginning with mine. When I rose, Mr. Winthrop presented a private petition, but no other member from the State presented himself, and I moved that the first petition presented by me should be referred to a select committee of one member from each State, and asked for the yeas and nays. Houston, of Alabama, moved the reference of the petition to

the standing Committee on the Territories—which, taking precedence of a motion to refer to a select committee, was carried without yeas and nays.

I then proceeded to present twenty other petitions, all, except two or three, containing the same remonstrance, and they were referred to the same committee. I presented also two remonstrances of citizens of Philadelphia against the appointment of Chaplains by the two Houses of Congress; which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary. Also the memorial of Susan G. Freeman, widow of Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel Wm. H. Freeman, of the Marine Corps; which was referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs, and ordered to be printed.

Houston, of Alabama, objected to the printing, and moved to lay over the memorial one day, according to the rule, to debate the question of printing. I desired the memorial should be read; which was done. Houston said he had no objection to the reference of the memorial, but requested me to withdraw the motion to print—which I declined, assigning my reasons for persisting in it; and the printing of the memorial was ordered by the House.

A motion was then made to adjourn, and was carried, though I had not got through with more than half my petitions; and the House adjourned, after receiving several Executive communications, among which was the Constitution of Texas, from the President of the United States.

14th. My chief occupation was to read the discussion between the successive Secretaries of State, Daniel Webster, Abel P. Upshur, John C. Calhoun, and James Buchanan, with the British Ministers Henry S. Fox and Richard Pakenham, concerning the contest of title between the United States and Great Britain to the Oregon Territory. The most remarkable reflection to which this correspondence gives rise in my mind is that, notwithstanding the positive declaration of Mr. Polk in his inaugural speech of the unquestionable title of the United States to the whole Oregon country to latitude 54.40, notwithstanding a repetition of the same declaration in his recent message to Congress, and notwithstanding the constant professed inflexibility of his official newspaper in support of this claim, he

has actually repeated the offer heretofore made by Mr. Monroe, and repeated by me, of continuing the boundary-line between the British possessions and the United States in the latitude of 49 from the Mississippi to the Pacific Ocean, and that it has again been rejected by Great Britain. This offer was formerly made under the impression that it would not be accepted, but that its effect would be to preserve the peace between the two countries, and postpone the issue of the controversy until the time should come when we should be able to maintain our claims by an appeal, if necessary, to arms. My own opinion is that this offer should never again be made, nor accepted if offered by Great Britain herself; but it is too clear to me that Mr. Polk will finish by accepting it.

16th. At eleven o'clock I attended the select committee on the revision of the rules. Present, Holmes, of South Carolina, Chairman, R. M. T. Hunter, of Virginia, Reuben Chapman, of Alabama, James B. Bowlin, of Missouri, Samuel Vinton, of Ohio, Caleb B. Smith, of Indiana, David G. Reed, of North Carolina, and myself. Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine, was absent. There are now upon this committee five members of slaveholding States, and four from the free States, only three of whom were present. The commission is to revise the rules and report to the House such alterations and amendments as might be deemed advisable. The object of the Chairman is to restore the rule excluding abolition petitions from reception; and the Speaker, a member from the free State of Indiana, has so constituted the committee as to secure a report favorable to the purpose of the Chairman. At this meeting the proceedings of the committee were only preliminary, in conversation concerning the rules generally, and the gag-rule especially.

A sub-committee of three, consisting of the Chairman, Vinton, and Hunter, was appointed by the Chairman to report a general revisal of the rules for the consideration of the committee.

I proposed that a journal of the committee should be kept; that upon all questions decided by the committee, a minute of them should be made upon the journal, and the yeas and nays taken upon it at the request of any member. I desired that I might not be placed upon the sub-committee, believing that no

improvement in the proceedings of the House is to be expected from any report of the committee, but ready for my own part to agree to any improvement of the rules which might be proposed by any member of the committee, and which I could approve; with the exception of the restoration of the anti-petition rule, to which I could under no circumstance whatever assent.

Reed, of North Carolina, said he should deem it his duty to move the restoration of the rule. Chapman, of Alabama, suggested that he should favor a substitute proposed in the first committee of the first session of the last Congress; namely, upon the presentation of every such petition, objection should be made to its being received, and the objection and petition then be laid on the table. The Chairman undertook to make up the journal for the meeting of that day, and the committee adjourned without agreeing upon the time of the next meeting.

In the House, the special order of the day, the joint resolutions reported from the Committee on the Territories for the admission of the State of Texas into the Union, were immediately taken up. McConnell, of Alabama, moved the previous question on their engrossment and third reading. Richard P. Herrick, of New York, moved to lay them on the table; rejected, by yeas and nays—fifty-two to one hundred and forty-two. The previous question was carried, by tellers—ninety-one to eighty-five. After some chicanery, the engrossment and third reading were carried, by yeas and nays—one hundred and forty-one to fifty-seven.

Julius Rockwell, of Massachusetts, made a speech of an hour against the passage of the resolutions, and proposed an amendment to the first, which the Speaker declared not to be in order. Rockwell moved to recommit the resolutions to the Committee on the Territories, with instructions to report an amendment, "provided, that within the State by this resolution admitted into the Union, slavery or involuntary servitude, except for crime, shall be prohibited, and all the provisions of the said Constitution inconsistent with this proviso shall be null and void." Douglas moved the previous question—which started a debate whether the previous question will apply to the pas-

sage of the resolutions, or to the recommitment moved by Rockwell.

The Speaker decided this question both ways, first that the main question would be on the passage of the resolutions, and then that it would be on Rockwell's motion of recommitment. Tibbatts, of Kentucky, took an appeal from this last decision. Dromgoole, of Virginia, moved a call of the House; which was refused. Tibbatts withdrew his appeal for the present, until the question was decided on the question as put by the Speaker; which was sustained by the House. Alvan Cullom moved to reconsider the vote sustaining the decision of the Speaker. The reconsideration was carried by yeas and nays—ninety-nine to ninety-five. The decision of the Chair was then reversed, and the previous question was settled to be on the passage of the resolutions. Schenck, of Ohio, asked to be excused from voting, and to assign his reason for his request, but he was soon stopped, and silenced by calls to order, and the decision of the Speaker of irrelevancy. He was then once more permitted to proceed in order, but soon arrested again for irrelevancy, and then the permission was refused. Schenck withdrew his motion to be excused; though even the right of doing that was objected to by some members of the House. Motions were made to divide the question into two, one upon each resolution; which the Speaker decided to be inadmissible. One vote by yeas and nays was taken before the two resolutions, and was carried—one hundred and forty-one to fifty-six. George W. Jones, of Tennessee, moved a reconsideration, called the previous question, and the reconsideration was rejected without division. The House adjourned at twenty minutes past three.

Dr. White, from Oregon, and a Mr. King, from Missouri, were here. Dr. White mentioned that the memorial with which he was charged from the Oregon Territory had been presented to the Senate by Mr. Cass, who had promised him assistance in support of it, and he asked me if I would undertake to present the same to the House and to support it here. I told him that I would if he so desired, but I would rather advise him, for the interest of his constituents, to have the memorial

presented by a member of the majority in the House, and a friend and supporter of the present Administration of the Federal Government.

He said he had been advised by some of the friends of the present Administration to place the memorial in my hands in preference to any other member of the House; but he enquired whom I would recommend.

I told him it was a subject of much delicacy for me to undertake to specify any particular person as peculiarly in the confidence of the present Administration, but I would name Mr. Douglas, the Chairman of the Committee on the Territories, to which the memorial would doubtless be referred.

He said he would follow this advice, and that Mr. Douglas was himself one of the persons who had advised that the memorial should be presented by me.

I said Mr. Douglas might entertain liberal opinions concerning me, but that there were a considerable number of Administration members in the House who would look with distrust and jealousy upon anything which would be proposed by me. I would give him and his memorial all the support in my power, but I could not answer for the action of any other member of the House.

20th. Mr. Grey was here, and enquired if I had examined his argument respecting the division of the Legislative and Judicial powers under the Government of the United States. I had read it cursorily, supposing it to be connected with the claim of the legal representatives of James Bell, and the bill before the Senate, and which it is expected will come from that body for the action of the House of Representatives upon it. But Mr. Grey now told me that it was upon quite a different subject, which, without clearly explaining to me, he said was intended as preparatory to an argument before the Supreme Court of the United States; and somewhat abruptly he said it involved an immense pecuniary interest, and he offered me what he called a contingent fee of five thousand dollars to undertake this argument. I told him that for many a long year I had ceased to practise law in any of the judicial Courts of the United States, and was in no condition to resume the practice now;

that I would, however, read with more particular attention his memorial again, and, if he desired it, would give him my opinion upon it as a member of the House of Representatives, without any fee or charge whatever.

I did not say to him what I thought of this contingent fee offered upon a subject intended to be brought both before the Supreme Court of the United States and before Congress; but it brought forcibly to my mind the offer of which I had recently read in the correspondence of Edmund Burke, which he peremptorily, and I think justly, declined.

It occurs to me that this double capacity of a counsellor in courts of law and a member of a legislative body affords opportunity and temptation for contingent fees of very questionable moral purity. Of one such transaction I had knowledge last winter, which in my mind was tainted with the vilest corruption; and I have heard of others, which I shall not specify, because they are familiarly spoken of as in no wise exceptionable, but for which the only palliation of which I deemed them susceptible is that alleged by Lord Chancellor Bacon in his defence upon his trial before the English House of Peers—that there are "*vitia temporum*" as well as "*vitia hominum*." It is a sad contemplation of human nature to observe how the action of the members of legislative bodies may be bought and sold, and how some of the brightest stars in that firmament may pass in occultation without losing their lustre.

I spoke this day to Mr. Cass concerning the resolutions which he has introduced into the Senate, and told him that I hoped he meant to follow them up by the proposal of measures of real and effective preparation. He said he did, and expressed his high gratification at the approbation which he had heard I had expressed of his movement. He said he hoped I concurred with him in the opinion of the justice of our title. I said I did entirely.

25th. I had a visit from Mr. James Buchanan, Secretary of State. He told me that he had formerly visited my father at Quincy, and said that in speaking to him of some of the Tories during our Revolutionary War, he said they were men of great

respectability, fine talents, and excellent private character, but that they were all deplorably loyal—an epithet which, Mr. Buchanan said, had greatly diverted him.

26th. A morning visit from Mr. Freeman and Mr. James Dixon, members of the House of Representatives from Connecticut; and I visited Mr. William A. Moseley, Representative from the Buffalo District of New York. He is confined to his chamber with a severe attack of inflammatory rheumatism, and has been unable to attend the House nearly from the commencement of the session; he is now recovering, but thinks it will be a week or ten days longer before he will be able to resume his seat. I had some conversation with him on the present state of public affairs. He is a member of the Whig party, the policy of which among the people appears to be concentrating itself upon a system of opposition to the present Administration on the ground of its propensity to war with Great Britain. Dangers of war, and a very contemptuous estimate of the object for which they suppose the President is provoking it, are the only theme upon which they dwell, without sufficiently considering that their terrors and prognostics may furnish to Mr. Polk motives and pretexts for yielding to the pretensions of our adversary, and sacrificing our own just claims to the territory in dispute, of which I think there is much greater danger than of a war for the maintenance of them.

29th. Mr. Caleb Cushing was here, and had much conversation with me. He said he was here only for two or three days, upon some business of his own, the nature of which he did not tell me. He said that we were coming again to the times of the Panama mission—which, I told him, I did not understand. He made enquiries concerning the right of intervention, and whether, according to international law, blockades could be instituted unless between parties at war. I supposed he had reference to a blockade of the Platte River, said to have been proclaimed jointly by a French and British squadron off Montevideo; and I conjectured that there was some question in our present Executive Administration depending at the present time, and that Mr. Cushing was under an expectation of a diplomatic mission connected therewith.

We had also some desultory conversation respecting his late mission to China. I mentioned the lecture which I delivered in 1842, at Boston, concerning the war then existing between Great Britain and China, in which I had avowed the opinion that in that war the right was on the side of Great Britain; that after his return from China I had heard that he, in a lecture delivered at Boston, had expressed an opinion adverse to mine, but was afterwards told that he had contradicted this statement.

He said it was so; that on reading my lecture he had procured the papers laid before the British Parliament, upon which my opinion had been formed, and that he fully concurred with it.

I asked him some questions respecting the religion of the Chinese and their system of morals, and whether among them there were any Mahometans. He said there were some Mahometans among the Tartars, but of the Chinese there was very little religion excepting Confucianism.

I observed that there were differences of international law between nations, modified by their systems of religion; that between Christian nations there was one system, founded upon the fundamental moral principle of Christianity—brotherly love among men; there was another system between Christian and Mahometan nations, modified by the Mahometan principle—the unity of God, and the creed that Mahomet is His prophet, with the further doctrine that this creed may be imposed upon the rest of mankind by force; that there was still another system with the Chinese; and I asked what was the fundamental principle of morals with them.

He said it was the relation of authority and obedience between parent and child. He said also that the words of Jesus upon the cross—"Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do"—were to the very letter in the *Cyropædia* of Xenophon; and he intimated that the Christian doctrine was fully comprised in the discourses of Socrates—which I think is not quite correct.

30th. A report was received from the Secretary of the Treasury in answer to a resolution enquiring why certain sums of money due to the State of Arkansas had been with-

held from payment; and the answer is that it had been by virtue of a joint resolution of the 3d March last, providing that whenever any State shall have been, or may be, in default for the payment of interest or principal on investments in its stock, or bonds held by the United States in trust, it shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to retain the whole, or so much thereof as may be necessary, of the percentage to which such State may be entitled of the proceeds of the sales of the public lands within its limits, and apply the same to the payment of said interest or principal, or to the reimbursement of any sums of money expended by the United States for that purpose. This provision was first introduced into an Act of Congress by me in 1842, and is the only check which I believe practicable to an enormous system of swindling and plunder by some of the Democratic States upon the Treasury of the Union.

The first symptom of the present Administration flinching in the controversy with Great Britain concerning the Oregon question occurred in the Senate this day, upon certain resolutions offered by Hannegan, Senator from Indiana, reasserting the right of this country to the whole of Oregon, to which amendments were offered by John C. Calhoun, declaring the subject still open for negotiation, and looking to a renewal of the offer of the forty-ninth parallel of latitude for the boundary. Hannegan's resolutions were, at his own motion, laid on the table, for further discussion hereafter.

A PRAYER.

COMPOSED IN THE SLEEPLESS HOURS OF LAST CHRISTMAS-NIGHT,
TO CLOSE THE YEAR.

O Lord my God! of boundless might possessed,
In mercy soothe the tremblings of my breast!
For all the trials I am doomed to bear,
My soul submissive to Thy will prepare.
Through the long night of balmy sleep bereft,
Howe'er distressed, let patience still be left—
Patience, with calm composure to endure
Woes which no human aid or skill can cure.
My wife, my offspring, all whose fates depend
On me, oh, may they find in Thee a friend.

Whate'er of blessing is to me denied,
For them, O gracious God, Thyself provide!
And when Thy wisdom shall arrest my breath,
Fit me to meet fore'er Thy face in death.

WASHINGTON, 31st December, 1845.

January 1st, 1846.—Mr. Kavasales was the first of the visitors of this morning, and he was followed by several hundreds of others, making the New Year's visit which for many years past I have been accustomed to receive on this anniversary. A considerable portion of them consists of members of Congress, among which a small number are of politics opposite to mine; and of these there was this day, I know not for what reason, an unusual number.

The assemblage at the President's house consisted of an immense and almost numberless crowd; and among those who came here there were some whose personal conduct towards me had not led me to expect visits from them. I deem it not necessary, however, to record their names. The throng of those who came in and went out after a mere salutation continued from about twelve to half-past three, at which time I paid my own annual visit of salutation to Mrs. Madison. Her house had also been thronged with visitors, most of them the same with those who called upon me. The weather was this day unusually fair for the season; and among my visitors were the Secretaries of War, Marcy, and of the Navy, Bancroft, and the Attorney-General, John Y. Mason.

2d. Reports from committees were called. Hugh A. Haralson, Chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs, reported a bill to provide for the organization of two regiments of riflemen. He moved its reference to the committee of the whole on the state of the Union, and made the special order for next Tuesday. A long debate followed; at the close of which I took a part in it by a speech which I fear gave satisfaction to no side of the House. When I finished, James J. Faran, of Ohio, moved the suspension of the rules to offer a resolution; but the House, without hearing it read, immediately adjourned.

W. H. Seward, late Governor of New York, came to me, and enquired if I should be at home this evening. I said I should.

He promised to call on me, and did so, with Mr. Robinson, who now reports the proceedings of the House for the New York Tribune. I had a long conversation with them, in which Mr. Seward declared his full approbation of my speech in the House, but some doubt whether it would meet the concurrence of the Whig party.

In coming down stairs from the House, Mr. John W. Houston, a Whig member of the State of Delaware, had introduced himself to me, and told me that he concurred entirely with the sentiments which I had just delivered. This is probably the last great movement of my political life; it will pass through a fiery ordeal, the result of which as concerns myself I leave to the Great Disposer of events.

3d. There were two rather curious and whimsical incidents in the debate of this day. First, that the speech of Mr. Charles J. Ingersoll concurred entirely with the views which I had yesterday unfolded in my speech on the Oregon question; and, second, that Mr. Winthrop came out in point-blank opposition to them. Of this more hereafter.

5th. The House were in session this morning when I reached my seat, and Garrett Davis, of Kentucky, a member of the Committee of Foreign Affairs, was presenting a report from the minority of that committee, signed by himself, Truman Smith, of Connecticut, and Caleb B. Smith, of Indiana, against the report which had just before been made by Charles J. Ingersoll, Chairman of that committee, of the following joint resolution:

"Resolved (the Senate concurring), That the President of the United States forthwith cause the notice to be given to the Government of Great Britain, that the Convention between the United States and Great Britain concerning the Territory of Oregon, of the 6th of August, 1827, signed at London, shall be annulled and abrogated twelve months after the expiration of the said term of notice, conformably to the second article of the said Convention of the 6th of August, 1827."

And with the report Ingersoll had moved, by instruction of the committee, that the resolution should be referred to the committee of the whole on the state of the Union, and made the special order of the day for the first Monday in February next.

The report of the minority concluded with the following resolution :

“Resolved, That the question whether a notice to terminate the Convention between the United States of America and Great Britain, of October, 1818, and continued in force by the Convention of August, 1827, ought to be given, is not a matter for the decision of Congress, and upon it this House at the present refrains from the expression of any opinion.”

The question debated was whether the resolution reported by the committee should be made the special order of the day for the first Monday in February. Joshua R. Giddings, of Ohio, after enquiring of the Speaker whether upon that question the merits of the resolution reported might be discussed, and being answered that to some extent they might, made an hour's speech in favor of the resolution, admitting that differing in opinion from me in believing that it would be followed by war, and holding war in utter abhorrence, he still preferred it, with all its horrors, to the state into which we were now reduced by the annexation of Texas to this Union—the subversion by that event of the balance of power held until that time by the free States of this Union, the government of which was now transferred to an oligarchy of slave-holders. To restore that balance the occupation of the whole Territory of Oregon by the United States was indispensably necessary ; he should therefore go for it, and hoped for the preliminary notice to be given to Great Britain of the termination of the Convention of 1827, as required by that Convention itself.

He was followed by McDowell, of the same State, who, disclaiming all his arguments, concurred in his intention of voting for the resolution.

Robert B. Rhett, of South Carolina, a member of the Committee of Foreign Affairs, who had refused to vote either for the resolution of the committee or for the minority report against it, now in an hour's speech opposed the giving of the notice, with all his ability and all his fire. In the course of his speech he made a dead set against me, by saying that the gentleman from Massachusetts across the way had shown himself a hero by voting against the last war with England, but now

was rabid for war with her; for, though he said he was for peace, all knew that the tendency and effect of his policy was war.

Whereupon I rose and enquired whether the gentleman, in what he had said about a gentleman from Massachusetts voting against the last war, had alluded to me.

He answered that he had.

I replied, "The gentleman is mistaken."

He rejoined that at all events I did not support it.

I said that the last war had commenced in 1812; that three years before that time I had been appointed, in consequence of the support of the measures of Mr. Jefferson's Administration against Great Britain, Minister of the United States in Russia; that these were facts not known to the gentleman from South Carolina; and, after expressing some surprise that he should have ventured to make such a charge as he had done against me, I was willing to impute it to ignorance, and not to malignity.

Rhett clawed off as well as he could, by acknowledging his ignorance, and by insinuation that I was not of importance enough for him to know what my conduct had heretofore been, by expressing his horror upon the disastrous conjunction on this occasion between me and Giddings, and upon my inveterate, unmitigated hostility to the South, whence his constituents expected, whenever they saw my vote on one side of a question, to see his on the other.

When he concluded, Sims, of Missouri, made a speech in favor of giving the notice; and the House adjourned.

6th. The debate was resumed upon Ingersoll's motion to refer the report of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, the notice to be given to Great Britain of the termination in twelve months of the Convention of the 6th August, 1827, concerning Oregon, to the committee of the whole on the state of the Union, to be made the special order of the day for the 1st of February. Hilliard, of Alabama, was entitled to the floor.

Preston King, of New York, made a personal explanation of what he had said, intimating that after the conclusion of the Ashburton Treaty there was a secret understanding between Lord Ashburton, Mr. Webster, and Mr. Calhoun, that if

Great Britain would not interfere against the annexation of Texas to the United States the Territory of Oregon might be divided.

A sparring altercation followed between Preston King and Rhett, of South Carolina, who took offence at this insinuation against Mr. Calhoun. Hilliard, of Alabama, then proceeded with a very eloquent speech in favor of giving the notice, but concluding by proposing an amendment to the reported resolution, authorizing the President to give the notice whenever he should think it required by the interest and honor of the United States.

At the motion of Thompson, of Mississippi, and after some discussion, the question was divided, and taken first upon the reference to the committee of the whole on the state of the Union, which required only a majority, and was adopted without opposition, and next upon making it the special order for the 1st of February, which required a vote of two-thirds, and was lost, by yeas and nays—one hundred and two to eighty-nine—a majority, but not two-thirds.

Bowlin, of Missouri, then moved to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, which was agreed to, and he made a speech in favor of giving the notice; not much attended to by the House. Yancey, of Alabama, took the floor, the committee rose, and the House adjourned.

7th. I found the House in session, and in a very few minutes Rhett, of South Carolina, renewed his attack upon me, by reading the report in the Union newspaper of his charges against me made on Monday last, and now repeating the charge that I had been opposed to the war, and produced his vouchers—part of my conversation with the Chancellor, Count Romanzoff, when he first proposed the Emperor Alexander's mediation for peace between the United States and Great Britain, and an extract of my letter to Leavitt Harris, written at Ghent in 1814.

I repelled this renewed attack by relating the circumstances under which I had made the remarks to Count Romanzoff, and under which I had written the letter to Leavitt Harris, showing that the charge of my having been opposed to the war, inferred

by Mr. Rhett from these incidents, was utterly unfounded, and that his charge of hostility to the South on my part was equally false—for proof of which I referred specially to my successful exertions in obtaining indemnity for the slaves taken and carried away by the British during the last war. I exposed the prevarication of his conduct towards me in these repeated wanton and unprovoked assaults on me, and concluded by saying that I apprehended no war, because I believed that the present Administration would finally back out from their own ground.

Yancey, of Alabama, called me to order for reflecting upon the Administration, and the Speaker, as usual, set me down for irrelevancy. Yancey objected to my proceeding, but, after special permission from the House, a motion was made immediately that I should have leave to proceed, to which a unanimous answer of aye, with a single exception of Yancey himself.

Rhett closed with a wandering, silly, general diatribe, in which he admitted my services in obtaining indemnity for the slaves lost in the last war, and said that the South had made me President of the United States; to which I made no reply.

10th. In the House, Charles Hudson, member from the Fifth Congressional District of Massachusetts, complained of a breach of privilege in an article in the Union newspaper, the editors of which are the Printers of the House, and in which he was charged with falsehood by charging unnecessary delay in the delivery to the members of the House of the public documents printed by its order. Mr. Hudson made a statement proving that his charge had been perfectly well founded with regard to the delay, and, after justifying himself, said that he had no motion to make, but left the House to act in the matter as they should think proper.

In making this statement, Mr. Hudson was repeatedly, rudely, and insultingly interrupted by Felix G. McConnell, of Alabama, by calls of order, which the Speaker did not sustain, and of which Hudson himself took no notice.

When he closed, Garrett Davis, of Kentucky, offered the following resolution: "Whereas, John O. Heiss, a person in the employment of this House, having in a newspaper charged

Charles Hudson, a member of this House, with falsehood in debate, therefore resolved, that the said John O. Heiss be dismissed from the employment of the House, as one of its Printers."

This immediately started an angry and disorderly debate, in which McConnell insulted Garrett Davis several times, till Davis said, "I take no notice of a drunken blackguard;" which produced quite a sensation; but some of McConnell's friends gathered round him and prevailed upon him to leave the House; to which he did not this day return.

A long debate followed upon Garrett Davis's resolution, which was finally laid on the table on a motion of Thomas H. Bayly, of Virginia, at the close of a long speech. The vote to lay on the table, by yeas and nays, was one hundred to eighty-five. I voted in the affirmative, alone of all the members in opposition to the Administration in the House.

After the adjournment, Mr. Giddings asked me why I had so voted.

I said that if the resolution had not been laid on the table, the printer, Heiss, must first have been heard in his defence; that whether his defence was good or bad—and it was clear it could not be good—the majority of the House would certainly have acquitted him, and he would have come off with flying colors, giving the appearance before the public that he was in the right and Mr. Hudson in the wrong.

Mr. Giddings said he supposed this was my motive.

This flurry being over, the Oregon notice question was resumed. R. M. T. Hunter, of Virginia, made a very animated speech against giving the notice, and Andrew Kennedy, of Indiana, one still more vehement in its favor; after which the House adjourned.

23d. I attended at the Capitol a meeting of the committee on the Smithsonian bequest. There were present Owen, Adams, Jenkins, Marsh, Sims, Davis, and Wilmot—all the members. The discussion was renewed upon the question whether the directors of the Institution should be constituted in express terms a corporation; for which purpose the Chairman, Owen, moved a reconsideration of the decision made at

the last meeting. It was again debated, and again decided to make it a corporation—the vote now being four to three, Owen, Chairman, changing his vote to the negative, and Sims, of South Carolina, still voting for the corporation, with the avowed intention of voting against the whole bill, and declaring his purpose to have the whole money sent back to the English Court of Chancery.

I told him that I thought that proposition came rather late, after the formal acceptance of the bequest, and the appropriation of the money to other purposes, with a formal pledge of the faith of the United States that it should be applied to the objects designated by the donor.

It was, however, the original proposition of John C. Calhoun, and will be persisted in by the South Carolina school of politics and morals to the last, without any idea of returning the money, but with the purpose of defeating any useful application of it.

I proposed a provision that all the proceeds of the bequest be placed in the possession of the Treasurer of the United States, with a direction that separate accounts of it should be kept from those of all the other accounts at the Treasury. This had been done in the Act of 1836, which the committee considered as no longer obligatory, since the investment of the fund, almost entirely, in stocks of the United States. The provision itself in the Act of 1836 was questioned, until I produced it; and the provision was now, at my motion, re-inserted in the present bill. The committee adjourned to next Friday.

In the House, Mr. Giddings rose to a question of privilege. He sent to the Clerk a report in the *National Intelligencer* of the speech of Henry Bedinger, of Virginia, delivered on the 15th instant, requiring the Clerk to read one paragraph of it grossly insulting him (Giddings), not by name, but with reference to him equally clear. On commencing his comment, he was interrupted by the Speaker, who observed that leave had not been given him to address the House on the subject.

Vance moved that he have leave to proceed—which was carried without opposition.

Giddings said that when Bedinger had made this assault upon him he was not present in the House, and had not seen

the report till yesterday, when it first appeared in print. He then referred to a publication in the Savannah Republican, the editor of which, he said, he understood was a slave-dealer; which article, in giving an account of Bedinger's speech, had said that the only way to treat Giddings was with contempt at the Capitol, and holding him up to the scorn of the people throughout the length and breadth of the land; for that if the House should expel him he would doubtless be returned again by his constituents. He then added that in the Union newspaper of yesterday a letter purporting to be written by the New York correspondent of that newspaper urges the same course of conduct, and quotes the New York Observer, a religious paper of that city, expressing the same sentiments. Giddings remarked the coincidence between these articles of the newspaper press with the speech of Mr. Bedinger, and the fact that yesterday one of the reporters of the leading Whig paper of this city (Stansbury, reporter for the National Intelligencer) was hawking about a caricature designed to aid the more elevated calumniators in their work of detraction, in which caricature he (Giddings) was made the principal figure. He stated these facts as indications of a combination to overawe and intimidate the members of this House in the discharge of their duties to their constituents, which he thought should be known throughout the length and breadth of the land; that so far as concerned himself personally, the combination came too late—he was not sent here for personal altercation with any member of the House, nor was it in the power of any such combination to influence or injure him.

Bedinger rose, and said he was not aware that Giddings was not in his seat at the time when he made the remarks to which he had referred; that he should have used the same words if he had been in his seat; that he had as little desire of controversy with him as he on his part could desire; that although he might be ambitious, it was not of tilting windmills; that he regretted the remarks he had made only because they might have helped Giddings in obtaining notoriety.

Stansbury, the reporter of the Intelligencer, and author of the caricature complained of by Giddings, went round the

House after the adjournment, raving against Giddings, who he said had yesterday seen the caricature, and recognized himself as the principal figure in it, with a hearty laugh, as Stansbury had supposed, of approbation.

24th. The two resolutions reported by the majority of the committee, first, that Edward C. Pechell is not, and that William B. Brockenbrough is, entitled to the seat as Representative from the State of Florida, were successively carried by yeas and nays—the first one hundred and five to eighty, the second ninety-nine to eighty-five. Jacob Thompson, of Mississippi, then moved a reconsideration of these votes, and a resolution to continue the call till some day in February, for further proof. But the reconsideration was refused, by yeas and nays—eighty-six to ninety-two; and the oath of office was administered by the Speaker to Mr. Brockenbrough, after which the House adjourned. The decision in this case, as in every other case of a contested election, except one, was glaringly unjust; and that one was decided by a majority of one vote. In this case the decision was by a close party vote, and by majorities of fifteen and less, the usual majority of the dominant party being from seventy-five to eighty.

29th. The House went immediately into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, Tibbatts in the chair, and Isaac E. Holmes, of South Carolina, made an hour speech of fervid eloquence against the giving of the notice, painting all the horrors, real and imaginary, of a war with Great Britain, excepting that which at the bottom of his heart swallowed up all others—the terror of emancipation of slaves, which he foresaw as among the most probable consequences of such a war.

Next to him, Edward H. Ewing, of Nashville, Tennessee, argued also against the giving of the notice, and, for the first time, undertook to show that the American title to Oregon was very far from being clear and indisputable. He too had a proper horror for the calamities of war, though a Representative of the State from which the President of the United States comes.

Edward D. Baker, of Springfield, Illinois, succeeded, warmly in support of the notice. Joseph P. Hoge, of Galena, in the same State of Illinois, moved the committee to rise—which was

carried, and the House adjourned. As this debate proceeds, it is apparent that the President and his Administration party are faltering in the spirit which they so boldly assumed in the Baltimore Convention, which nominated Mr. Polk for the Presidency, and in his corresponding declaration of his inaugural address.

30th. Further evidence appears of the flinching of the Polk Administration upon the Oregon controversy with Great Britain. In the Union newspaper of last Tuesday there was an article strongly intimating that if a proposition should be made on the part of Great Britain to take the base of the forty-ninth degree of latitude as the boundary to the Pacific Ocean, describing it as the offer made by me, it might now be accepted. In the debate in the Senate on Wednesday, this article was referred to by Mr. Miller, a Senator from New Jersey, as very clearly indicating that Mr. Polk has no fear of war to arise from this question.

Edward A. Hannegan, Senator from Indiana, rose, and averred upon his responsibility that this article had never been seen by President Polk before its publication, and was not approved by him. The Union of this day admits the fact, but repeats the opinion expressed in the original article.

At ten o'clock this morning I attended a meeting of the select committee on the Smithsonian bequest. Present, six members—Owen, Adams, Jenkins, Sims, Davis, Wilmot; absent, Marsh, of Vermont, who afterwards told me that it was because he had forgotten the time of the meeting. Some progress—very little—was made in the discussion of Mr. Owen's bill. In the sixth section, provision is made for a superintendent to take charge of the ground, buildings, and property belonging to the Institution, and also for the appointment of a professor of agriculture, horticulture, and rural economy, and for a distribution among the people of the Union of fruits, plants, seeds, and vegetables, to be collected by this superintendent with the professor; and gardeners, practical agriculturists, and laborers to be hired from time to time by him as may be necessary.

I moved to strike out this section, which I consider as a

cumbersome, expensive, and useless burden upon the Institution. It was connected also with a further project, declared in the seventh section, for the appointment of a normal branch of the Institution, with an indefinite number of professors of common school and other scientific instruction—all which I proposed to expunge from the bill. The discussion was desultory, and, before taking the question upon it, some amendments of detail to the sixth section were proposed, and debated until the meeting of the House—when the committee adjourned to next Friday.

31st. The House went into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, Tibbatts in the chair, and took up the Oregon notice resolution. Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, made an hour speech for earnest, in support of giving the notice, in which, much to my surprise, he completely refuted a charge against me made by Thomas H. Bayly, from Accomac, Virginia, who, by reading garbled extracts from my speech made on the 31st of January last year, had misrepresented my opinions then expressed as being inconsistent with my speech on the same subject at the present session.

Bayly, who is a beef-witted blunderhead, had borrowed this charge from some of the party newspapers, without discovering the false coloring wilfully and intentionally given by the articles in the newspapers to my speeches at the two different periods. The inconsistency imputed to me was by picking out from my last winter's speech the opposition that I had then made to the bill for organizing the Oregon Territory, reported without a section for giving notice to Great Britain of the termination of the non-occupation Convention. I had said that this would be equivalent to war, which, if thus incurred, I had foretold would prove not only disastrous, but unjust and unpopular. This morning, before the House went into committee on this subject, Johnson came to me, and, referring to the attack upon me made by Bayly, said he had understood my speech in a wholly different sense, and that my objection had been made merely to the provision for giving the previous notice of twelve months required by the Convention; and he observed that I had actually proposed as an amendment to the bill a first

section directing the notice to be given, which the House had rejected, though afterwards they had adopted a similar section at the close of the bill, moved by Hammett, of Mississippi; and that I had then said that after long deliberation, and with great reluctance, I had come to the conclusion that the time was come for giving the notice, and I was ready to vote for it, either by a separate resolution or as a first section to the Territorial bill.

I told Johnson that he perfectly understood my speech as I had then delivered it, and that it had been totally misrepresented by Mr. Bayly. I did not then know nor expect that Johnson meant to expose the misrepresentation of Mr. Bayly; but he did so in his speech, thoroughly and unsparingly. I had intended to perform that service myself—which I shall perhaps now forbear to do.

February 2d. Mr. Thomas H. Bayly, of Accomac, was permitted to make another personal explanation in reply to the speech of Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, made last Saturday. Johnson replied again this day, and Bayly rejoined, and Johnson surrejoined, and Bayly had the last words. Much of the controversy between these two gentlemen related to me, Bayly having taunted the Democratic supporters of the notice to be given to Great Britain by the charge that they were taking me for their leader, and saying it was a lead which he was not disposed to follow. Upon this remark Johnson's answer on Saturday was very severe, and this day still more cutting. Bayly, after manifesting several times great excitement at the remarks of Johnson, finally left his seat and went out of the House. By a singular coincidence, two citizens of North Carolina, named Jones and Johnson, fought a duel this morning at Bladensburg, in which Johnson was killed; and a rumor was circulated throughout the city this day that this duel was between Bayly and Johnson, in which my champion of Tennessee had fallen.¹ Fortunately, I heard nothing of this rumor till it was ascertained to be unfounded—the only duel

¹ It is scarcely necessary to explain that this is the same Andrew Johnson who, as Vice-President, succeeded to the Presidency upon the death of President Lincoln in 1865.

between these parties this day having been, as on Saturday, merely a strife of words.

3d. At the House, James A. Black, of South Carolina, offered a joint resolution with a long preamble, authorizing the President to give notice to the British Government of the annulment of the Convention of 1827, with a proviso for further negotiations; and George C. Dromgoole, of Virginia, introduced a bill for effecting the same purpose, with an appropriation of money, the amount left in blank, and further negotiation recommended.

The object of multiplying these projects of legislation I suppose to be intended for the purpose of defeating them all—which I have little doubt is the systematic proceeding of the Polk Administration. I hinted as much in anticipation, in my speech of the 2d January; and this day Thomasson, of Kentucky, said to me, laughing, that in addition to all my other properties I should prove in this case a prophet.

9th. At the House, which I found in committee of the whole on the state of the Union, Tibbatts in the chair, and Thomas B. King, of Georgia, speaking against the resolution for giving the Oregon notice. I had scarcely taken my seat, when he addressed himself personally to me, with a charge of inconsistency for having in the years 1818 and 1827 agreed to the temporary Conventions with Great Britain concerning the Oregon region, and now declaring myself ready to put an end to that compact. He turned his face from the Speaker towards me, and asked the question why this change had come over my mind.

I had been urged for several days by sundry members of the House to address the committee on this subject, but the wretched state of my health, and the burden of affliction bearing me down at this moment, had so totally discouraged me that I entered the House with a determination to wait for the decision and give to it only an affirmative vote. This direct call from Mr. King, however, I could not resist. I rose, and said that, without admitting the right of the gentleman from Georgia to put a direct and personal question to me in that House, I was, however, ready to answer him. His question was, "Whether the title of the United States to the whole of

Oregon to latitude 54.40 was clear and indisputable." This question, I said, was susceptible of two different constructions—one with reference to right and wrong, and another with reference to fact; that as to the question of right I did hold the title of the United States to be clear and indisputable; but as to the *fact*, if everything is disputable which is disputed, I could not say that the title was indisputable, and if everything disputed by Great Britain was disputable, I thought it would be difficult to find any indisputable title without a change in the definition of words.

Mr. King replied that my answer was just such as he had expected, but that, as I held these opinions, he marvelled why I had not formally protested against any claim of title by Great Britain to Oregon in 1818 and 1827.

Without rejoining immediately, I suffered Mr. King to finish his speech, and then rose, and made myself a fragment of a speech, which was arrested, before I had half done, by the expiration of the hour. I took some notice of the disorderly manner in which Mr. King had thought proper to address himself to me in the course of the debate; whereupon he explained that he had intended nothing disrespectful, which I have no doubt was true, or disorderly, which it certainly was. I then entered upon the consideration of the title, and requested the Speaker to hand over to the Clerk the small book which he occasionally used for administering to the members of the House their solemn oaths to support the Constitution of the United States. He passed the little Bible over to the Clerk, B. B. French, who, at my request, read the twenty-sixth, twenty-seventh, and twenty-eighth verses of the first chapter of Genesis, which I said, in my judgment, contained the foundation of all human territorial rights, whether of universal domain, national jurisdiction, or individual property, from the right of the United States to the soil upon which the Capitol stood, to the seat in the chair occupied by the Speaker of the House. This was the general title of the whole human race to the whole of this globe of earth; from this all other human titles must be derived. I then requested the Clerk to read the eighth verse of the second Psalm—which he did: "Ask of me, and I shall give thee the

heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession;" and the preceding verses declare that the speaker of this promise was God Almighty, and the person to whom the promise was made was Jesus Christ. Then, without calling on the Clerk to read, I referred to the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth verses of the twenty-eighth chapter of Matthew, in which, after His resurrection from the dead, Jesus Christ spoke to His eleven disciples His last words, saying, "All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth. Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and, lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world. Amen." I proceeded to say that at the time of the discovery of this hemisphere by Christopher Columbus it was an article of creed of all Christian nations that the Bishop of Rome, as the successor of Saint Peter, was the vicar of Jesus Christ upon earth, and the administrator of all that power with which He had declared Himself to be invested in heaven and on earth at the time of His resurrection; and that then, and for several preceding centuries, it had been a part of the religious creed of Christendom that the right of disposing not only of uninhabited countries, and of countries only inhabited by savages, but even of all earthly kingdoms, was vested in the Pope of Rome, as the vicar and representative of Jesus Christ upon earth, and hence it was by this assumed and recognized authority that in 1493, the spring after the discovery of Columbus, Pope Alexander the Sixth gave this whole hemisphere to Ferdinand and Isabella, King and Queen of Castile, Leon, and Aragon.

I then proceeded to deduce, historically, our title to the northwest coast from latitude 42 to 54.40, till I was arrested by the expiration of the hour.

Haralson, of Georgia, immediately took the floor. Charles J. Ingersoll moved to suspend the hour rule, to give me the opportunity to conclude. But this led to a debate which terminated without suspending the rule. Haralson made his speech. Charles J. Ingersoll followed for an hour, and Cornelius Darragh, of Pennsylvania, consumed the remaining twenty

minutes till three o'clock, the hour at which it had been agreed that the debate should close. The voting then commenced, and numerous amendments were proposed, and voted upon without debate. The original resolution was amended, and a second resolution added to it recommending further negotiation, and was reported to the House, where the final vote was taken by yeas and nays—one hundred and sixty-three to fifty-four. It was read a third time, and passed. A motion to reconsider, with the previous question, was rejected, and at six o'clock in the evening the House adjourned.

10th. John H. McHenry, of Kentucky, reported from the Committee on the District of Columbia a bill to enlarge the powers of the several Orphans' Courts of the District. It related to the distribution of property. Joshua R. Giddings, of Ohio, moved an amendment of an additional section, declaring that slaves shall no longer be deemed in law to be property within the District of Columbia, and was supporting his amendment by beginning an argument—when McHenry objected to the amendment as not in order, for irrelevancy.

The Speaker, a pro-slavery Representative from the free State of Indiana, buckled close to the slave-mongers, decided that the amendment was irrelevant, and therefore not in order. Giddings appealed from this decision, and began an argument in support of his appeal. William M. Treadway, of Virginia, enquired if the appeal was debatable. The Speaker answered that it was. Richard Brodhead, from Easton, Pennsylvania, moved to lay the appeal on the table; which was carried. This decision, undoubtedly wrong, serves but to show the transcendent power here exercised over the House by the slave-representation of the South. The bill was passed.

13th. I attended the meeting of the select committee upon the Smithsonian bequest; all the members present—Owen, Adams, Jenkins, Sims, Davis, Marsh, Wilmot. Mr. Owen's bill was further discussed. The question was taken upon my motion to strike out the provision for the appointment of professors of agriculture and horticulture and for the establishment of teachers for normal schools, both of which, however, were carried by a vote of five to two. There was in the bill an

appropriation of five thousand dollars a year for the formation of a library. I moved to strike out in this section the word "five," and insert "twenty;" believing this better adapted to promote and increase the diffusion of knowledge among men than the waste of the funds to pay the expenses of schools for children—a duty which I believe incumbent upon the American people themselves, who will be disgraced by recurring to a foreigner for charges which they ought to support themselves.

My motion was, however, rejected, and the committee were prepared to report the bill as the majority of them have shaped it. A question was, however, reserved for the next meeting on Friday next.

In the day, after the passage of the resolution for giving notice on the Oregon Convention, Charles J. Ingersoll came to my seat and had some conversation with me respecting an amendment which I had proposed to him to insert in the resolution, and which he had promised to move, but had not the opportunity so to do. After he left my seat, W. P. Thomasson, of Kentucky, with a smile, said to me that another member of the House, in remarking the conversation of Mr. Ingersoll with me, had observed that it was the meeting of Pilate and Herod.

I said that this was not very complimentary; but, that if it was intended as a censure upon me for inconsistency, I would answer as Cicero had done before me upon his reconciliation after the death of Cæsar with some of the Loco-foco Tribunes with whom he had been in violent opposition and hostility—that I would wish my enmities to be transient, and my friendships to be eternal.

Thomasson was much amused at this answer, and circulated it freely in whispers round the House.

14th. Robert Smith, of Illinois, asked leave to present a resolution directing the Committee of Foreign Affairs to enquire into the expediency of reporting a joint resolution directing the President of the United States to negotiate with Spain for the purchase of the island of Cuba, upon principles recommended in the proceedings of a public meeting of the citizens of Springfield, Illinois. But objection was made, and the resolution not received.

David Levy, alias Yulee, now a Senator from the State of Florida, had already offered a similar resolution for the purchase of the island of Cuba, in the Senate, which he afterwards withdrew. These are mere explosive effusions of the spirit of aggrandizement which has taken possession of this people, and which will hereafter characterize their history. The North American continent and the archipelago of islands separating it from the Southern continent must, and will in no great distance of time, form component parts of this great confederated Anglo-Saxon republic.

20th. I attended this morning a meeting of the select committee on the Smithsonian bequest. Present, Owen, Chairman, Adams, Sims, and Jenkins. There was some further discussion upon the amendments proposed to the bill, but without coming to a conclusion. The committee adjourned to meet again next Friday, with a view then to direct the Chairman to report the bill as amended. I said I should not object to this, but should not hold myself bound to support it in the House. Mr. Sims said that his objection to it as unconstitutional remained in full force in his mind.

In the House, the bill for curtailing the mileage pay of Senators was resumed. A motion for the previous question was pending, on which there was no quorum voting. Haralson, of Georgia, moved a call of the House, which was commenced, and, a large quorum answering to their names, was superseded. An amendment moved yesterday by Jacob Thompson, of Mississippi, was rejected, and the rule was passed, by yeas and nays—one hundred and forty-one to ten.

I voted against it, believing that it will sleep in the Senate or be returned to the House with an amendment touching the constructive pay of the members of the House, which will be sure to demolish the bill. It is the constant practice of many members of the House to absent themselves without leave for days, weeks, and sometimes months, and yet receiving pay as if they attended regularly every day of the session. And this is the body of economists so severely prohibiting (mileage) and constructive pay to members of the Senate!

The steamer *Cambria* arrived from Liverpool. It brings

Queen Victoria's speech at the opening of Parliament on the 22d of January. A total revolution is announced in the commercial policy of Great Britain. The Ministry of Sir Robert Peel is restored, after their resignation and an abortive attempt by Lord John Russell to form another Ministry. The corn laws are to be immediately repealed, totally, or gradually in the course of three years. The complexion of the intelligence is altogether pacific and conciliatory. Mr. Pakenham's rejection of the proposition made by Mr. Buchanan, to divide the Oregon by the forty-ninth parallel of latitude, without referring it to his Government, has been formally disapproved both by Sir Robert Peel and Lord John Russell in the House of Commons. The report of our Secretary of the Treasury on the state of the finances, of the 3d of December last, has been highly extolled for its exposition of the principles of free trade, and ordered to be printed, in the House of Peers, for the use of its members—a token of approbation without example.

It is evident that the Oregon question will be settled by the repeal of the corn laws and the sacrifice of the American tariff; a bargain, both sides of which will be for the benefit of England, and to our disadvantage; a purchase of peace, the value of which can only be tested by the lapse of time.

21st. William L. Yancey, of Alabama, moved twice that when the House adjourned it should be till Tuesday, the 24th, in honor of the memory of Washington, whose birthday occurs this year on Sunday, the 22d, and is to be kept as a festival on the ensuing day. Yancey failed in his first attempt, and succeeded in his second.

Committee of the whole on private bills, Samuel F. Vinton, of Ohio, in the Chair. Among the bills was one granting commutation of half-pay to the heirs of Colonel William Grayson, which was earnestly opposed by Henry S. Clark, of North Carolina, Jacob Collamer, of Vermont, and Jacob Brinkerhoff, of Ohio.

I took part in this discussion by bearing testimony to the merit and services of Colonel Grayson, to whom in the year 1785 I brought a letter of introduction from Mr. Jefferson, then Minister of the United States in France. Mr. Grayson

was then a member of the Confederation Congress in session at New York—Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, being then President of Congress, in whose house I passed several weeks as a member of his family, and where I frequently met Colonel Grayson. My testimony was not to the special merits of the claim, but to those of him whose heirs are now the claimants. The committee rose without coming to any decision; and the House adjourned over to Tuesday.

23d. We had no interruption of visitors, and beguiled the time in the evening by reading the European news brought by the steamer *Cambria*, which arrived at Boston last Wednesday. By the same vessel I received a speech in pamphlet of M. Thiers in the French House of Deputies, addressed to me by Mr. William R. King, Minister of the United States in France at this time. Mr. Dix, the Senator from the State of New York, had also sent me the *Courrier des États-Unis* of the 6th of July, 1845, which contains a speech of the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. Guizot, to the House of Deputies, in June last, explaining his system of policy, and the principles upon which the Governments of France and Great Britain had interfered in the affairs of the continent, and especially to prevent the annexation of Texas to this Union.

President Polk, in his message at the commencement of the present session of Congress, complained of this interference on the part of France, and boasted that the measure had been accomplished in spite of it.

M. Guizot's system openly avows that France has an interest and a right to hold the balance of power between the three great powers of the American hemisphere—the United States, England, and the states of Spanish origin—and he maintains that it is the interest of France to support an equilibrium between them. To this system of policy the people of this Union cannot assent; and M. Thiers, in his speech of 20th January last, assails it as a total departure from the ancient and undeviating system pursued, as he asserts, towards the United States of America by France from the period of the American Revolution. That policy, he says, had always been to favor the aggrandizement of the United States with reference to Great

Britain, and yet to hold a balance between them; that Great Britain was the natural rival and antagonist of France, but that there never could be antagonism of principle or of policy between France and the United States; that it was absurd and ridiculous that there ever could be a hostile policy or a rational fear of the United States on the part of France, and therefore that the true policy of France was at all times to favor the prosperity of the United States and their aggrandizement in America. He thought, therefore, that the President of the United States had complained not without reason of the principle of equilibrium asserted by M. Guizot. "Gentlemen," said he, "I acknowledge, to my shame, I have for a very long time studied the map of the world, and the interests crossing each other upon it. Well, I declare to this House it is the first time in my life that I ever heard pronounced the words 'American equilibrium.' Never, never, to my knowledge, was it pronounced by any statesman."

The report of the speech says that this produced a movement in the Chamber of Deputies; and well it might. M. Guizot's equilibrium should produce a movement more extensive than in the House of Deputies in France. M. Thiers admits the European balance of power, but denies its extension to the American hemisphere, and refers to Mr. Winthrop's speech at this session of Congress as an evidence that he, in recommending an arbitration for the settlement of the Oregon question with England, did not venture to recommend a European crowned head as the arbitrator, which he (M. Thiers) attributes to his disgust at M. Guizot's system of equilibrium.

27th. At ten o'clock this morning I attended a meeting of the select committee on the Smithsonian bequest. Present, Owen, Chairman, Adams, Sims, Jenkins, Marsh, and Jefferson Davis; absent, Wilmot. The Chairman, conformably to the order adopted at the last meeting, had prepared a report to be submitted with the bill to the House. It contained a statement of the embezzlement of the fund by investing it in the stocks of the States of Arkansas, Illinois, and Michigan. I had moved to have this statement made and provided for in the bill; but, excepting Mr. Marsh, no other member of the com-

mittee would consent to it. They were unwilling to uncover the nakedness of the States. They consented, however, with reluctance, to have it made in the report, which Mr. Owen had rather awkwardly done, with an expression of the opinion of the committee that there would be no ultimate loss to the United States of the funds thus invested.

I moved to strike out of the report this expression of confidence, which I could not honestly avow. It was accordingly struck out, leaving a bare statement of the facts to be made.

The Chairman was directed, in presenting the report and bill, to move that they should be printed and made the special order of the day for the second Tuesday in April. The committees of the House upon this subject have heretofore been unanimous in the reports—all which have been made by me. But the House has never been prevailed upon to take them into consideration. In this committee no two members, excepting Mr. Marsh and myself, have agreed in opinion with regard to the future management of the fund. I doubt if there will be more harmony in the House, for never was there a benevolent and charitable purpose more unfortunately endowed than that of James Smithson, entrusted to the good faith and intelligence of the North American Congress.

March 18th. The Senate have expelled from their hall the reporters of the newspaper published in this city called The Daily Times, for certain charges against certain nameless Senators of having corrupt dealings with the British Minister, Pakenham, for a compromise of the Oregon question. A few days since, the House of Representatives expelled from their reporters' seats the correspondents of the New York newspaper called The Tribune, for exposing to ridicule the manners, and not the character, of William Sawyer, a member of the House from Ohio. This sickly sensibility to the animadversions of the press, manifested by arbitrary acts of power, unchecked by judicial control, seems to be common to all deliberative assemblies, and always terminates to their disadvantage.

George C. Dromgoole, of Virginia, moved to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union to take up the River and Harbor bill; which was done. The voting upon

the amendments was resumed. A multitude of amendments were proposed—some of them in derision, and for very unwarrantable sport—among them, one by George Fries, of Ohio, grossly and personally insulting to his colleague Schenck, which occasioned an altercation, and a retort from Schenck, upon which a full hour of the House was wasted and the time disgracefully lost.

The yeas and nays were taken upon numerous amendments: the first, upon a provision of five thousand dollars for removing the obstructions from the harbor at Providence, Rhode Island, upon which Linn Boyd, of Kentucky, called for the yeas and nays, and it was carried—ninety-nine to ninety-six. The appropriation of fifteen thousand dollars for removing the obstructions in Newark Bay, New Jersey, was also carried, by yeas and nays—ninety-eight to eighty-nine. Crozier, of Tennessee, had moved an item of one hundred thousand dollars for the Mussel Shoals; which was lost, by yeas and nays—sixty-five to one hundred and twenty-five; and thereupon Crozier, who had voted for the appropriation of five thousand dollars for Providence Harbor, moved a reconsideration of that vote; which was lost, by yeas and nays—ninety-five to one hundred and two. This is a specimen of the slave-monger system of internal improvements. Half-past three o'clock the House adjourned.

24th. The resolution offered by Hugh A. Haralson last evening at the adjournment, to close the debate for raising two additional regiments of riflemen, and for other purposes, at three o'clock this day, and after an ineffectual motion of R. W. Roberts to lay it on the table, was adopted without a division. Haralson immediately moved to go into committee; which was carried. Felix G. McConnell moved to lay the bill aside and take up another; but the Chairman, McKay, declared this not in order, and a debate ensued, and continued until three o'clock, when the voting commenced upon the amendments proposed to the bill, one of which was rejected and another adopted.

While the process was going on of taking these votes by tellers, Robert C. Winthrop came to my seat and told me he

should vote for this bill. I said I regretted again to part from him, for I had come to the determination to vote against it—the Senate not having acted upon the bill for giving notice to the British Government of the termination of the Convention of 1827, and the balance of probability now being that the Senate would not pass it at all.

He said that a message had just been received in the Senate from the President, in answer to a resolution of that body offered some days since by Mr. Dayton, in which the President declares explicitly that in his judgment the present position of the country does require an addition to its armed force.

Hereupon I rose and moved that the committee should rise, to enable me to move in the House a reconsideration of the vote by which it had been determined to take the bill out of committee at three o'clock this day. An immediate and violent opposition was made to my motion, with loud calls to order. I asked leave to state my reason for the motion I had made; but the objections and calls to order continued and increased, during which I made out to give my reason—which was, that a message had been received in the Senate from the President which in all probability would decide my vote, and perhaps that of the House, upon the bill. The struggle against granting me the leave to assign my reasons was so vociferous and peremptory that the Chairman, McKay, without taking the question upon it, said that he had been mistaken in supposing that the committee had assented to give me the leave, and ordered me to take my seat; which I did.

Tellers were then called upon my motion for the committee to rise, and eighty-two members were reported by the tellers in the affirmative. This was a majority of the voters present, and the committee rose. The Chairman said that the resolution in the House did not require that the question upon the bill should be taken this day; that it might be still debated in the House. I replied that it came to the same thing; that if the bill should be reported, the previous question would be called and the question upon the bill immediately taken.

The committee having risen, I made my motion for reconsideration of the vote for taking the bill out of committee

this day. Thomasson, of Kentucky, and Albert Smith, of New York, immediately moved to adjourn. George W. Jones, of Tennessee, enquired of the Speaker if I had voted for the resolution which I now moved to reconsider. The Speaker said that this question would be in order when the motion to reconsider should come up. I had voted against the resolution, and, according to the rules of the House, was not competent to make the motion to reconsider; but my object was attained by the rising of the committee and the adjournment of the House, which immediately followed. We shall know the purport of the President's message to the Senate before taking the final vote on the bill.

25th. Morning visit from Mr. Robert Owen, who told me that he should leave the city to-morrow, about to embark for England, where he proposed to use his best exertions for procuring the amicable adjustment of the differences existing between the Government of that country and the United States; and he enquired if I had read an article signed by him in the *National Intelligencer* of this morning. I had seen his signature, but passed over the article, taking it for the repetition of one published some days since.

He told me the substance of it, which was that a final settlement should be made with the least loss of time on the base of the forty-ninth degree of latitude to the Pacific, with Vancouver's Island to the British, and the free navigation of the Columbia River for ten years. He hoped that I would concur with him in this opinion.

I told him that I wished him all possible success in his exertions to preserve the peace between the two countries, which I believed to be in no sort of danger, but that as to the terms of settlement the whole range of my ideas, both as to right and expediency, was directly the reverse of his; that I believed our right to latitude 54.40 in the South Sea was perfect, with the single exception of actual possession; that Great Britain had no right there of permanent possession at all; that with regard to war and peace, considered in the abstract, I agreed with him, and, with all the benevolent and humane throughout the world, I held it in utter abhorrence, as much so as the Roman mothers

in the days of Horace and of Augustus Cæsar; but that there are, and always have been as long as the race of men has existed, times and occasions of dire necessity for war; and, philosophically speaking, I believed that war was not a corrupter, but rather a purifier, of the moral character of man; that peace was the period of corruption to the human race. And I asked him if he recollected the passage of the *Paradise Lost*, in which the Archangel Michael after the fall of Adam foretells to him the fortunes of his posterity in war and peace. After describing to him all the horrors of war, he draws before him a picture of his condition in peace; and such it is that Adam, in contemplating it, says:

"I had hope
When violence was ceased, and war on earth,
All would have then gone well, peace would have crown'd
With length of happy days the race of man.
But I was far deceived, for now I see
Peace to corrupt, no less than war to waste,"

Mr. Owen did not recollect the passage in Milton, probably never having read it; and he expatiated upon his anticipations of the universal revolution started by him and now in progress, and which will soon transform and exalt the nature of man to be governed by the laws of God, and not by circumstances and the laws of man. He thought that his purposes and mine were the same—the ultimate improvement and exaltation of the nature of man and his condition upon earth; but the means by which we believe this revolution is to be effected are widely different.

Mr. Owen's visit delayed my departure for the Capitol, so that when I reached the House I found them in session, having laid on the table my motion to reconsider the vote for taking the bill out of committee yesterday, no longer necessary, and they were already in committee of the whole on the state of the Union, taking the questions on the several amendments to the bill for raising two additional regiments of riflemen. A substitute for the bill itself had already been adopted, authorizing the President at his discretion to increase the number of privates in each company of the existing regiments of dragoons,

artillery, and infantry to any number not exceeding eighty—the enlistment to be for three years, unless sooner disbanded by the President. The bill was thus reported to the House. Joseph McDowell, of Ohio, moved to lay it on the table; which was rejected, by yeas and nays—thirty-two to one hundred and forty-nine, and then the bill was passed, by yeas and nays—one hundred and sixty-four to fifteen.

April 8th. I have been several days occupying my leisure in answering a letter from Joseph Sturge, of Birmingham, in England, complaining of my speech on the Oregon question, and charging me with inflaming the temper of my countrymen to war. Sturge is a Quaker, and a leading member of the English Abolition Society. His motives are good, and his character highly respectable. I have therefore, disclaiming all intention to kindle war upon this question, and professing a full concurrence with him in abhorrence of all aggressive war, marked the distinction which should be made between that sentiment and the unqualified denunciation of war peculiar to the doctrines of the Society of Friends, to which I cannot subscribe. The question of war and peace is identical with the question of right and wrong: war for the right can never be justly blamed; war for the wrong can never be justified.

In the House, immediately after the reading of the journal, Jacob Brinkerhoff moved to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, but withdrew the motion at my request, to introduce a resolution calling on the President to cause to be communicated to the House, if not incompatible with public interest, copies of the correspondence of George William Gordon, late Consul of the United States at Rio de Janeiro, with the Department of State, relating to the slave-trade in vessels and by citizens of the United States between the coast of Africa and Brazil; which resolution was adopted without opposition.

13th. The House went into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, and took up the bill to protect the rights of American settlers in the Territory of Oregon until the termination of the joint occupation of the same, Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine, in the chair. The bill extends the jurisdiction of

the Territory of Iowa over the whole of Oregon, without limitation of boundary, beyond the Rocky Mountains. John H. McHenry, of Kentucky, moved to insert the words "south of forty-nine degrees north." This gave rise to a long debate, in which I took part, observing that if the limitation was south of 54.40 I would vote for it, but was willing to leave it without specific limitation to the north. I referred again to my former voucher of the first chapter of Genesis as the foundation of titles to lands, and produced Grotius and Blackstone as referring to the same identical authority—Genesis i. 26–30. I produced also in the first volume of the Laws of the United States, page 448, the commission of George the Third to Governor Wright, of Georgia, of the 20th January, 1764, reciting his commission of the 4th of May, 1761, to the same person, revoking the first commission, extending the boundaries of that colony to the South Sea, and establishing the boundaries of the second as far as our territories extend, Great Britain having in the interval, by treaties with France and Spain, bounded her territories on this continent by the Mississippi. I presented also the diversities of expression in the Northern Sound Convention, in our Convention with Great Britain in 1818 and 1827, to show that Great Britain had not a shadow of right to any exclusive territorial jurisdiction on the shores of the Pacific Ocean. The committee rose without coming to a question.

14th. Took this morning my answer to Joseph Sturge, of Birmingham, England, to the Department of State, with a request that it might be forwarded to Mr. Louis McLane, our Minister in England, to be transmitted by him to Mr. Sturge. I had a long conversation with Mr. Buchanan upon the occasional expenditure of the secret-service money, and upon Mr. Buchanan's desire to obtain an Act of Congress constituting an Assistant Secretary of State. I stated to him my objections to this measure, upon general considerations, and the imminent danger of finding in a department with two heads a house divided against itself. I particularly referred him to the result of an experiment to establish an Assistant Secretary of the Treasury at the first organization of the present Government of the United States, and the crosses between Alexander Hamil-

ton and Tench Coxe, till the office of Assistant Secretary was abolished.

22d. At the House, the bill to establish the Smithsonian Institution for the increase and diffusion of knowledge among men was taken up in committee of the whole on the state of the Union—Armistead Burt, of South Carolina, in the chair. It was read through for information, and then taken up by sections for amendment.

George W. Jones, of Tennessee, moved to strike out the first section; that is, to reject the bill.

Robert Dale Owen delivered an hour speech in support of the bill, dwelling chiefly upon the parts of it appropriating funds for the education and training of teachers for normal schools throughout the Union—in my opinion the worst feature of the bill.

Jones's objection was chiefly to the organization of the Trustees of the fund as a corporation, which he contended was not within the constitutional power of Congress to create. After Owen's speech, Jones withdrew his motion to strike out the first section, and moved to amend by a section authorizing the whole bequest to be returned to the heirs at law, or next of kin, or residuary legatees, of Smithson, or their authorized agents, whenever they shall demand the same. That is to say, to deliver to them the State bonds of the State of Arkansas, Illinois, and Michigan, upon which neither interest nor principal is, or is soon likely to be, paid. This is Mr. Jones's favorite mode of disposing of a fund accepted by the Congress of the United States with the pledge of their faith that it should be appropriated to the purposes prescribed by the donor. This motion was discussed by the mover, by Joseph R. Ingersoll, by F. P. Stanton, of Tennessee, by William Sawyer, of Ohio, and by Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi; after which the committee rose without coming to a conclusion.

23d. At the House, Linn Boyd moved a resolution to close debate in committee of the whole on the state of the Union on the Smithsonian Bequest bill in half an hour after taking it up in committee. Joseph R. Ingersoll pleaded for an hour and a half. James Graham, of North Carolina, moved to lay

the resolution on the table; which was done, and the House went into committee again, Armistead Burt in the chair, and resumed the consideration of the bill.

Charles J. Ingersoll informed the House that the managers of the conference upon the notice of disagreement had unanimously agreed upon a report, but that it could not be communicated to this House until it should have been acted upon in the Senate.

George P. Marsh, of Vermont, made an hour speech upon the Smithsonian Bequest bill—one of the best speeches ever delivered in the House, but not much in support of the bill. His desire is to apply a very large portion of the annual interest upon the fund to the establishment of a public library.

Isaac E. Morse, of Louisiana, followed, to whom Owen replied, and was followed by John S. Chipman, of Michigan, against the bill. The committee rose, and Owen moved a resolution to close the debate in committee of the whole. Joseph R. Ingersoll moved to amend by inserting three hours; but the resolution itself was laid on the table—ninety-three to forty-four. Owen asked if a resolution allowing an hour and a half would be acceptable.

I requested him not to renew the question in any form, as I wished to offer a substitute for the whole bill. Objection was made to this. I moved a suspension of the rules—which was carried. I proposed my substitute which I had prepared this morning; it was referred to the committee of the whole on the state of the Union, and ordered to be printed. The consideration of the bill was then postponed to next Monday.

27th. In the British House of Commons, on the 20th of last month, Lord George Bentinck, a son of the Duke of Portland, charged me by name for, blasphemously, he would say, calling to my aid the word of God as a justification for lighting up fire-brands and unleashing the hell-hounds of war on, as he called it, "*our*" Territory of Oregon; and he proceeded to say "that if it came to this, that the Bible should be quoted for the title of the Americans to the Oregon Territory, he trusted he would be enabled to address the Americans in the language of British thunder from the broadsides of a line-of-battle ship." ("Hear! hear!")

The report of this debate is republished in several newspapers of this country, and particularly in the *Baltimore Sun* of last Thursday, the 23d instant. I deem it my duty to reply to this charge, and, if possible, in my seat in the House of Representatives. But, if done at all, it must be done with great deliberation, and in a written speech. I began this morning the draft of this speech; and I pray to God for resolution, decision, and discretion to go through the fiery ordeal of accomplishing it.

At the House, Charles J. Ingersoll asked leave to make a personal explanation, upon which objection being made, he moved and carried a suspension of the rules. George Ashmun said he wished to move an amendment to Ingersoll's motion; which the Speaker said could not be done.

The suspension was carried by yeas and nays—one hundred and two to twenty-five—and Ingersoll delivered a new written attack upon Daniel Webster for corruption and embezzlement of public money and delinquency in the settlement of his accounts as Secretary of State. He concluded by asking for a committee, which, he said, he could not institute, to test the truth of his statements.

Ashmun asked leave to reply, and, upon objection made, the rules were again suspended—one hundred and twenty-five to twenty-two—and Ashmun did reply, by a defence of Mr. Webster, and retorted charges against Charles J. Ingersoll, in which process he was repeatedly interrupted by calls to order, not sustained by the Speaker, and grossly insulted by foul language of charges of lying and cowardice from Ingersoll.

In the course of this debate the Speaker decided that when all the rules of the House were suspended the Parliamentary law of England was still obligatory upon this House. I called upon him for his authority in making this decision. He said it was my own, appealing to a decision which he said I had made while presiding over the House at the first session of the Twenty-Sixth Congress. I denied having ever made such a decision; and he did not attempt to produce it. I cannot find upon the journal of the House of that session any question

decided by me which the Speaker could even construe into a precedent for his decision of this day.

Upon Mr. Ashmun's pressing some of his charges against Charles J. Ingersoll, he went over to implore the assistance of his brother Joseph to extricate him from trouble—which he did, as far as he was able, with great propriety and sensibility.

This discreditable scene closed with a resolution offered by Mr. Schenck, of Ohio, for the appointment of a committee of five members to investigate the question, how, and in what manner, and by whom, Charles J. Ingersoll had obtained secret documents from the Department of State, and report to the House, as soon as practicable, the result of their investigation; and by the appointment of another committee, also of five members, to enquire into the truth of the charges made by Charles J. Ingersoll against Daniel Webster, with a view to founding an impeachment against him.

The appointment of both committees was carried, and both have power to call for persons or papers, books and vouchers.

28th. Committee of the whole on the state of the Union, Armistead Burt in the chair, on the Smithsonian Bequest bill. Sims, of South Carolina, opposed the bill in every shape and form it could assume. He held Congress had no power by the Constitution to accept such a trust, and was for returning the money to the Chancery of England.

I made a desultory speech in support of the substitute proposed by me for the bill. They were both debated till the committee rose without coming to a conclusion, and other amendments were proposed. George W. Hopkins, of Virginia, moved a resolution to close the debate in committee of the whole in one hour after it should be next taken up—which was carried, by means of the previous question, and the House adjourned.

May 11th. A message from the President of the United States to both Houses of Congress was received this morning, after the House had been one hour in session. It occupied about half an hour in the reading, recommending, not in direct terms, but by circumlocution, a declaration of war against Mexico. It begins with a reference to the state of the relations

between the two countries presented in the annual message at the commencement of the session, and then relates the series of events, diplomatic and military, which have since occurred and brought on a state of hostility now existing between them. A voluminous correspondence accompanied the message.

When it was received, the House was in committee of the whole on the state of the Union, Samuel Gordon, of the Tenth Congressional District of New York, in the chair, upon the Military Academy Appropriation bill, against which William Sawyer, of the Fifth Congressional District of Ohio, was playing off his Democratic artillery. On the receipt of the message the committee immediately rose. The message and part of the accompanying documents were read, and, after some altercation as to the mode of disposing of them, they were ordered to be printed and referred to the committee of the whole on the state of the Union.

The House went immediately into that committee, at the motion of Hugh A. Haralson, of Georgia, Chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs, George W. Hopkins, of Virginia, in the chair. They immediately took up Bill No. 145, reported from the committee, authorizing the President to accept the service of volunteers, not exceeding fifty thousand men, with an appropriation of ten millions of dollars. A long debate ensued, numerous amendments were proposed, a distinction between war and hostilities much discussed, and numerous efforts made to shape a declaration of war against Mexico—one of which finally succeeded. A motion was soon made by Jacob Brinkerhoff, of Ohio, that the committee rise for a resolution to close the debate in two hours; upon which resolution the yeas and nays were demanded and refused. At the end of the two hours the bill was reported to the House with the amendment declaring war, by a long preamble adopted at the motion of Linn Boyd, and was passed, by yeas and nays—one hundred and seventy-four to fourteen; Amos Abbott and Robert C. Winthrop, of Massachusetts, voting for this declaration of war.

Of the fourteen besides myself, Ashmun, Grinnell, Hudson, and Daniel P. King were five; Benjamin Thompson and Julius

Rockwell were absent. There is one vacancy in the delegation from Massachusetts. Thus only one-half of the delegation from Massachusetts voted for this most unrighteous war.

Garrett Davis, of Kentucky, asked to be excused from voting, for which he assigned reasons perfectly conclusive against the war, and finally withdrew his motion to be excused, and voted for the bill. Thomas H. Bayly, of Virginia, did the same, Elias B. Holmes, of New York, and Albert Smith, of the same State, also voted for the bill, protesting against the preamble as base, fraudulent, and false; which preamble contained the declaration of war. And thus the bill was passed, and the House adjourned.

12th. At the meeting after the recess, a letter was presented to the House from John Pettit, Chairman of the select committee of investigation for the impeachment of Daniel Webster, stating that after having been refused the service of a clerk, for that committee, by the House, he had concluded to refuse to serve any longer on that committee, and therefore asked again to be excused, and that another person may be appointed in his place. He was accordingly excused, and Seaborn Jones, of Georgia, was appointed in his place.

Pettit was the mover for this committee, with the avowed purpose of impeachment of Mr. Webster. Having carried that motion, the real purpose of which was to force the production of the secret papers in the Department of State, he takes the first opportunity to get excused from serving on the committee, well knowing that no impeachable matter will be obtained by the investigation, but trusting that the publication of the secret papers would operate injuriously upon the reputation of Webster in the public mind. The whole of this transaction affords an exemplification of the manner in which the secrets of this Government are divulged by the operation of factious parties and malicious personal enmities.

13th. At the House, Isaac E. Holmes, of South Carolina, Chairman of the Committee of Naval Affairs, presented a communication from the Secretary of the Treasury in relation to the engineers for the revenue marine service. Holmes moved to discharge the committee of the whole House from the con-

sideration of a bill upon this subject, referred to them, and take it up and pass it in the House; which was accordingly done, though in direct defiance of a rule of the House, that all matters touching appropriations of money shall be first considered in committee of the whole.

This committee of the whole is, in our theory of legislation, the great security for the freedom of speech and of debate upon all subjects before the House; but it is becoming little more than a dead letter by this evasive practice of referring subjects to the committee and then discharging the committee from the consideration of them without consideration at all. This, together with the other recent practice of limiting the time for debate in committee of the whole, takes away all the benefit of free debate intended by that organization of the rules.

19th. I have received a letter from Charles Phillips, dated on the 12th instant, Secretary of the Historical Society of the University of North Carolina, at Chapel Hill, enclosing two printed papers—one, the first report of that Society, of which Mr. Phillips is the Secretary, of the 4th June, 1845, and the other a printed circular letter of the 5th of September, 1845, signed by David L. Swain, eight members of the Executive Committee, and the Secretary—Mr. Phillips's letter referring to page 275 of the appendix to the first volume of my father's letters, published by my son. The note, B, *Thoughts on Government*, states that the manuscript of my father, communicated in 1776 to the Legislature of North Carolina, has been recently presented to that Society by Miss Burke, a daughter of Mr. Burke, who was in 1776 Chairman of the committee appointed to project a Constitution, and afterwards Governor of the State; that he died in 1783, and that it is almost certain that from that year up to 1845 the boxes which contained his papers remained unopened; they were then presented by Miss Burke to the Historical Society; and that among them was discovered one endorsed in Governor Burke's handwriting, "John Adams—*Thoughts on Government*."

Mr. Phillips, on the part of the Historical Society, tenders me a copy of this paper, and, remarking that the Society has been in existence only two years, in very obliging terms pro-

poses to place my name on its records as its first honorary member. I am extremely gratified with the reappearance of these "Thoughts on Government," though doubtless only a copy of the letter to George Wythe, published in my son's collection and many times before.

20th. At the House, the Speaker decided that a resolution proposed yesterday by Haralson, Chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs, for an appropriation of money to purchase a book of tactics and the Articles of War for the use of volunteers, was not in order, because every appropriation from the Treasury must, by the Constitution, be made by law—that is, by bill, and not by resolution. This decision was correct; but these appropriations by resolution are so frequently occurring that this principle of the Constitution will very soon be broken down entirely. It has already in more than one instance been violated, and was especially so in one case in the Twenty-Seventh Congress, against which I remonstrated in vain.

23d. The bill for the allowance of bounty for the fishing-schooner *Florilla*, lost at sea, was read the third time, and, on taking the question by yeas and nays, the Speaker announced the vote seventy-seven to seventy-six, and declared the bill to be passed. Daniel asked if the Speaker had voted; and he answered, No. Daniel enquired whether if he had voted it would have changed the result. He answered, No. Now, if he had voted against the bill it would have made a tie, and the bill would have been lost. Some time afterwards the Speaker said that upon re-examining the vote the Clerk had discovered that it had been a tie—seventy-seven to seventy-seven—and that he voted himself, making the vote seventy-seven to seventy-eight, and rejecting the bill.

This is a perfect exemplification of the characteristic discriminations of John W. Davis, the present Speaker of the House of Representatives. If his vote would have rejected the bill by making a tie, he would not have given it; but when the bill was rejected by a tie he would have added his own vote to make the assurance of rejection doubly sure. Some question was made whether, after the announcement that the bill was passed, it was not too late—especially by such a questionable

procedure—to reverse the decision. Other objections were made to the voting of the Speaker, but without any result except to show his passion for the strongest side.

28th. I had received a letter from D. G. Ingraham, of Boston, asking for a copy of my correspondence with the late William Tudor, Junior, in May, 1822, relating to the purchase of his father's journals for the library of the Department of State. These journals contain the most authentic account of the discovery of the Columbia River by Captain Robert Gray. I called at the Department of State this morning and made enquiry of the Secretary, Mr. Buchanan, concerning that correspondence—which was immediately found, and of which he promised me a copy.

I had also a conversation with him relating to the usages of the Department with regard to allowing access to members of Congress to the secret archives of the Department. I found the practice had continued as it was during my time; but Mr. Buchanan expressed an opinion, with which I concurred, that it had now become necessary to establish some restriction upon the unlimited access of members of Congress to all the secret papers of the Department. The recent abuse of that privilege by Charles J. Ingersoll has shown that some such restriction will be indispensable in future.

Committee of the whole on the state of the Union; the resolutions of thanks to General Taylor and his troops were taken up. James A. Black, of South Carolina, offered an additional resolution for pensioning the wounded officers and soldiers—which was opposed by Burt, of the same State, as fixing upon the country a gigantic pension system. The debate slid into a contest upon merits and demerits of the West Point Academy.

Ashmun objected to one of the resolutions containing an appropriation, as unconstitutional.

Brinkerhoff appealed to a precedent in which there was no appropriation.

I referred, as I have done many times before, to the express terms of the Constitution, to show that no appropriation of money can be made by resolution.

Brodhead appealed to the precedent at this session in the

resolution for the admission of Texas—which I said was only one additional violation of the Constitution.

The Chairman decided that no appropriation could be made by resolution. Charles J. Ingersoll said that Chief-Justice Marshall had decided that a joint resolution was to all intents and purposes a law. Boyd, the Chairman, said that his decision was otherwise, Chief-Justice Marshall to the contrary notwithstanding. But Ingersoll's assertion was not true.

Brinkerhoff appealed from the decision of the Chair; Black, of South Carolina, had done so already. Sawyer, of Ohio, and Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, snarled about the West Point Academy. Luther Severance made a speech in justification of his vote against the declaration of war; to which Barclay Martin, of Tennessee, replied, with usual slave-monger brutality. Giddings took the floor. Hudson moved that the committee rise; carried—eighty-nine to thirty-four.

June 2d. I received yesterday from Messrs. H. P. and W. C. Taylor several articles of the manufacture of soap as a present, with a very polite and obliging letter. These persons are manufacturers of that article, and among those who are exhibiting articles from their manufacture at the fair in this city.

I answered their letter this day, and accepted their present, not without reluctance, but considering it of too small pecuniary value to object against it upon a principle. I was inclined to ask them to receive payment for it; but my wife shamed me out of that fancy, and I merely accepted it with thanks. My principle has always been to refuse all presents offered to me as a public man; but, where the value is very small, I thought it would be ridiculous to make a point upon it. It has not always been easy for me to draw the line of distinction. Mr. Jefferson, in a letter to Leavitt Harris, declared his principle to be the same with that which I have always observed; and, in conformity with it, he accepted from Harris a plaster bust of the Emperor Alexander, which might be worth ten dollars.

6th. Haralson, Chairman of the Military Committee, renewed the motion yesterday made to appoint a member of that committee in the place of Archibald Yell, of Arkansas, who has left this city, not intending to return during the present session.

Jacob Brinkerhoff, of Ohio, said that Edward D. Baker, of Illinois, another member of the same committee, had gone off in the same way, both of them intending to raise troops to go as volunteers to the war against Mexico.

After some discussion on the irregularity of this proceeding, Haralson moved to excuse Yell from further service on the Military Committee; which was adopted.

The Speaker said that he would have it so entered on the journal that it should not be referred to as a precedent hereafter.

Both of these members have gone away without notice to the House, and without intending to return. This, though in direct violation of a rule of the House, and a gross violation of the duty of the member to his constituents and to his country, has become a very general practice; and the motive for it is as mean as the practice itself is vicious. The rule is that no member shall absent himself from the service of the House without its permission; but if he asks and obtains permission, his pay is suspended during his absence. If he goes without permission, his pay continues without suspension; and members absent themselves for weeks, and sometimes for months, and receive pay as if their attendance had been without interruption.

July 11th. I enter upon my eightieth year, with thanksgiving to God for all the blessings and mercies which His providence has bestowed upon me throughout a life extended now to the longest term allotted to the life of man; with supplication for the continuance of those blessings and mercies to me and mine, as long as it shall suit the dispensations of His wise providence, and for resignation to His will when my appointed time shall come.

13th. I rose this morning with the dawn, and, drawn by an irresistible impulse, walked over the lower Tiber bridge to my old bathing-spot on the margin of the Potomac, and where, under the shelter of the high bluff yet remaining, I bathed and swam from five to ten minutes, came out, dressed myself, and walked home. As I went down the hill to the edge of the water, I found three young men, neither of whom I knew, already in the river, and heard one of them say, "There is John Quincy Adams." They had their clothes at one of my

old standard rocks; but, without noticing or disturbing them, I found another rock a few rods higher, towards the Potomac bridge, where I left my clothes. The tide was low, and the time not convenient for entering the river, but I succeeded in obtaining the bath for which I panted. The time consumed was, as in former days, about one hour and a half—half an hour going to the river, half an hour to bathe, swim, and dress, and half an hour to return. The thermometer was at eighty-four, the water warm, the atmosphere calm, and the sun clear.

14th. A bill for the improvement of the Ohio, Missouri, Mississippi, and Arkansas inland seas—a notable device of the political mountebank John C. Calhoun—came up. Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine, moved to lay it on the table. The Speaker said that on the first reading of a bill, if opposed, the only question was, Shall the bill be rejected? whereupon Hamlin moved that it be rejected. Rathbun moved the previous question—carried. Jacob Thompson moved a call of the House. The Speaker said it was too late, the previous question having been seconded. The main question was ordered. Tibbatts moved to adjourn, and asked for the yeas and nays—which were refused, and also the motion to adjourn. The question, Shall the bill be rejected? was taken by yeas and nays—one hundred and twenty to forty-eight—a majority formed by the sense of the House that the bill itself was a swindler's trick.

15th. Third bath and swim in the Potomac at five o'clock this morning, still with a clear sky and a bright rising sun, but with a fall of ten degrees of Fahrenheit, from eighty-four to seventy-four, and a brisk breeze ruffling the surface of the river, so that when I came out I shivered while dressing at my old rock, but warmed in walking home, and suffered no after inconvenience.

August 9th. There was no preaching at the Capitol. I attended the morning service at St. John's Church, where Mr. Pyne read the prayers for the ninth Sunday after Trinity, and preached from John iii. 18: "He that believeth on Him is not condemned: but he that believeth not is condemned already, because he hath not believed in the name of the only begotten

Son of God." The discourse was upon faith, and disclosed to my mind no new idea.

On Saturday, 5th August, 1809, I started from Charlestown for St. Petersburg with my wife and child, Charles F., and others. The next day, 6th August, 1809, was the ninth Sunday after Trinity, and I read to my wife, on board ship, the service of that day, with an impression which is not effaced, and all the while we were in Europe we continued the practice. Mr. Pyne's discourse was upon saving faith—a perplexing subject.

10th. Close of first session Twenty-Ninth Congress.

The Houses met at eight o'clock A.M. The adjournment was fixed at noon for the convenience of members, many of whom departed in the railway cars for Baltimore at that hour. The day, like all the last days of a session of Congress, was a chaos of confusion. It began by a committee of the whole on the state of the Union, Howell Cobb, Chairman, upon an amendment of the Senate to the Navy Appropriation bill. There was a large majority to disagree to the Senate's amendment, but no quorum voting. Cobb declared the disagreement carried, though Garrett Davis had called for a division and remonstrated that there was no quorum. Cobb rode roughshod over Garrett Davis, and was sustained in his false report by the Speaker, John W. Davis, who, in mastery of Garrett Davis's remonstrance, said he could receive nothing as done in committee but the report of the Chairman. He put the question of concurring with the amendment of the Senate, which was rejected—eighty-four to forty-eight. The bill afterwards passed by a report from a committee of conference; so did the Civil and Diplomatic Appropriation bill. A joint committee was appointed to inform the President that the two Houses would adjourn at noon; but they made no report. Sims, of South Carolina, and W. W. Campbell, of New York, moved to take up the bill for the relief of Elizabeth Hamilton, but failed. As the hand of the clock was on the line of twelve, the Speaker declared the House adjourned to the first Monday in December. At that moment John Davis was prosing in the Senate about the two millions Peace bill, with David Wilmot's anti-slavery proviso, which thereby fell through.

The nineteenth and last volume of the diary terminates with the close of the first session of the Twenty-Ninth Congress as given in the preceding pages.

Six quires, each containing twenty pages, stitched together, less than half of them written in the hand of Mr. Adams, but including the remarkable paper called the posthumous memoir, remain, which extend the record irregularly so far as to the 4th of February, 1848, but nineteen days before his death.

From these last papers it has been judged best to make only such selections as may serve to continue the portraiture of the man to its end. Though his report of the proceedings of the House is faithfully continued, it naturally ceases to represent so much of his own share of action as formerly, whilst, on the other hand, the train of reflection of an invalid sensible of his gradual decline, however interesting to his immediate descendants, can scarcely carry with it any similar attraction to the world at large.

QUINCY, *Sunday, August 16th.*—Blessing, praise, and supplication to God on first rising from bed on returning to my earthly home, after an absence of nine months in the public service of my country. Some discouragement of soul follows the reflection that my aspirations to live in the memory of after-ages as a benefactor of my country and of mankind have not received the sanction of my Maker; that the longing of my soul through a long life to be numbered among the blessings bestowed by the Creator on the race of man is rejected; and after being trammelled and counteracted and disabled at every step of my progress, my faculties are now declining from day to day into mere helpless impotence. Yet at the will of my heavenly Father why should I repine?

Dr. John Pierce, of Brookline, preached at the Stone Temple this day by exchange with the Reverend Mr. Lunt. His morning sermon was from Deuteronomy i. 21: "Behold, the Lord thy God hath set the land before thee: go up and possess it, as the Lord God of thy fathers hath said unto thee; fear not, neither be discouraged."

Dr. Pierce was not thinking of Texas, Mexico, Oregon, but

of the reports of Caleb and Joshua on returning from their exploration of the land of Canaan, and of the heavenly land set before the Christian of the present age for his exploration and possession. All his applications to our times were spiritual. Dr. Pierce dined with us. The afternoon discourse was from Acts xi. 26: "And the disciples were called Christians first at Antioch." This is an incident of historical fact very curious and interesting, upon which the commentary might have been broader and deeper. Dr. Pierce is of the salt of the earth.

20th. At eight o'clock this morning I walked to the Quincy station of the Old Colony Railroad, where I met my son. Took my seat in the train of cars which then came in from South Braintree for Boston—twenty-five cents a ticket. Josiah Quincy, late President of Harvard University, and his son-in-law, Waterston, were also in the cars. Walked to the depot of the Providence Railroad, and found there Josiah Quincy, Junior, Mayor, and the City Council of Boston, with whom I went to Long Pond, in Wayland, to break ground for the construction of an aqueduct to the city of Boston. This ceremony of striking the spade first into the ground was performed by the Mayor, after a short address to him from Nathan Hale, in the name of the Water Commissioners, and a handsome speech of about ten minutes from him. He threw up the first shovelful of earth, and then, with a compliment, invited me to strike the second, which I did, and his father, third passed Mayor of Boston, struck the third. The spade had been made for the occasion, and had on its handle a silver inscription recording in advance the transaction. The company then repaired to a temporary shed or tabernacle at hand, and sat down, to the number of about three hundred, to a temperance cold collation, at which the Mayor presided. The company then returned in the cars to Boston just in time for me to take the cars of the Old Colony Road at five P.M. for Quincy.

September 14th. This afternoon Mr. Charles Sumner and Dr. Howe came out from Boston, and invited me to attend and preside at a public meeting proposed to be held at Boston a week from to-morrow—Tuesday, the 22d of this month—with a view to pass resolutions expressing the public feeling at the

recent kidnapping and abduction of a negro man, who had escaped from his master at New Orleans and landed in the neighborhood of Boston. He was pursued, captured, and shipped off for New Orleans by the captain of the vessel in which he made his escape unknown to the captain. But for retaking him the captain had no authority from the owner of the negro. There was a meeting last evening of a few persons indignant at this outrage upon the laws of the Commonwealth and upon the rights of human nature, who resolved to call a public meeting, and these gentlemen came out, as a committee from this primary meeting, to give me the invitation.

After expressing my sense of the honor done me, I suggested some difficulties owing to the state of my health, and especially the near extinction of my voice, disqualifying me, if not from attending, at least from presiding at such a meeting. I finally promised to attend the meeting if my health would permit, and to preside if I should be able to rely upon my voice for a hearing.

17th. I received this afternoon a letter from Dr. Howe, notifying me that they had been unable to obtain the use of Faneuil Hall for the public meeting on what is called the slave case, until next Thursday evening, the 24th, but still urging my attendance—which I answered, promising to attend if possible.

23d. I had a sleepless night; was up between two and three o'clock of the morning; returned to bed and lingered without repose till five, when I rose for the day with a sore throat, a voice nearly extinct, a redoubled agitation of nerves, and a tremor little short of absolute disqualification for writing. My Socratic demon whispered to me authoritatively not to attempt to preside at the meeting at Faneuil Hall to-morrow evening upon the case of the slave who had escaped from New Orleans in a merchant vessel from this State, commanded by a Captain Hannum. The slave had secreted himself in the vessel unknown to the captain, and succeeded in getting on land at South Boston. Hannum pursued and found him there, seized him without warrant or authority of any kind, shipped him on board of another vessel bound to New Orleans, and sent him back to his master. Attempts were made to follow the vessel in which

he was shipped, with a writ of habeas corpus; but without success. The meeting in Faneuil Hall is called to ascertain the facts of the case, and to consult upon measures to be taken for preventing the repetition of similar cases, and I had promised, if possible, to attend and preside at this meeting. I am disabled by the act of God, and obliged to write to my son, requesting him to give notice of the fact to Dr. Howe and Mr. Charles Sumner, the committee who had given me the invitation. Unfortunately, my letter to my son was not sent.

The Convention of the Whigs for the nomination of Governor and Lieutenant-Governor of the Commonwealth for the year 1847 was held this day at Faneuil Hall, and George N. Briggs was unanimously nominated for re-election as Governor, and John Reed as Lieutenant-Governor. A set of resolutions prepared by Daniel Webster was adopted, and another offered by Stephen C. Phillips was rejected. There are two divisions in the party, one based upon public principle, and the other upon manufacturing and commercial interests.

24th. I received this morning a letter from Dr. Howe, again urging my attendance at the Faneuil Hall meeting this evening. I had a good night's sleep last night, and this morning the sore throat had passed away, the hoarseness much subsided, and the voice almost entirely recovered, though still very feeble. Ever since the day when Dr. Howe and Charles Sumner came with the invitation, and I had given them the conditional promise to attend, the notification of the meeting in all daily newspapers had stated that it would be presided over by me. As this day advanced, I felt returning strength, and immediately after dinner concluded to go at all hazards. I went up the hill and found my son, who had been into Boston and returned. Dr. Bowditch came in soon after from Boston, to request that I would write a note approbatory of the meeting, to be read there and account for my absence. I told him I had concluded to go, and agreed to meet him at his house at six this evening. I went accordingly with my son, and found assembled at Dr. Bowditch's house a small tea-party of the gentlemen who had called the meeting. At seven we went to Faneuil Hall, where a great crowd of people were assembled, filling every nook and

corner of the room, including numbers of ladies filling the galleries. The chair was assigned to me by acclamation. Stephen C. Phillips and Samuel May were chosen Vice-Presidents, and J. A. Andrew, Secretary to the meeting. It continued till about ten in the evening. Sundry resolutions were adopted, with inconsiderable opposition. Among the speakers was my son; and when he rose I resigned the chair to Mr. Stephen C. Phillips. The meeting closed with a vote of thanks to me, moved by Edmund Quincy, and carried, not without opposition. With my son I returned from the hall to Quincy, and reached home after eleven at night.

25th. I read Dr. Gilman's reminiscences of New England at the close of the eighteenth century, and especially of the Reverend Stephen Peabody, of Atkinson, New Hampshire, and of his second wife, my mother's sister, Elizabeth. If the Protestant creed tolerated canonization, these two persons would have deserved to stand among the foremost on the calendar. I read also Dr. Lamson's discourse in defence and support of the Congregational form of worship. He extols it for its simplicity. I prefer it to the Roman Catholic, which admits, and to the English Episcopal, which seems to admit, the power of the priest to grant absolution for sins. But there is no Christian church with which I could not join in social worship.

October 5th. I received a letter from James Maguire, a member of the Senate in the Legislature of this Commonwealth, dated 2d October, 1846, informing me that at a Convention of Whig delegates of District No. 8, assembled at Dedham, October 1st, a committee of five gentlemen were chosen to make known to me the doings of that body, and requesting me to name a day and hour when the committee may meet me and communicate to me the wishes of the Convention. There is no distinct intimation of what they were, but the Convention unanimously nominated me by ballot for re-election to represent the district in the Thirtieth Congress of the United States, and they passed two sets of resolutions corresponding with those which were adopted by the State Convention held at Boston last week, and with those then offered by Stephen C. Phillips and rejected; but both sets were adopted

at Dedham. The Liberty party of the Eighth District have nominated Appleton Howe, of Weymouth, as their candidate for the Thirtieth Congress. They nominated him for the Twenty-Ninth.

12th. Maguire, J.; Tileston, E. P.; Adams, S. M. These three gentlemen came about eleven o'clock this morning and informed me that they, together with Lysander Richards, of Quincy, and J. J. Richards, of Weymouth, were deputed by the Whig Convention of the Eighth Congressional District, held at Dedham on the 1st of this month to nominate a candidate to be supported by the Whig party to represent the district in the House of Representatives in the Thirtieth Congress, to inform me that I was chosen by ballot unanimously as the candidate of the party, and to request my acceptance of the nomination. I answered Mr. Maguire, the Chairman of the committee, and who spoke in their name, and said that I accepted the nomination with grateful sentiments for the honor done me by the Convention in presenting my name to the people for re-election to the trust which I held of representing them in Congress, and with equal sensibility to the kindness of the members of the committee in taking the trouble to make this communication to me in person. I added that I could not but be highly gratified by the unanimity of the Convention, specially manifested by the form of voting by ballot. I regarded it as a decisive testimony of the approbation of my constituents upon the general course of my conduct as their representative, and I made some remarks in commenting upon which my conduct has been subject to some animadversion and censure—the Oregon question and the Mexican War. They expressed their concurrence with my views, and, after a short conversation, took their leave.

There are two nominations by Conventions against me—Isaac H. Wright, by the Democracy, and Appleton Howe, of Weymouth, by the Liberty party. The same persons were nominated against me by the same parties at the election for the present Congress. They may be stronger now.

31st. There has perhaps not been another individual of the human race, of whose daily existence from early childhood

to fourscore years has been noted down with his own hand so minutely as mine. At little more than twelve years of age I began to journalize, and nearly two years before that, on the 11th of February, 1778, I embarked from my maternal uncle Norton Quincy's house, at Mount Wollaston, on board the Boston frigate, Captain Samuel Tucker, then lying in Nantasket Roads, and bound to France. I was then ten years and seven months old, and the house whence I embarked had been built by my great-grandfather John Quincy, upon his marriage with Elizabeth Norton in 1716. There he lived to the age of seventy-seven years, and there he died on the 13th of July, 1767, the day after I had received his name in baptism. If my intellectual powers had been such as have been sometimes committed by the Creator of man to single individuals of the species, my diary would have been, next to the Holy Scriptures, the most precious and valuable book ever written by human hands, and I should have been one of the greatest benefactors of my country and of mankind. I would, by the irresistible power of genius and the irrepressible energy of will and the favor of Almighty God, have banished war and slavery from the face of the earth forever. But the conceptive power of mind was not conferred upon me by my Maker, and I have not improved the scanty portion of His gifts as I might and ought to have done. May I never cease to be grateful for the numberless blessings received through life at His hands, never repine at what He has denied, never murmur at the dispensations of Providence, and implore His forgiveness for all the errors and delinquencies of my life!

November 10th. At the Town Hall yesterday one of the distributors of votes gave me a printed paper, as follows:

REGULAR WHIG TICKET.

For Governor,

George N. Briggs, of Pittsfield.

For Lieutenant-Governor,

John Reed, of Yarmouth.

For Representative to Congress, Eighth District,

John Quincy Adams, of Quincy.

For Senators for Norfolk County,
Samuel Guild, of Roxbury,
James Maguire, of Randolph,
Truman Clarke, of Walpole.

For Town Representative,
Charles Clapp.
(This name in manuscript.)

✓ This ticket, after taking off my own name and pinning together the two parts of the papers bearing the other names, I deposited with my own hand in the ballot-box held out to me by one of the selectmen. This was my vote. No other ticket was presented to me; but there were at least two others—the Democratic ticket and the Liberty party ticket. What the returns are I know not. Governor Briggs has in Boston a majority of more than three thousand, and R. C. Winthrop a majority of upwards of twenty-six hundred. The Whigs have sweeping majorities all over the State.

12th. I received letters from Henry B. Wheelwright and J. N. Brewer, dated yesterday at Roxbury, advising me of an error in the election returns from Roxbury for a Representative in Congress for the Eighth District of Massachusetts, held last Monday, and published in the Boston Atlas of Tuesday morning. The error consists in setting down seven hundred and ninety-one votes for me, and five hundred and fifty-four for other candidates, leaving a majority of only two hundred and thirty-seven in my favor. The real vote was nine hundred and ninety-two for me, and three hundred and forty-one for others, leaving a majority for me of six hundred and fifty-one. I answered these letters thanking the writers for their information and for the interest they have taken in having the error corrected.

17th. At a quarter-before eight o'clock this morning, my wife, with Mrs. John Adams, her daughter Mary Louisa, Margaret Dulany, and our coachman, Albert Putnam, departed in the train of cars of the Old Colony Railroad to Boston, where my son was waiting for them, and at half-past eight they all ~~started~~ by the Long Island for New York, my wife and family

on their way to Washington, and my son bearing them company to New York, and perhaps to Philadelphia.

After dinner, at four o'clock, I came in our carriage into Boston, and to my son's house, 57 Mount Vernon Street, where I found his wife and five children, all well. My son was gone with his mother. Here, as has become a sort of annual custom, I propose to pass the remainder of this month.

WASHINGTON, Sunday, 14th March, 1847.

POSTHUMOUS MEMOIR.*

On Friday, the 20th November, 1846, being at my son's house, in Mount Vernon Street, Boston, I rose, as I had for many years been accustomed to do, between four and five o'clock in the morning, and went through the usual process of ablution and friction with a horse-hair strap and mitten, given me in the summer of 1843, and which from that time I had used from day to day; and, after breakfasting with the family, I attempted to walk out with Dr. George Parkman to visit the new establishment of the Medical College. I suddenly found myself unable to walk, and my knees sinking under me. With the help of Dr. Parkman I staggered back to my son's house. Dr. Jacob Bigelow, my physician, was called in. Dr. Jackson accidentally was in consultation with him; and I was put to bed, to which I was several days and nights confined, with a suspension of bodily powers, with little or no pain and little exercise of intellect. From that hour I date my decease, and consider myself, for every useful purpose to myself or to my fellow-creatures, dead; and hence I call this and what I may write hereafter a posthumous memoir.

I was confined for several days—I know not how many—to the bed. My sudden and extraordinary seizure was noticed in the Boston newspapers of the following day. On Friday, the 17th, my son had left Boston with my family. He went with them as far as Philadelphia, and then returned to Boston, where he found me in bed at his house. He had heard of my being taken ill before he reached home, in the cars of the Long Island Railroad.

* This paper is entirely in the handwriting of the author.

On Sunday, the 22d, my wife, who had arrived at Washington, was informed of my sudden illness by two letters from Mrs. Charles Adams and by the newspaper paragraphs. The next morning she left Washington, accompanied as far as Baltimore by her nephew, and thence she proceeded alone by railroad and steamboat, and reached Boston on Tuesday evening, the 24th, having made the passage from New York in the steamer *Atlantic*, the last passage which she made before that in which she perished.

From that time until the 8th of February, 1847, we lived at my son's house and with his family. On the 1st of January I was first able to take a ride in a carriage for about an hour with my daughter; which ride was thenceforward daily repeated till the 22d of January, when I made the experiment of walking in the street in Boston. On the 24th and 31st of January I attended public worship at the First Congregational Church in Boston. On the 7th of February I walked to that church morning and afternoon, and partook of the Communion administered by Dr. N. L. Frothingham.

On Monday, the 8th of February, I left my son's house, where I had been confined from the preceding 20th of November, and, with my wife and my son and Mrs. Fader, my nurse, we travelled by the railway to Springfield, where we arrived about eight o'clock that evening and took lodgings at Warriner's.

On Tuesday, the 9th of February, at one P.M. we took the railway cars for New Haven, through Hartford, and at five P.M. were embarked at New Haven in a steamer for New York, which we reached at nine in the evening and took lodgings at the City Hotel.

Wednesday, 10th, rain the whole day, which confined us to the house at the City Hotel.

Thursday, 11th February, we came from New York by the Camden Railroad to Philadelphia, where we arrived at three P.M. and took lodgings at the Union Hotel in Chestnut Street, which is, however, no longer kept by Jones and no longer in a style satisfactory to the traveller. We had no intercourse with any of the other lodgers at the house, and no society but ourselves.

12th, *Friday*. My dear wife's seventy-second birthday. We came by the railway from Philadelphia to Baltimore, where we dined at the United States Hotel, and after dinner proceeded by the railway to Washington. We found our carriage waiting for us at the depot, and about eight o'clock in the evening landed at our house in F Street.

Mr. Adams left Washington on the 1st of June, and reached Quincy on the 5th of the same month. On the 27th of July he took a lively interest in a quiet celebration gotten up by the family of the fiftieth recurrence of the marriage anniversary. Here he remained until the 1st of November, when he was once more transferred to Washington, and for the last time. During this period the diary appears to have been at intervals kept up by dictation to his granddaughter, but the narrative is no longer inspired with its former animation. The latest entry is of the 4th of January, 1848; but his letters extend to the 4th of February. One of these, written on New Year's day to his son, the editor of this work, in his own clear and steady hand, may perhaps be permitted an admission here, as indicating that his spirit even at that latest period could still kindle in the old way when stirred by some natural occasion:

WASHINGTON, 1st January, 1848.

MY DEAR SON,—On this commencement of a new year my thoughts intensely turn to you, to the partner of your life, to your children, and to the Giver of all good, in thanksgiving for all the blessings which you have been and still are to me, and in fervent supplication for the favors of Divine Providence upon you one and all; especially that you may be sustained in your incorruptible integrity through all the trials that may be reserved for you upon earth, and that whatever may be their ultimate issue here, of which I abate not a jot of heart and hope, you will at least be sure of the approbation of your Maker.

A stout heart and a clear conscience, and never despair.

Your ever affectionate father,

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

The circumstances connected with the decease of Mr. Adams are so well known as to require little development here. On the 20th of February he seemed as well as he had been, and had attended divine service morning and afternoon. On the 21st he went up to the Capitol as usual and took his customary seat in the House of Representatives, with no appearance whatever of illness. A question had sprung up touching a vote of thanks to certain military officers for services rendered during the Mexican War; and the Speaker was rising to put the motion to the House, when he was arrested by Mr. Washington Hunt, a member from New York, sitting near to Mr. Adams, who perceived him in a state of convulsion, and interposed to stop the proceedings. Not being in a condition for removal to his own house, he was placed in one of the committee-rooms. No medical service was found to be possible, and he lingered with little apparent consciousness till the evening of the 23d, when he died.

The event gave rise to extraordinary excitement all over the country. A large committee of both Houses of Congress was deputed to attend the remains to their last resting-place in Quincy, Massachusetts, and numbers of funeral addresses were delivered in the principal places of the country by many of its most distinguished men.

Louisa Catherine Adams, his wife, survived him a little more than four years, having shared all the vicissitudes of more than half a century with him in unbroken union and harmony. Their remains lie in company with those of John and Abigail Adams under the portal of the church at Quincy. In the interior has been placed on the right side a marble tablet corresponding to that of John and Abigail Adams on the left side of the pulpit.

The explanation of the meaning of the emblems on it has been given so clearly by the Rev. Dr. Lunt, formerly pastor of the church, in one of his occasional discourses, that it seems to make a fitting close to this history of a life.

ALTERI



SECULO.

A

Q

Near this place
Reposes all that could die of
JOHN QUINCY ADAMS,
Son of John and Abigail [Smith] Adams,
Sixth President of the United States.
Born 11 July, 1767.
Amidst the storms of Civil Commotion,
He nursed the vigor
Which nerves a Statesman and a Patriot,
And the Faith
Which inspires a Christian.
For more than half a century,
Whenever his Country called for his Labors,
In either Hemisphere or in any Capacity,
He never spared them in her Cause.
On the Twenty-fourth of December, 1814,
He signed the second Treaty with Great Britain,
Which restored peace within her borders;
On the Twenty-third of February, 1848,
He closed sixteen years of eloquent Defence
Of the Lessons of his Youth,
By dying at his Post,
In her Great National Council.

A son, worthy of his Father,
A Citizen, shedding glory on his Country,
A Scholar, ambitious to advance mankind,
This Christian sought to walk humbly
In the sight of his God.

Beside him lies
His Partner for fifty Years,
LOUISA CATHERINE,
Daughter of Joshua and Catherine (Nuth) Johnson,
Born, 12 February, 1775,
Married, 26 July, 1797,
Deceased, 15 May, 1852,
Aged 77.
Living through many vicissitudes, and
Under high responsibilities,
As a Daughter, Wife, and Mother,
She proved equal to all;
Dying, she left to her family and her sex
The blessed remembrance
Of a "Woman that feareth the Lord."

"Herein is that saying true, one soweth and another reapeth. I sent you to reap that wherein ye bestowed no labor: other men labored, and ye are entered into their labors."

For some interesting facts in relation to the bust and the inscriptions upon the monument, I am indebted to the kindness of the Hon. C. F. Adams, and copy with pleasure some of the particulars contained in his communication. He says,—

"I find, by reference to the diary of my father, that in the month of March, 1837, he spent two or three hours of every day for one week in sitting to Mr. Powers for a model in clay for his bust. The final touch was given on the first of April. He notes that Mr. Powers had taken the clay from the soil of the city of Washington, which, the latter remarked, was the best moulding clay in the world. And this is all he says about it.

"Mr. Powers took his model to Italy with him, and from it made the bust which is in the church."

It became subsequently the property of Mr. Horatio Greenough, the artist, who knew how to estimate its merit, and after Mr. Greenough's decease was purchased by Mr. Adams, who has now transferred it to the consecrated place where the original was for so many years a constant, candid, and devout hearer and worshipper.

Mr. Adams goes on to say,—

"One or two other things about the tablet require a word of explanation, which has never been given. The design of the acorn was his own, to which he was so much attached that he had it cut on a seal which he habitually wore, attached to his watch, and with which he sealed most of his letters in later life. The leaf is that of the *white oak*, which peculiarly indicates the sturdy growth of New England. The motto is from Cicero, who in several places quotes Cæcilius Statius, a comic poet, though not always in exactly the same words. The full sentence is this: *Scrit arbores quæ alteri seculo prosint*. And if you will cast your eye over the context in the fourteenth section of the first Tusculan, where it appears, you will readily take in the course of reflection which made it dear to him.

"The two letters, *A, Ω*, have puzzled many. They have a history attached to them. They were favorite characters for the inscriptions of the early Christians, who used them both with and without the monogram which denotes the name of Christ *Χ*. They were also the symbols of the Gnostics, of which Dr. Walsh, in a little book giving specimens of their early gems, furnishes curious examples. In my judgment they are the true designation of the Deity which Christians ought to use, and are much more symbolic as numbers than any of the Roman ascriptions, which are susceptible of ambiguous interpretation. *DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO*, for example, implies that there may be *DII MELIORES* and *MAJORES*, as well as *MINORES* and *MINIMI*, which is true of Roman theology, as the same initials of *D. M.* were constantly used for *DIS MANIBUS*."

The remark has often been made, and with manifest truth, that the Scriptures furnish the only fit terms and symbols to

express the mind's conceptions of the Being, the mysterious Nature, and the Attributes of the Deity. This remark is applicable to the monumental characters of which it is so justly observed in the extract given above, that "they are the true designation of the Deity which Christians ought to use." The *A Ω*, the alpha and omega, the first and the last characters in the alphabet of written language,—how could there be chosen more significant symbols than these, of Him who has seen fit to reveal Himself to our minds under the conception of a WORD?

These characters refer to the well-known passage in the Book of the Revelation of St. John: "I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending, saith the Lord, which is, and which was, and which is to come, the Almighty." The Christian poet Prudentius, in one of his hymns, says,—

"Alpha et Omega cognominatur ipse; fons et clausula
Omnium quæ sunt, fuerunt, vel post futura sunt."

Sometimes in the mediæval inscriptions we find three letters introduced, *A M Ω*, these three being the commencement, the middle, and the end of the Greek alphabet, and therefore descriptive of God, who is the beginning, the middle, and the end of all; who was yesterday, who is to-day, who will be to-morrow. But this attempt to improve upon the simple symbol of Scripture is felt at once to be a needless conceit. It is an interesting fact that the lines written by President Adams for the occasion of the two hundredth anniversary of the gathering of our church contain an idea not often expressed, and not likely to be conceived and entertained by any common mind, and which may illustrate the inscription on his monument:

Alas! how swift the moments fly!
How flash the years along!
Scarce here, yet gone already by,
The burden of a song.
See childhood, youth, and manhood pass,
And age, with furrowed brow:
Time was,—Time shall be,—drain the glass;
But where in Time is NOW?

Time is the measure but of change;
No present hour is found;
The past, the future, fill the range
Of Time's unceasing round.
Where, then, is NOW? In realms above,
With God's atoning Lamb,
In regions of eternal love,
Where sits enthroned I AM.

Here, too, may be a suitable place to introduce the lines addressed by John Quincy Adams, in 1837, to Hiram Powers, when, as has already been stated, the model was moulded from which the bust was executed:

Sculptor! thy hand has moulded into form
The haggard features of a toil-worn face,
And whosoever views thy work shall trace
An age of sorrows, and a life of storm.
And canst thou mould the heart? for that is warm,
Glowing with tenderness for all its race,
Instinct with all the sympathies that grace
The pure and artless bosoms where they swarm.
Artist! may fortune smile upon thy hand!
Go forth and rival Greece's art sublime;
Return, and bid the statesmen of thy land
Live in thy marble through all after-time.
Oh, catch the fire from heaven Prometheus stole,
And give the lifeless block a breathing soul.

INDEX.

INDEX.

A.

- Albott, Judge of the King's Bench, iii. 562.
- Abel, George and James, iii. 343.
- Abercrombie, General, i. 110.
- Aberdeen, Lord, Ambassador to Austria, ii. 533. Correspondence with L. McLane, viii. 265. On the Ashburton Treaty, xi. 406.
- Abert, Colonel John J., Director of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company, ix. 140. Memorial, xii. 160.
- Abi Yetomim Hebrew Society, the, ix. 191.
- Abolitionism, effect of, mischievous, x. 40, 43.
- Abolitionists, ix. 350, 365, 544; x. 132. (*See Abolitionism: Anti-Slavery.*)
- Absentees, x. 227, 243, 277.
- Academy, Imperial, of Sciences, dimensions of, ii. 73. Visit to, 77.
- Acadia, the steamship, excursion in, x. 353.
- Acland, Sir Thomas, iii. 336.
- Acosta, Mr., Chargé d'Affaires from the republic of New Granada, xi. 216.
- Act of Habeas Corpus, its value dependent on occasional suspension of, iii. 478, 480, 484.
- Adair, John, General, in the House of Representatives, viii. 107, 434, 471. Opposed to the manufacturing movement in New England; steamboat navigation; coasting trade, 453.
- Adams, the frigate, destroyed by expedition from Halifax, N. S., iii. 52.
- Adams, Abigail, i. 4, 5, 54, 282. Visits England, 13, 19; iv. 155. Death of, 157.
- Adams, Charles Francis, ii. 3, 327, 434, 482, 552, 602; v. 219; ix. 3, 19, 52, 59, 62. Elected to the Massachusetts House of Representatives, xi. 269. Delivers the Fourth of July Oration at Boston, 518. President of Whig Club, xii. 84.
- Adams, F., Consul at Trieste, iv. 405.
- Adams, George W., son of the writer, i. 269, 467; v. 219; vii. 128, 132. Death of, viii. 160.
- Adams, Henry, vi. 417; vii. 132.
- Adams, Isaac H., viii. 369; xi. 522.
- Adams, John, Senior, vi. 417; vii. 132. Will of, 133.
- Adams, John, i. 3, 5, 8, 10, 15, 17, 20, 23, 26, 28, 32, 91, 101, 193, 263, 441; iii. 372; v. 23; vi. 175, 415, 417, 504; vii. 120; viii. 295, 303, 414. Illness and death of, vii. 124-128, 132; coincidence of, with that of Jefferson, 125. Will of, 130. Letter of, 307. Letters to Arthur Lee, viii. 30; ix. 352, 353. Review of the Hillhouse Amendments, viii. 226. Biography of, 388. Letter on Masonry, 399. (*See Jefferson; Lee.*)
- Adams, John, son of the writer, vii. 39, 40; viii. 103. Assaulted in the Capitol, vii. 508, 512, 517, 543.
- Adams, John, the corvette, ii. 640, 643; iii. 16, 17, 20.
- Adams, John, of Randolph, Mass., vii. 140.

Adams, John Quincy, birth, i. 3. Childhood, 4-12. Education, 4-7. Accompanies his father to France, 8; ii. 5. Letters of, i. 7-9. Enters school at Passy, 8. Returns to America, 10. Second voyage to Europe, 10; ii. 5. At Amsterdam, i. 11. University of Leyden, 11, 12. Attends Mr. Francis Dana to St. Petersburg, 12. Returns alone to Paris, 12. Visits Stockholm and Copenhagen, 12. Serves as secretary to his father, 13. Life in Paris, 13-21; on returning to America, 19-22. Aversion to office-seeking, 21, 31, 194, 385; iv. 64; v. 89, 298. His independence of party, i. 21; vi. 136, 474, 510, 512, 532. At Harvard University; Commencement essay; studies law, 22. Writings of: *Strictures on Paine's Rights of Man*, signed Publicola; republication of, in London, etc.; reply to, in France, 25, 26. Other papers, signed Marcellus, Barnveldt, and Columbus, 25-28. Jay Treaty. (See *Jay, John*.) Mission to Holland, 28; ii. 5. Sails for London, i. 39. Arrival in England, 40. Hairbreadth escape of dispatch-box, 41. Arrival in Holland, 57. Accredited at the Hague; reception by the Stadtholder, 59, 65. Payment of Dutch loan, 60, 115. Crisis at Amsterdam, 59, 60. Meets the French representatives in Holland, 61, 63, 67; Sieyès and Rewbell; Alquier, 87, 118. Noël, conversation with, 125. (See *Richard; Cochon*.) Directed to exchange ratifications of the Jay Treaty, 121. Negotiations in connection with, 122. His equivocal position, 122. Forms required on quitting the Hague, 123, 124. Delayed, 126-132. Arrival in London, 132. Interviews with Secretary Hammond, 139, 145. Lord Grenville forgets his appointment with him, 148. Letter of, to the Secretary of State, 150. At levee, 161, 167. Audience of the King, 162, 163.

Declines to be treated as Minister to that Court, 162, 164, 165. Presented to the Queen, 165. Returns to the Hague, 167. His course of reading, 170, 176, 183. Appointed Minister to Portugal, 179, 188. Presents letter of recall to National Assembly, 192. Mission changed to Prussia; visit to London, and marriage there, 193, 199. Letter to his mother, 194. His instructions, 197, 198. Overtures to Sweden, 199. Departs for Hamburg and Berlin, 201-203. Presented to the King of Prussia, 207. Visits to royal family, 208-214. Presented to the Queen Dowager, 213. Interviews with Count Finkenstein on the Treaty; situation with France, etc., 218. Presents letters of credence, 219. Audience of the King, 219. Visits Potsdam, 221, 222. Application to export arms, 223. Treaty, 226. Journey to Dresden, 227-229. Presented to Elector of Saxony, 234. Journey to Silesia, 240; letters written from, and their subsequent publication, 241, 242, 313. At Dresden, 242. Departure from Berlin, 244. Return to America, 247. Resumes practice of the law in Boston, 248. Progress as a legislator, 249. Chosen to Massachusetts Senate, 251. Candidate for Representative to Congress, and loses the election, 256. Elected to the United States Senate, 258; takes his seat, 261, 264. Loss by bankers in London, 263, 278. Debates and speeches, 268-533. On impeachment of John Pickering; resolutions offered, 283, 297, 302, 305-309. On Louisiana Treaty, 267, 270, 278; Louisiana Revenue bill, 286. Admitted to the Supreme Court, 294. On administering the oath in cases of impeachment, 325. Self-examination as a public speaker, 331, 445. Remarks on impeachment of Samuel Chase, 370. Elected Professor of

Oratory at Harvard University, 373, 441. Sounded on accepting a mission abroad, 374, 375. The Yazoo lands, 381. (See *Senate*.) Three resolutions on the British seizure of American vessels, 392, 395-402, 407-409. Opposes appointment of J. Armstrong, 421. Speech on the Hamet Caramalli bill, 425. Tripoli Treaty, urges ratification of, 431, 433; opposes secret session on, 436. Verses to his wife, 454. Distributor of votes in Boston, 467. Attends meeting of citizens of Boston upon the attack on the frigate Chesapeake, 468, 469. Conversation with Mr. Jefferson on his letter to the Earl of Buchan, 472. Apprehends war; committee on British aggressions; advocates exclusion of foreign armed vessels, 476-485. Speech for expulsion of John Smith, of Ohio, 527. Advocates repeal of Non-Importation Act, 488, 493. Acquiesces in the Embargo, 491; motion for removal of, 502, 504; rejected, 530. False charges against, 516. Communicates to the President the plan of France for conquering the British Provinces, 518, 519, 521. On practicability of the present Constitution, 532, 533. Advances made by certain Senators, 532. Letter resigning his seat in the Senate, 535; vii. 255. Solicited to become a candidate for Congress; declines, i. 537-540. Case of Fletcher and Peck argued in the Supreme Court, 543. Nomination as Minister to Russia, 544; rejected by the Senate, 546; renewed, 547; confirmed, 547; accepts the office, 549. Lectures at Cambridge: valedictory to the students; their request for publication of his lectures complied with, 550, 551. Mission to Russia, ii. 3. Embarks with his family for St. Petersburg, 3, 4. Voyage, 4-46. Letter of advice to his sons, 8-17. Boarded by Brit-

ish vessels; by Danish, 20, 21, 25. At Christiansand; aids captured Americans, 22. Difficulty in passing the blockade of Zealand; driven back by storm, 25-31. Visits Copenhagen; intercedes for Americans detained there, 33-35. Gales and headwinds, 36-45. Arrives at Cronstadt, 45; at St. Petersburg, 47. Visit to Count Romanzoff, 48, 49. Presentation to the Emperor, 51; conversation with, on policy of United States towards Europe; common interests of Russia and United States, 51-54. Presented to the Empress, 55; to the Empress Mother, 58, 59; to the Grand Duchess Ann, 61. Visits of ceremony, 56, 62-65. Interviews and negotiations with Count Romanzoff, 65-601. (See *Romanzoff*.) Solicits Emperor Alexander's intervention for release of American property seized by Danish Government, 81; reply, 100, 101. Views of, on the Continental system of commerce, 51, 84-87, 145, 170, 176, 208-210, 236, 237. Practises economy, 136, 193. Requested to write observations on Borel and Gervais' manuscript on armed neutrality, 142. At Court, 151. Views on Spanish colonial independence, 183, 184. Presented to the Grand Duchess Catherine, 188. Letter from Department of State giving him a choice of retiring from office, 212, 218. On prospects of peace in Europe, 238. Concern at rumors of war with England, 267. Appointed Judge of the Supreme Court of the United States, 270, 274, 275. Proposes treaty of commerce with Russia, 271, 272. Christening of his infant daughter, 304. Views on baptism, 305. Adopts rules for presentations at Court, 306. Refuses to interfere in case of Captain Hillard, 390-392. Disclaims partiality of the United States for France, 428, 457. Russian mediation, and peace

negotiations with Great Britain; appointed Commissioner to negotiate peace with Great Britain, 486, 491. (See *Peace; United States; Commissioners.*) Explanations with Leavitt Harris, American Consul at St. Petersburg, 574-577. Appointed to treat at Gottenburg, 583. Interview with Lord Walpole on the Russian mediation; facts concerning Lord Cathcart's note, 591, 592, 594. Disavows alleged answer of American Commissioners on negotiating at Gottenburg, 594, 599. Departure of, for Gottenburg, 603. At Reval, 608-625; at Stockholm, 633-639. Letter to Lord Castlereagh notifying appointment of Commissioners, 638. Journey to Gottenburg, 639-643. Notice of removal of mission to Ghent, 640. Embarks in corvette John Adams for Holland, 644. Arrival at Amsterdam, 647-649; at the Hague, 649; at Ghent, 652-662; attends session of criminal tribunal, 661, 662. Treaty of Ghent, *iii*, 3-144. Maintains right of nations to extend their dominion, 41. Letter to Count Nesselrode on negotiations with England, 46-50. Draws up project of treaty, 60, 61. Maintains rights to the fisheries, 64, 74, 99, 117-119, 267-270. Maintains right of Massachusetts to Moose Island, 115. Conclusion of the treaty, 126. Takes leave of Ghent, 145. At Brussels, 145-148. Journey to Paris, 145-150. Presented at Court; attends at, 151, 153, 158, 160-162. Presented to the Duke of Orleans, 163. Mission to England, 182-565; credentials, 191, 201. Goes to London, 192, 194, 199, 201. Audience of the Prince Regent, 214, 215. Interviews with Lord Castlereagh, 202-561. (See *Castlereagh.*) Negotiates commercial treaty with Great Britain, 218. (See *Great Britain.*) Proposes a Convention as substitute, 228; agreed

to, 246. Insists upon the alternative in signing the Convention, 240-248. Letter to Lord Castlereagh, 252, 255, 256. Refuses to recommend his nephew as Secretary of Legation, 275. Renews negotiations for treaty of commerce, 281-297, 388, 391, 403, 444, 453. Presented to the Queen, 318, 323. Letter of recall from the Court of Russia, 322, 323, 339, 340. Authorized to negotiate Convention on the fisheries, 346, 347. Rumors of appointment as Secretary of State, 458; confirmed, 501. Letter to his mother, 502-504. Delivers letter of recall, 529. Visits to take leave, 530-566. Embarks for America, 566. Arrival in America, *iv*, 3, 7. Secretary of State, 9. Negotiations with Spain: Amelia Island; purchase of the Floridas; South American Provinces, 15-500. (See *Onis; Spain; South America.*) Party intrigues against, 62-64, 68; *vi*, 7, 8, 43, 44, 266, 403, 412, 415. Views on soliciting advancement to the Presidency, *iv*, 64, 89, 298, 525. Refuses to promote his election to, 64, ~~89-91~~, 242, ~~245, 525~~; *v*, 89-91; letters on, 129-137, 242, 298, 525. Negotiates for rendition of the slaves stipulated in the Ghent Treaty, *iv*, 93. Negotiates settlement of the Northwestern boundary, 93. Columbia River, 93, 243-260. (See *Canning, S.*) Upholds Andrew Jackson in his conduct of the Florida War, 108, 112-115, 201; *v*, 467, 473. Views on impressment, *iv*, 146-149. Intelligence of his mother's illness, 155; of her death, 157, 158. Rumor that he stands proxy for the Prince Regent, 177, 178, 181, 182. Report on South American diplomacies, 223, 224. Letter of instructions to Commodore Perry, 435, 515. Relations with members of the Administration, *v*, 89-91, 120; with Senators, 90. Elected President of the American

Academy of Arts and Sciences, 138. Negotiates for repression of the slave-trade, 182, 191-193, 225, 357. (See *Slave-Trade*; *Canning*, S.) Opposes article of the Missouri Convention excluding people of color, 205, 208-210; vi. 342, 343, 353. Declines to be a candidate for the Vice-Presidency, v. 206; vi. 234, 235-237, 246, 247, 265, 303, 312. Exchanges ratification of the Florida Treaty, v. 288-290. Deposition in case of Harris *versus* Lewis, 292, 301, 328, 330, 347, 382, 384. (See *Harris*, *Leavitt*.) Argues in favor of military power in Florida, 369. A candidate for the Presidency, 477. (See *Presidential Elections*.) Attack of Jonathan Russell, 496-535. (See *Russell*, J.) Department of State, second term, vi. 3-517. Nominated for the Presidency by the Legislature of Maine, 235; of Rhode Island, 238. Relations with the federal party, 312, 500. On the Missouri Slave question, 342, 343, 353. Sentiments on the tariff policy, 353. Replies to attack on the Administration in the National Intelligencer, 396-400. Speech on the Louisiana Appropriation bill, 412. Ancestors of, 417; vii. 132-134; ix. 18. Letter to the President of the United States on nominations to foreign missions, vi. 494. Elected President of the United States on the first ballot, 501. Cabinet of, 505-511, 513, 520-524. Administration of, opposed by Calhoun, 506-509, 525; vii. 57; bitterness of opposition party, 103, 105, 111, 112, 184, 239, 262; prospects of, discouraging, 352-359, 363-367, 417, 421, 492; viii. 77, 79. Designs group for the Capitol, vi. 20. Presidency, 518-548; vii. 3-547; viii. 3-104. Inauguration of, vi. 518, 519. Renominations to office by, 521, 546, 547; vii. 425. On the Georgia and Creek Indian troubles, 3-92. An-

nual message: advocates internal improvements; Panama mission; comments on; excitement against in Virginia; denounced by Jefferson and Madison, 57-65, 72, 75, 76, 96, 105, 362-367. Panama mission: nominations for, sent to the Senate; resolutions in, charging him with usurpation of power, 95-107, 114, 116, 117; in the House of Representatives, 111, 115. News of his father's illness, 124. Views of, on interdiction of the Colonial trade by Great Britain, 213, 215. Health of, 264, 273, 284, 291, 311, 339. Slandorous letters and attacks upon, 281, 415, 423, 431, 460, 470, 471. Early letters to Judge Cranch, 307. Letter to H. G. Otis on the Embargo, 308. Accounts of, during missions abroad, exaggerated; discussed in the House; compared with allowances to J. Monroe, 471, 490. Letter to R. Walsh on the tariff, viii. 58. Correspondence with Boston federalists, 78, 83, 86, 88. Reply to their appeal, 96, 97, 98, 109, 121, 132. Last two years of leisure, 105-334. Preparations for writing memoirs of his father, 93, 153, 155. Proposes writing a history of the United States, 93. Domestic calamity, 160, 246. Articles written by, on the Russian and Turkish War, 163, 166, 182, 183, 193, 195, 202; on Greece, 202, 207. Overseer of Harvard University, 180, 247. Nomination to the House of Representatives, 238-241, 245, 247, 277. Declines Presidency of the Columbian Institute, 253, 335. Correspondence relating to the Jackson controversy, 274, 276, 310, 330. On the Senatorial proviso censuring his nomination of the Turkish Commissioners, 330. House of Representatives, 431-548. Eulogy on Ex-President Monroe, 381, 388. Φ B K Society, 384. Visited by committee of Anti-Masons from Boston to propose his nomination for

President, 403. On the tariff, 437-449, 451-470, 499-501, 523. Efforts for modification of the Apportionment bill, 465, 467, 472, 476. Proposed as candidate for Governor of Massachusetts, 535; ix. 6, 14, 15, 19-21, 52, 63. Railway accident, 29-32. Debates in the House, 35-156. Masonry and Anti-Masonry, 71, 72. Delivers oration in honor of La Fayette, 155, 192, 196. Report on Commission of Overseers of Harvard University, 164, 183. Triumphs in the House on the French Treaty contest, 212, 217. Historical report on weights and measures by, 185. Patronage bill, 218-238. Letter to his son on memorable events of his life, 233. Renominated to the House of Representatives, 310, 311. Attempt to censure in the House, 343. Early travels, 353. Approval of his course in Congress by Massachusetts delegation, 357, 361. Relations with the Abolitionists, 365, 418. Opposed to the Jackson Administration, 436. Threatened with assassination, x. 81, 94. Obtains vote in the House on the French Treaty of Claims, 126. Intrigues of his opponents; speech of Daniel Webster, and reply, 127. Speeches, 328, 333. Candidate for re-election, 348, 349, 357. Refuses to take part in the elections, 357. Assistant counsel for defence of the captured negroes of the *Amistad*, 358-360, 395, 396, 431-435. (See *Baldwin, R. S.*) Overtures to, of the mission to China, 424. Supports W. H. Seward in his controversy with Virginia, 463. Votes against the Bank bill in the House, 539. (See *House of Representatives.*) Accident to, 291. In the House, xi. 155, 176, 181, 188, 190, 206, 229, 230, 243, 247, 291, 315, 326, 451. Speeches, 5, 20, 99. Invitations to lecture, 25, 27, 150. Presented with a Bible by the *Amistad* Africans, 29. Lecture upon

the British and China War, 30. Resolution in the House to exclude the Twenty-first Rule, 33. Censured in the House; his defence, 70, 72, 74, 77. Jackson's anonymous letter to; speech, 83, 88. Dines with the Russian Minister Bodisco, 133. Speeches, 135, 146, 170, 185, 191, 197. On the President's message approving the Apportionment bill, 189-199; protests against, 207. Reply to attack of H. A. Wise, 216. Speech on the army reduction; on the Tariff bill, 220, 232, 233. Resolutions to amend the Constitution on votes to annul the veto, 237. Speech, 241. Controversy with the President, 248, 267. Enemies, 248. Protests against the appropriation for Texan filibusters, 249. Addresses at Weymouth; at Quincy, 250, 252, 255. Pamphlet entitled "Address of J. Q. Adams to his Constituents," 253. Renominated, 256, 259. Lecture at the Boston Odeon, 257. Invitations to lecture; to political meetings, 253-267, 270. Position towards the Administration; the Supreme Court; the army; the Democratic party, 267. Dr. Duggan's resolution in the Massachusetts Legislature on the censure of the House of Representatives; thwarted by Saltonstall, 268. Elected to Congress, 268. Involved in fall of the Whigs, 270. Speech opposing repeal of the Bankrupt act, 282. Speech on the right of petition, 293. Speech, 299. Resolutions declaring repudiation of State debts to be a violation of the Constitution, 331. Address before the Massachusetts Historical Society, 372-379. Journey, attended by enthusiastic receptions of the people, to Niagara, Utica, Rochester, and other places, 389-405. Suspicious policy of Great Britain regarding slavery in Texas, 406, 407. Delivers oration at Cincinnati on the

- establishment of an Observatory, 427. Moves amendment to the Constitution on representation, 455; called to order, 456. Speech on the Massachusetts Resolves, 458. Speech on the Rhode Island Memorial, 527, 529. Bequest to the people of the United States, xii. 15. Accident, 70, 71. Congressional election, 104-106, 275-278. Address before the Young Men's Whig Club of Boston, 78, 81, 84, 86, 88, 90, 101, 107. Address to his constituents, 86, 87, 89, 90, 186. Invitations to deliver addresses, 89-104, 211, 215. Address delivered at Braintree; in North Bridgewater, 99, 101. President of the Sabbath-Day Convention, 111. In Congress, at the head of the anti-slavery movement, 135. Debates, etc., 149, 151, 152, 155, 156, 159, 160. Address on the Amistad Indemnification bill, 191. Miscellaneous writings, collection of, 211, 212. Health fails, 215. Speeches on the Oregon question, 229, 242-244. Presides at Fugitive Slave meeting at Faneuil Hall, 275. Posthumous Memoir, 279-286. Seizure while walking in the streets of Boston, 279, 280. Goes to Washington, 280. Letter to his son, 281. Second seizure in the House of Representatives; death, 282. Monument at Quincy, description of, 283-286. Bust in Quincy church, 283, 284. Lines to H. Powers, 286. (See *Erving, G. W.*)
- Adams, John Quincy, nephew of the writer, ix. 345.
- Adams, John Quincy, publisher of translation of Voltaire's Philosophical Dictionary, xi. 384, 408.
- Adams, Joseph, vi. 417; vii. 132. Will of, 133.
- Adams, Joseph, Jr., vii. 132. Will of, 133.
- Adams, Joseph, graduate of Harvard University; a minister at Newington, New Hampshire, vii. 143.
- Adams, Josiah, vii. 132.
- Adams, Louisa Catherine, wife of the writer, i. 199, 227, 247; viii. 42; xi. 74. Accompanies her husband to St. Petersburg, ii. 3, 57, 58, 71, 81, 88, 96, 130, 141, 188, 202, 397, 482, 506, 603. Presented to the Empress, 60. In Paris, iii. 178, 183. In London, 212, 17, 307, 312, 316, 323, 338, 350, 353, 406, 428. In Washington, iv. 45, 126, 177, 181, 192, 203, 211, 213, 391, 482, 485, 510, 515; v. 15, 22, 125, 305, 317, 416; vi. 130, 426, 517; vii. 453, 455, 536.
- Adams, Parmenio, in the House of Representatives, vi. 228.
- Adams, Samuel, member of the Continental Congress, i. 5. Governor of Massachusetts, 38. Resolutions in Congress in memory of, 268. Desired the Revolution, iii. 268. Memoirs of, xi. 29, 30.
- Adams, T. B., Jr., nephew of the writer, viii. 103.
- Adams, William, Dr., British Commissioner for the Treaty of Ghent, ii. 638. Negotiations, iii. 4-15, 80-106, 132, 526; for treaty of commerce, 208, 224, 247.
- Adams, Rev. Zabdiel, vii. 143.
- Addams, Mr., iii. 464, 465.
- Addington, H. U., Secretary of the British Legation, vi. 120. *Chargé d'Affaires*, 148, 182, 278, 368, 376, 402, 481, 487, 506, 511, 533, 534; vii. 14, 46, 213. Conversation with, on British policy in South American affairs, 188, 191. The British Vice-Consul at Portland, 257. Interviews with, 295, 310, 311, 316, 321, 330, 341, 351, 356, 500. Deprecates proposal for limitation of Slave-Trade Convention, 341; efforts to procure the ratification of, 351, 356; powers to conclude a new Convention, 426, 428. (See *Convention; Canning, S.*)
- Addison, Alexander, Judge, i. 357.

- Addison, Joseph, his version of the Psalms; imagery of, compared with that of Plato and Shakspeare, ii. 434, 435; viii. 341, 362.
- Address of corporation of London to the King, ii. 84, 85. Of Houses of Parliament to the King, v. 233. Of the minority of the Committee on Elections to the people of the United States, with report, x. 235.
- Adeas and Natchitoches, iv. 107.
- Adelphic Union, Society of Williams College, invited to deliver address to, x. 83.
- Adet, P. A., i. 36, 97, 126.
- Adgate, Mr., ii. 35.
- Adjutant-General, office of, vacant, vi. 519; nomination to, vii. 117.
- Admiralty Courts, i. 147, 153, 158, 296, 383; iii. 456, 457, 519, 525, 526; iv. 151. Vice-, in Jamaica, decree of, iii. 399.
- Admiralty, Lords of the, i. 140, 156; iii. 354, 427.
- Admiralty Office, i. 161.
- Adversity, uses of, viii. 89, 268.
- Advocate, King's, iii. 457.
- Adye, McArthur, and Macomb, on Courts-Martial, vii. 46.
- Africa, agents to, iv. 436; grant of money to, 473, 476; instructions to, 496.
- African race, natural abode of, x. 282.
- Age, influence of, upon style, viii. 367.
- Agents, iv. 436; vii. 119; ix. 337. South American members of the Cortes, v. 187. Under Ghent Treaty, 227, 313.
- Aglié, St. Martin d', iii. 507.
- Agricultural and commercial interests, tariff on, v. 122. Depression of, at the South, vi. 432.
- Aguesseau, Chancellor d', iii. 153.
- Aguirre, Don Manuel Hermenegildo, Agent of the Government of Buenos Ayres, iv. 14, 21, 472. Interviews with, 14, 30, 39-41, 123. Instructions of, 30; exceeds, 89. On commerce between the United States and Buenos Ayres, 40, 41. On the Brazilian occupation of Montevideo, 41, 46. Builds sloops of war, 123, 124. Arrested, 123, 124.
- Ainé, Mr. L', Minister of the Interior of France, iv. 420, 421.
- Alabama, reservation of lands in, iv. 308. Legislature of, vii. 222, 232. Message from Governor of, to the Legislature; remonstrance to Congress against restrictions on sales of land, 427. Settlers on the Indian lands removed by United States troops, ix. 70. Land-frauds; memorial for investigation into, 300; x. 314. Deposits of public money in, ix. 382. Resolutions of Legislature, x. 23; xi. 527. Squatters' pre-emption bill, x. 314. Legislature of, changes the mode of election to Congress, 479. Repudiates State debt, xii. 139. (See *House*, etc.)
- Alagon, Duke of, land grants of, in St. Augustine, iv. 315; v. 85. (See *Florida Land Grants*.)
- Alaman, Mexican Secretary of State, xi. 343. (See *Butler, A.*)
- Albany, visit, reception, and speeches at, xi. 402, 403, 412.
- Albany Argus changes politics, v. 266; vi. 351; viii. 493.
- Albany Daily Advertiser, vii. 177.
- Albany Regency, the, viii. 489. (See *New York; Van Buren*.)
- Albany Young Men's Association, xi. 261.
- Albemarle Sound, x. 3. (See *Great Lakes*.)
- Alberti, Lieutenant, remission of sentence of court-martial in case of, vii. 173, 175, 183.
- Albro, J. A., Rev., ix. 303.
- Albums, x. 124; xii. 58.
- Alcibiades of Plato, iv. 391; vii. 381.
- Alexander I. of Russia, ii. 48, 49, 50, 96, 98, 99, 117, 187, 212, 213, 214, 266, 288, 289, 324, 327; x. 260.

- Policy of, towards the United States, ii. 51, 55, 59, 62, 75, 77. Interposes with Denmark in favor of the United States, 88, 100, 101. Visit to Moscow; demonstrations of attachment from his subjects, 89, 90. Not accessory to the death of his father, 125. At the French Ambassador's ball, 130. At religious ceremonies, 135, 162, 163, 252, 310, 419, 423. Will not interfere in election of Prince Bernadotte, 258. Conversations with, 186, 190, 244, 267, 268, 319-345, 352, 356. Birthday ceremonies, 202-205, 331. Favors trade with the United States, 226, 234. Conversation with, on the acquisition of Florida, 260-262. Presents his likeness to the French Ambassador, 266. Adheres to the French Alliance, 227. At the Peterhof Fête, 285-287. Joins his army at Wilna, 361-364, 375. On powers to treat about the Duchy of Oldenburg, 364, 381. At Wilna, 385. Issues ordinance respecting foreigners, 392. At Smolensk, 399. Interview with Bernadotte, 399. Mediation between the United States and Great Britain, 402-471, 498-602. (See *Romanzoff*; *Great Britain*.) Will not make peace with France, 407, 409. Alliance with King of Prussia, 451. Takes command of his troops, 467, 480. Letter to his mother, 471. At Prague, 515. Letters from, 515-517, 529, 531, 543, 545, 570, 600. Festivities on his name-day, 524, 525. At Töplitz, 526. At Dresden, 526-529. Narrow escape of, 532. Declaration of, on the taking of Paris, 601. Negotiations with the Sublime Porte, v. 445, 450. Death of, and remarks on, vii. 112. Mediation proposed between Spain and South American republics, 95. His religious impressions, viii. 167. Negotiations of, relating to the claims upon France, ix. 261.
- Alexander's report on slavery in the District of Columbia, ix. 423.
- Alexander, a deserter from the British navy, surrendered, vii. 65.
- Alexander, Professor, viii. 422.
- Alexander, Mark, in the House of Representatives, viii. 459.
- Alexandria, city of, capitulation of, iii. 57. Bill for relief of, ix. 205. Petition to be receded to the State of Virginia, xi. 181. Petition from, 309.
- Alexandria, county of, petition of, against cession to Virginia, i. 319.
- Alexandrofsk, manufactory for spinning cotton, etc., under the patronage of the Empress Mother, ii. 111-115.
- Alexis, father of Peter the Great, viii. 198.
- Alford, J. C., of Georgia, in the House of Representatives, x. 201, 247, 298, 412, 487, 523.
- Alfred, ship, i. 39; the writer takes passage in, ii. 5.
- Algerine squadron, iii. 235. Navy, 359. Frigate taken, 400, 401. Fleet destroyed, 443.
- Algerines, the, American war with, iii. 235, 250, 251. Hostilities of, against the British, 380.
- "Algernon Sidney," papers published under signature of; authorship of, iv. 313, 314; ascribed to S. Roane, v. 364; viii. 223; ascribed to W. Leigh, 223.
- Algiers, Lord Exmouth's negotiations with, iii. 354, 385; vi. 317. Slavery in, 357; demand of abolition of, 401. Hostilities, 401. In a state of war with Great Britain, 426, 427, 443; vi. 358. Treaty of, with United States, 354; v. 393.
- Algiers, city of, taken by the French, ix. 347.
- Alien and Sedition Acts, iii. 430; ix. 305, 307. (See *Madison*, *J.*)
- Alien Office, iii. 234, 235, 238, 239, 347.

- Alienage, Lord Loughborough's proposition on, i. 50. Reciprocal, iii. 514.
- Allen, Avery, publication of, on Freemasonry, viii. 383.
- Allen, Captain, master of the *Cadmus*, vi. 461; vii. 48; xii. 149.
- Allen, Chilton, in Congress, viii. 444, 466; ix. 44, 46, 53, 286.
- Allen, Dorcas, a slave, sold with her children, murders her children in a fit of insanity, ix. 417, 423. History of, 421-429.
- Allen, Elisha H., in the House of Representatives, xi. 161.
- Allen, Heman, of Vermont, vi. 204. Proposed for the mission to Chili, 123. Instructions to, 192. Dispatches from, 490; vii. 456, 467; viii. 87.
- Allen, John, author of "Reminiscences of Holland House," iii. 488.
- Allen, Nathan, husband of Dorcas, raises subscription to purchase his wife and children, ix. 421, 424, 427. (See *Allen, Dorcas*.)
- Allen, Nathaniel, v. 264, 265.
- Allen, R., of Virginia, in the House of Representatives, ix. 205.
- Allen, S. C., in the House of Representatives, vi. 313; viii. 77.
- Allen, William, of Ohio, in the House of Representatives, ix. 198, 212.
- Alliance, the, v. 109.
- Alliances, European, proposals for mediation between Spain and the United States, iv. 40, 48, 49; between Spain and South American Provinces, 40, 49, 86, 103, 137, 165, 173.
- Allied Sovereigns, circular of, issued at Laybach, v. 347.
- Allies, the, and Napoleon, iii. 198.
- Alligator, The, commanded by Lieutenant Stockton, v. 472, 484.
- Allison, Dr., Chaplain of the House of Representatives, v. 18, 241. His political influence, 144, 242, 299.
- Allison, a soldier sentenced to be shot for desertion, vii. 29.
- Allston, Mr. L., iii. 543.
- Allston, Washington, vii. 399. Paintings for the Capitol, ix. 299.
- Almeida, José, Captain, iv. 377.
- Almonte, General, Mexican Minister, xi. 273, 340. Declines Webster's proposal to cede territory, 340; renewed, 355. Conversation with, 355, 442; concerning American prisoners, xii. 17. (See *Mexico*.)
- Alopeus, Mr. d', ii. 104, 247.
- Alquier, Representative of the Convention, i. 84, 86, 87, 89, 90, 92, 96, 104, 117, 205.
- Alten, Baron Charles, iii. 137.
- Althorp, Lord, viii. 291.
- Alton, Illinois, mob at, destroy the printing-presses to prevent establishment of an abolition paper by A. Lovejoy, destroy the building, and shoot Lovejoy, ix. 432.
- Alvensleben, Baron d', i. 204.
- Alvord, J. C., correspondence of, with the Massachusetts Delegation, ix. 499. Death, x. 184.
- Amado, Mr., Chargé d'Affaires from Portugal, v. 172, 479, 484, 485; vi. 31. (See *Grehon*.)
- Ambray, Chancellor d', speech of, at Court of Cassation, iii. 158, 165.
- Ambrister, his commission from McGregor, iv. 162. (See *Arbuthnot*.)
- Amelia Island, piratical establishment at, iv. 14, 15, 21. Troops sent to, 20. Notes, discussions, and measures concerning, 29-47, 51, 54-61, 91. Surrender of, 34. Seizure of, justified, 38. Adventurers of, 52, 75. Memorial on, 53. (See *Onis*; *Middleton*; *Aury*; *McGregor*.)
- Amelia, Princess, ii. 60, 98, 257, 285.
- America, ship, passage to America, i. 244.
- American, The, a New York paper, vi. 459.
- American Academy of Arts and Sciences, i. 136; ii. 220; v. 138, 139; viii. 247; ix. 168. Invitation of, to the author, to deliver a discourse, viii.

365. Choice of N. Bowditch as president, 365.
- American Annual Register, viii. 166. Contributions to, 208. (See *Blunt's Annual Register*.)
- American Anti-Slavery Society, dissents from sentiments of, x. 128.
- American Bible Society, invitation from, to the anniversary meeting, viii. 148.
- American citizens captured at Christiansand and Copenhagen, etc., ii. 22; memorial to the President of the United States, 22; assistance rendered to, by the writer, 22, 33, 35. Claims of, on Spain, v. 17, 19, 34, 81, 82; on the Swedish Government, 17; on the kingdom of the Netherlands, 48. Liberation of, confined in Spanish dominions, 133, 164. Claims of, on the government of Chili, for property taken by Lord Cochrane, v. 157, 164; on France, 177; vii. 55, 59, 267; advised to compound with France for, vi. 162, 163. Counter-claims under the Louisiana Treaty, vii. 279. (See *France; Menou; Cabinet; Louisiana*.)
- American claims, i. 147, 151.
- American Consuls at Gibraltar and Lisbon, v. 78. (See *Consuls*.)
- American cruisers on the coast of Africa banish the American flag, v. 447.
- American genius, for painting, i. 99; for music, 99.
- American Government, relations with France, i. 111, 218. Policy towards Spain, iii. 291, 308, 549. Desires settlement with Great Britain on neutral and belligerent rights, 394, 395. Proposes the question of the slaves carried off after the peace, to be referred to arbitration, 398-400. On restoration of British vessels by, 531, 532. (See *British Government; United States*.)
- American Historical Society, Washington, invitation to deliver address before, ix. 403, 471. Elected President of, 471.
- American Institute of New York, ix. 244, 246.
- American institutions, genius of, confines to the present, v. 221.
- American land-jobbers, v. 290.
- American National Institution for the Promotion of Science, x. 462. (See *Smithsonian*, etc.)
- American navy, i. 61.
- American Philosophical Society, viii. 426. Memorial to Congress, x. 211, 306.
- American poets, comparative merits of, viii. 415.
- American prisoners, at Havanna, iv. 221. At Perote, Mexico, xii. 17, 24. (See *American Citizens; Almonte, Gen.*)
- American Quarterly Review, articles on wars between Russia and Turkey, viii. 198. On Mohammedan history, 198, 199.
- American Revolution, histories of, iii. 372.
- American seamen, law for restricting American navigation to, iii. 284, 388, 395. Relief for destitute, iv. 476. Laws for protecting, ix. 335, 511. Returns of, xi. 187, 188. (See *Impressment*.)
- American Statesman, newspaper, vi. 40.
- American Statistical Society, xii. 27, 28, 156, 165, 176.
- Americans, feuds with Roman Catholics, xii. 24, 25.
- "Americanus," essay entitled, xi. 352.
- Ames, Benjamin, nomination of, as Marshal for the district of Maine, rejected, vi. 359.
- Amistad, Spanish ship, taken by United States ship Washington with forty slaves on board, x. 132. Libelled, 134. Claimed by the Spanish Minister, 134, 216. Trial, 134, 135. Sold under decree of the U. S. District Judge, 367, 373. Correspondence and documents relating to, 370. License to, 392. Pamphlets on, 373, 379, 403; xii. 12, 13. Bill to in-

- dennify, 172, 186. (See *Gedney; Thompson, S.*)
- "Amistad Case, The," an article published in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, x. 373.
- Amistad negroes, the, captured at sea by Lieutenant Gedney, x. 133, 296. Trial of, 134, 135. Appeal to the Supreme Court, 360-373, 377-380, 383, 395, 406, 424, 427-437. The writer's defence of, 358-437. R. S. Baldwin's plea, 429, 430. Decision of the Court, 441. They are to be sent to Africa, 441, 446. Correspondence relating to, 446, 450, 467. Warrant of the President for sending to Cuba, 450. Spanish Minister sends complaint at liberation of, 470. Memorial in behalf of, xi. 23, 29. (See *Amistad, The; Baldwin, R. S.; Paine.*)
- "An Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs," pamphlet on the Patronage bill, ix. 262.
- Anacreon, ix. 349.
- Anderson's History of Commerce, vii. 256.
- Anderson, Alexander, iv. 26.
- Anderson, H. J., of Maine, in the House of Representatives, x. 6.
- Anderson, Joseph, in Senate, i. 294, 300, 372, 377, 385, 388, 390, 392, 393, 396, 405, 406, 419, 420, 422; iv. 9, 26-28, 376; v. 541; vi. 191, 270, 390, 407, 514, 525, 526, 528; vii. 16, 32, 120, 187, 239, 297, 341. On transfer of appropriations from the House to the Treasury, vi. 378, 383. Comptroller of the Treasury, vii. 16. On the Court-Martial of D. Porter, 17.
- Anderson, R. C., of Kentucky, iv. 522. Mission to Colombia, vi. 123, 128, 219, 531. Instructions to, concerning privateers, 380-384. Treaty, 498. Conversation with, on affairs of South America, vii. 15. Invited to attend the Congress at Panama, 16. Instructions to, 116. Death of, 171.
- Anderson, S. H., of Kentucky, in the House of Representatives, x. 212. Proposes negotiations with Great Britain for the rendition of fugitive slaves, 212.
- Andrade, Navarro, Chevalier d', Chargé d'Affaires from Portugal, i. 64. (See *Navarro.*)
- André, Major, capture of, viii. 250.
- Andrew, John A., xii. 275.
- Andrews, John, Dr., of Newburyport, ix. 358.
- Andrews, Landaff W., of Kentucky, x. 320, 321; xi. 134. In the House of Representatives, 125, 204.
- Andrews, S. P., of Texas, advocates abolitionism in Texas, xi. 380, 407.
- Andrews, Major T. P., vii. 37, 302; viii. 5, 7. Special Agent to the Creek Indians, vii. 11, 12, 37. Dispatches from, 32, 33. Letter of, suspending the agent Crowell, censured, 37, 39. Interview with, 47. Report, 48.
- Andros, island of, infested with piracy; proceedings of Captain Kearney for suppression of, vii. 464.
- Anduaga, Chevalier Don Joaquin, Spanish Minister to the Batavian Republic, i. 185; v. 360, 366, 375, 395, 420. Letter to, on Salmon's complaint, 374, 377, 379. Letter of, complaining of piratical privateers, 395. Irritating notes of, against Jackson, 453, 466. Protest of, 486, 498. Note concerning tribunal before which sufferers from the Florida War may present their claims, vi. 91. Complaints against Captain Elton, 91. Report against Hugh Nelson, 138, 139.
- Anger, as qualified by the heathen poet Horace, and by Solomon, vii. 30.
- Angier, John, letter to, x. 27.
- Angostura, v. 14. Issues new declaration of independence, 215.
- Angoulême, Duc d', iii. 151, 263, 298.
- Angoulême, Duchesse d', iii. 151, 264, 273, 298; iv. 29.

- Angus, Samuel, commander of the corvette John Adams, ii. 643; iii. 13, 16, 36; vii. 212. Applies for reinstatement in the navy, vi. 529, 540. Threats of, against J. L. Southard, 541.
- Animal magnetism, phenomena of; dangerous tendency of, xi. 416, 417.
- Ann, Grand Duchess, ii. 60, 62, 135, 162, 163, 285, 595.
- Ann Arbor, Convention at, ix. 335. (See *Michigan*.)
- Annable, T. D., x. 105.
- Annexation a propagating madness, i. 103.
- Annitschkoff, palace of, description of, ii. 190, 255.
- Anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, iv. 397.
- Anonymous address to the people of the United States, viii. 337.
- Anonymous letters, i. 508, 521, 522; iv. 102; v. 368, 455; vi. 87, 408, 511; vii. 34, 180, 407; x. 395; xii. 118, 217.
- Anonymous publications, v. 57; vi. 374.
- Anstey, Mr., iii. 492.
- Antelope, case of the, x. 396, 406, 408, 412, 415, 474.
- Antilles, Sea of the, vii. 145.
- Anti-Masonic Conventions: at Le Roy, vii. 540. At Baltimore, viii. 358, 363, 368, 392, 403, 412, 413, 416. At Boston, 363, 368. State of Massachusetts nominates the writer for Governor, 414; re-nominated, ix. 6, 11, 14, 15, 16, 63, 184. At Meadville, 51. At Washington, 372. (See *Lincoln, L.*)
- Anti-Masons, viii. 505; ix. 40, 86, 103, 170. Invite the author to deliver an address at the Fourth of July celebration, viii. 366; declines, 367, 368. Influence of, on elections, 232, 261, 400. Relations with Jackson party; with National Republicans, ix. 65, 66, 71, 75. Meetings, 114, 129, 310. Vote for M. Morton, 313. Oration by Timothy Fuller, viii. 378. Letter of R. Rush, 379. (See *Anti-Masonic Conventions; Masons, etc.*)
- Anti-slavery associations circulate inflammatory pamphlets, ix. 251. Meetings of citizens of Boston to put down, 252, 253, 256.
- Anti-Slavery Convention at Albany; invited to attend, 125. (See *Leavitt, J.*)
- Anti-Tariff Convention at Philadelphia, viii. 417, 438.
- Anti-Texas Convention, ix. 360, 361.
- Antony, Burrington, Marshal of the United States in Rhode Island; leader of the revolutionary movements to displace the old charter, xi. 253.
- Antony, Mark, viii. 114. (See *Philippics of Cicero*.)
- Antony, Prince, i. 238.
- Antrobus, G. C., British Chargé d'Affaires, iv. 236, 237, 333, 362, 405, 407, 430, 431, 467; v. 67, 318, 320.
- Antwerp, v. 310.
- Apalachicola Joint Stock Company, granted leave to import materials for four iron steam vessels, x. 96.
- Apodaca, Viceroy of Mexico, v. 44, 50.
- Apollon, The, seizure of, for evasion of tonnage duties; discussions and correspondence relating to, v. 196, 229, 230, 274, 282, 296, 336-340, 391, 413-416, 423. Trial of, 274, 296, 337, 376. Action of French merchants on seizure, 297, 339; legality of, questioned, 336, 337, 376, 418. Restoration of, 337. Vindication, 418.
- H. Clay pleads the case of, vi. 258.
- Wirt's reply, 260. (See *Roth; De Neuville; French Government*.)
- Appleton, D., & Co., petition for copyright, xi. 450.
- Appleton, J. J., viii. 206. American Consul at Leghorn, iii. 185; at Rio Janeiro, iv. 339, 348; nomination rejected in the Senate, v. 311. Secretary of Legation at Madrid, vi. 443, 477, 488, 506, 511, 528.
- Appleton, Nathan, in the House of Representatives, viii. 444, 455, 521.

- x. 118, 444; xi. 199, 228. Correspondence with Daniel Webster, xii. 214.
- Appointments, by the British Cabinet, iv. 402; v. 455; vii. 252, 257. Responsibility of making, 445. Method of making, defective, v. 155. Influence of party spirit on, vii. 207. To staff offices, how made, viii. 5. Not to be made with impunity, 139, 192. (See *Office; Officers.*)
- Apprentices' Library, visit to, viii. 419.
- Appropriation bills, plan for expediting passage of, ix. 262-264. In the House, x. 273, 275, 281.
- Appropriations, ix. 111, 126; x. 280. On transfer of, vi. 378, 383; vii. 7. Mode of remitting abroad, 512.
- Arakcheieff, a favorite of Alexander of Russia, viii. 204.
- Aranda, Comte d', i. 17.
- Aratus, poem of, translated by Cicero, viii. 244.
- Araujo, Chevalier d', i. 68, 89-95, 110, 168, 169, 179, 180. Arrest of, 216.
- Arbutnot, execution of, under orders of General Jackson, iv. 101, 115, 163, 171. Letters of, to Mr. Bagot, 125. Character of; connection of, with Woodbine, 179. Letters on the subject of, 210. Trial of: report of Military Committee on; law authorities bearing upon, 218, 221, 222. (See *British Cabinet; Jackson; Ambrister.*)
- Archangel, vessels at, ii. 154. (See *Vessels.*)
- Archdukes of Austria, John and Louis, iii. 299, 300.
- Archer, William S., of Virginia, in the House of Representatives, v. 42, 467, 511; vi. 21, 502; vii. 457; viii. 461, 465, 498, 507, 508, 513, 516, 520; ix. 46, 57, 82, 87, 126, 155, 207, 210. Senator, xii. 65, 161. Reports against the annexation of Texas, 163.
- Archives of the French Legation, iv. 358, 359. Of the Department of State, destroyed by the British in 1814, v. 134.
- Arci, President of the Republic of Guatemala, vii. 55.
- Arden, Sir R. P., i. 135; iii. 434.
- Arethusa, metamorphosis of, translated by Maynwaring, ix. 415.
- Argaiz, Spanish Minister, x. 482. Note to, 113.
- Argus of Western America, The, an article published in, headed "The Ghent Mission," vi. 49.
- Arica, landing of arms at, vi. 429.
- "Ariel," articles in the New York Statesman signed, vi. 59.
- Arismendi, General, iv. 162, 439. (See *Vessels, Spanish.*)
- Arkansas, admission of, to the Union, v. 3. Scandalous management of the Judges, 212. Land claims, viii. 35. In default for payment of interest to the United States, xii. 227.
- Armaments, British, on the lakes, iii. 279, 285-288, 329; iv. 41, 87. Under Lord Exmouth, 400, 402, 415, 419. Joint naval, against the Barbary States, 418.
- Armata, a romance written by Lord Erskine, iii. 478.
- Armed neutrality abandoned by Russia, viii. 67.
- Armed Neutrality, manuscript on, composed under direction of Count Romanzoff; observations on, ii. 142.
- Armed ship, on refitting of a Colombian, at New York, vii. 37. (See *Vessels.*)
- Armies, Allied, ii. 484. Victorious at Leipsic, 539, 543. March on Paris, 596, 597.
- Armistead, Colonel, vii. 224.
- Armistice between Russia and France, ii. 480, 494.
- Armory at Harper's Ferry, visit to, ix. 141. Appropriations for, 150.
- Arms, exportation of, i. 223. Sale of, v. 45, 186.
- Armstrong, Andrew, commercial agent at Port au Prince, vii. 389, 441.

- Armstrong, F. W., Marshal of Alabama, payment to, for maintenance of captured negroes, vii. 172; viii. 26.
- Armstrong, John, General, vii. 456. Nominated Minister to France, i. 419; confirmed, 421. At Paris, ii. 100, 130. Complaints concerning, 149-151, 167, 168, 170, 174. Newburgh Letters, i. 421; vi. 67; viii. 522. Correspondence on the Berlin Decree, i. 458. Claims, iv. 160. His attacks on Livingston, 219. At enmity with Monroe, 220; v. 432-434, 444. Quarrel with George Hay, 504. Secretary of War, vi. 3. Paper written by, attacking the President, published in the New York Philosophical and Literary Repository, 4-6. Rival candidate of J. Monroe for the Presidency, 4. His public life, 68. Notice of the eulogy on President Monroe, viii. 522. Anonymous pamphlet ascribed to, ix. 80.
- Armstrong, Lebbeus, sermon of, viii. 424.
- Armstrong, Samuel T., Mayor of Boston, Mass., xii. 95. Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts, ix. 12, 162. Consultation with, on delivering an oration in honor of J. Madison, 303, 304.
- Armstrong, The General, privateer at Fayal, iv. 135.
- Army of the United States, laws regulating the government of, iv. 222. Reduction of, v. 321, 496, 527; vi. 3, 115. Reorganization of, 366; in Florida, 486. Promotions, 527, 537; brevet, viii. 5, 11. Questions of rank in, 536, 537, 538, 543. Register of the, 539. Moral character of, system of promotion from the ranks an expedient for raising the; recruited from native citizens, vii. 29. Project for quickening promotion in the, 31. Brevet rank in, vii. 53, 360, 392. Concentration of, 79. Candidates for Inspector-General of the, 82, 88. Distribution of, 177, 360, 404. Act of March, 1821, for reducing, 186. Origin of, 231. Regulation of, forbidding the publication of private quarrels, 252. On cadets, 308. Concerning the announcement of promotions, 53, 54. Reduction of, 446, 456. Proposition to abolish office of Major-General in, 454, 456, 504, 513; nomination of, 505. Order announcing the appointment of Major-General Macomb, viii. 12. Brevet pay, 151. Contingencies of officers, 151.
- Arnold, Thomas D., applies for office of United States District Attorney for East Tennessee; his pamphlet against General Jackson, vii. 371. Contested election between Pryor Lea and, viii. 165, 168, 179; speech of, 165. In the House of Representatives, 518, 520, 522; x. 478, 507, 542; xi. 43, 51, 58, 143, 178, 189, 195, 240, 281, 311.
- Arnoux, Abbé, i. 14.
- Arnstatt, ii. 494.
- Aroostook, settlements at, disturbed state of, vii. 454. (See *Madawaska*.)
- Arrington, Archibald, of North Carolina, in the House of Representatives, xii. 142.
- Arsenal at Stockholm, collection of armor at, ii. 638, 639.
- Articles of War, vii. 265, 271.
- Artificial capital, v. 409.
- Artigas, General, iv. 41; v. 50. Privateering commissions granted by, 153, 134. At war with Portugal, 134. (See *Privateers*.)
- Artiguenave, French readings, iv. 279, 284.
- Artois, Comte d', iii. 151. Letter of, announcing the Duc de Berri's death, v. 153.
- Arts and sciences, the promotion of the, a useful object, v. 139.
- Arusmont, Madame d'. (See *Frances Wright*.)
- Ascherade, M., Swedish Minister at Berlin, i. 199.
- Ashburton Treaty, stipulations of; the

- slave-trade, xi. 297, 311, 406. Proposal to terminate the tenth article of, 501, 503.
- Ashe, John B., in the House of Representatives, xii. 31.
- Ashley, William B., of Missouri, in the House of Representatives, viii. 469; ix. 112.
- Ashmun, George, in the House of Representatives, defends D. Webster from charges of corruption as Secretary of State, xii. 260.
- Ashton, Henry, Colonel, appointed Marshal of the District of Columbia, viii. 307, 317.
- Asp, M. D., i. 20; ii. 636.
- Aspinwall, Colonel, ix. 269.
- Aspland, Mr., iii. 452.
- Assistant Secretary of State, on establishing an, xii. 257.
- Astor, Mr., iv. 4, 430.
- Astor, John J., v. 152; ix. 237; xii. 108.
- Astor, W., President of the American Fur Company, urges the establishment of a revenue-cutter on Lake Superior, vii. 446.
- Astoria, iv. 94; vi. 240.
- Astronomical Observatory, proposes establishment of, x. 25, 44. (See *Smithsonian Bequest*.) At Cambridge, Mass., subscription for, 142.
- Astronomy, x. 38. The study of, neglected, xi. 441.
- Asylum for seamen at Philadelphia, vii. 331.
- Athanasian Creed, iii. 374, 375.
- Atheists, meetings of, ix. 186.
- Atherton, Charles G., of New Hampshire, in the House of Representatives, ix. 450; x. 60, 114, 273, 283, 502; xi. 43, 147, 283, 302.
- Atkinson, Colonel, vi. 8.
- Atkinson, Archibald, of Virginia, in the House of Representatives, xii. 9, 31.
- Atlantic Ocean, plan for communication with the Pacific, iv. 219; vi. 530.
- Atlas, The, newspaper, ix. 16, 252. (See *Boston Atlas*.)
- Atlee, Edwin B., ix. 301.
- Atonement, doctrine of the, vii. 86, 273; viii. 353; ix. 438.
- Attorney-Generals, French, iii. 153. Of Massachusetts, x. 437.
- Auburn, New York, visit and reception at, xi. 399.
- Auckland, Lord, i. 79, 180.
- Audiences, of the President, iv. 314. Forms practised at European, 314. (See *Etiquette*.)
- Auditor, on abolishing the office of the Fourth, vi. 248, 254.
- Audubon's work on American Birds, viii. 426.
- Augusta, Princess, iii. 318.
- Augustenburg, Prince of, ii. 158.
- Augustus, Prince, i. 223, 224.
- Aurora, The, v. 57, 112, 113, 131; vi. 17; viii. 216.
- Aury, General, iv. 44, 61; v. 50. Transactions at Amelia Island, iv. 38, 39, 75. Commissions, 44, 61. Seizes a French vessel, 58. (See *McGregor*; *Amelia Island*.)
- Austin, Benjamin, Jr., i. 250, 320.
- Austin, James T., vii. 225; viii. 365, 384, 385, 397, 417; ix. 157, 161, 456. Counsel for the pirates, v. 145. Oration before the Φ B K Society at Cambridge, Mass., viii. 409. Address before the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanics' Association, x. 136.
- Austin, Moses, first settler from United States in Texas, letter from, ix. 438.
- Austin, S. F., Texan Commissioner, address at Louisville, ix. 282.
- Austria obliged to make peace, i. 51, 57. Offers to mediate, 448. Declares war against France, 473, 515, 516. Allies dissatisfied with, 651. Declines to sign the declaration additional to the treaty of 25th March, iii. 195, 197. Offers ships to United States; declined, 404. Emperor of, his hatred of a constitution, 463. Secret treaty

with England, iv. 68. Antinori's proposals of alliance with, 69. Marching troops against Naples, v. 179, 194. Takes part with the Turks, 450. Opposed to republics, viii. 176. Raising armies, 258.
 Austrians, defeat of the, ii. 20; armistice, 20.
 Authority self-supported cannot stand, v. 156.
 Avoirdupois weights, vi. 15, 17.
 Aycrigg, J. B., in the House of Representatives; election of, contested, x. 157, 163; xi. 313, 314.
 Aylesbury, Bruce, Earl of, monument erected by, iii. 146.
 Azambuja, Torlade d', Commandeur, Minister of the Portuguese King, Don Miguel, viii. 107. (See *Torlade*.)
 Azuni on Piracy, vi. 479.

B.

Babbington, Mr., iii. 556, 558.
 Babcock, Major, vii. 184, 198.
 Babcock, William, in the House of Representatives, viii. 441.
 Bache, Alexander D., xii. 5.
 Bache, Richard, Postmaster at Philadelphia, vi. 42. Complaints against, vii. 154, 162, 167, 277, 280. Commits assault on J. Binns, 280. Indicted by grand jury, 282. Removal of, 509, 531. Delinquencies of, 537, 538, 543. Frauds by, viii. 8, 9, 12, 24, 59.
 Bache, R., Lieutenant of Artillery, vii. 183.
 Bacheller, Origen, viii. 414; ix. 508; x. 83.
 Bacon, Mr., i. 537.
 Bacon, Ezekiel, xi. 388.
 Bacon, Francis, Lord, ii. 17; vi. 136; viii. 237. Works of, xii. 72, 73.
 Badajos, siege of, ii. 282.
 Badger, George E., of North Carolina, Secretary of the Navy, x. 421; xi. 13, 24.
 Bagot, Charles, Hon., British Minister, iii. 209, 216, 234, 255, 321, 347, 351, 354, 456, 501, 518; iv. 29, 33, 101, 177, 184, 216, 233, 236, 237, 333, 338. Negotiations with, for treaty, iii. 346; iv. 61, 95, 97. Interviews with, iv. 11, 16, 24, 48, 52, 61, 90, 93, 101, 102, 114, 121, 125, 136, 178, 186, 333-338; vi. 60. Seeks aid of the Government in behalf of British officers committed for aiding the South American insurgents, iv. 16, 21, 24. Concerning the sailing of the corvette Ontario; possession of the Columbia River settlement, 24, 93, 94; v. 246-248, 259, 261. Correspondence relating to the armament of the Lakes, iv. 41. Proposes mediation between the United States and Spain, 48, 50, 52, 91. Navigation Act, 78, 121, 122. The Lallemand expedition, 84. Delivers warrant for the surrender of the Passamaquoddy Islands, 90. Proposal to refer to arbitration the case of the slaves carried away by British officers; Northwestern boundary; Columbia River settlement, 93-97, 143. On the execution of Arbuthnot and Ambrister, 101-103, 114, 179, 180, 325, 337. Communicates doings of the European Allies in relation to Spain and South America, 136-139. Declines to lend papers, 138. Communicates error in boundary-line at Lake Champlain, 145. Inquiries relating to the United States laws against forgery, 178. Denies having instructions to attend to Indian affairs, 179, 187. Receives the Convention of the 20th October, 1818; ratification of, 216, 233, 236. Return to Europe, 325, 333. Piratical depredations, and measures to prevent, 325, 333-335. South American affairs, 334, 335. Slave-trade treaties; right of search, 335-337. His character and excellent qualifications for office, 339. (See *British Government; Cameron*.)

- Bagot, Mrs., imports silks from Canton, iv. 429.
- Bagratiou, Prince, ii. 214, 301, 385, 391.
- Bahama Islands, claim of the Governor to islands on the Florida coast, vi. 279, 295.
- Bailey, Mr., sent to recover the slaves at Tangier Island, vi. 544.
- Bailey, Mr., British Consul at St. Petersburg, ii. 539; iii. 235.
- Bailey, John, of Massachusetts, iv. 27, 28, 234; v. 470; viii. 80, 240, 302, 330, 363, 370, 413, 416. The Cunningham Letters, vi. 158, 176. His election to the House of Representatives questioned, 247, 256; confirmed, vii. 80, 200, 222, 275, 468; ix. 11, 22, 29. Articles signed "Massachusetts," written by, viii. 132. State Senator, 363; ix. 74. Conversation with, 162. Pamphlet on the Rights of Governments, viii. 379.
- Bailey, Theodorus, General, Postmaster at New York, vii. 314.
- Bailly, M., i. 33, 93.
- Bainbridge, Commodore, in Russia, ii. 321; v. 197; vi. 529, 545; vii. 120, 277; viii. 354. Report on site for Navy Yard at Pensacola, vii. 67. Dismission of, viii. 354.
- Baird, T. H., memorial, with plan for paper currency, presented to Congress, ix. 404.
- Baker, Absalom, a Revolutionary soldier, vii. 513.
- Baker, Anthony St. John, Secretary to the British Commission at Ghent, iii. 3, 5, 17, 24, 93, 125. Starts with the treaty for England, 126. Accident to, 132, 173. Correspondence with J. Monroe on the surrender of Michilimackinac and rendition of slaves by the British Government, 266, 286, 289, 293, 295. Consul-General, iv. 10, 25, 94; v. 459. British Chargé d'Affaires, v. 159, 459; vii. 349. Letter to J. Monroe, v. 261, 351.
- Baker, Captain, claim of, vi. 538, 541.
- Baker, John, viii. 6. Imprisoned for stopping the British mail in the disputed territory of Maine, vii. 355, 358, 440. His release demanded, 454.
- Baker, John Martin, iv. 486.
- Baker, Osmyn, election to the House of Representatives, x. 185; memorial against, 223; contested, 336.
- Baker, Rev. Mr., vii. 120, 273. Remarks on sermon of, 420. Conversation with, on religious opinions, 477, 481.
- Bakewell, Mr., vii. 49.
- Balance of power between France and America, v. 124.
- Baldwin, A., Senator, i. 272, 278, 290, 382, 388, 392, 395, 399, 400, 404, 405, 413, 417, 420, 422, 424, 426, 428, 429, 435, 436, 440, 478.
- Baldwin, Judge H., of Pennsylvania, vi. 248, 254; viii. 174, 482, 500; ix. 247; x. 431. In the House of Representatives, iv. 245; v. 394, 476, 521. Conversation with, on the Missouri question, 207, 210. The champion of the manufacturing interests, 222. On General Jackson's quarrels, 460. On the Russell letter, 537.
- Baldwin, Loammi, Colonel, viii. 384, 386, 390, 397. Engineer for construction of the dry-docks at Charlestown and Gosport, vii. 246.
- Baldwin, Roger Sherman, counsel for the negroes captured in the *Amistad*, x. 287, 358. Conversations with, preparatory to assisting, 360, 395, 401. Argument of, 429, 430.
- Baldwin, Dr., claim of, against Mexico, xi. 184, 228.
- Balfour, Ellah and Rainals, Messrs., of Elsinour, ii. 31.
- Balloons, use of, in warfare, i. 77; ii. 33.
- Balls, v. 460; vii. 439, 446; viii. 97, 259, 342; x. 35-38. Inauguration, vi. 514, 519; viii. 100, 161, 197; xii. 172.

- Baltic, the navigation of the, ii. 109.
 Baltic ports, ii. 191, 194.
 Baltimore, at, vii. 333; viii. 75; x. 320.
 Privateers at, iv. 298, 308, 318; viii. 3.
 Reception of General La Fayette at, 425, 426. Petitions from, ix. 96; xi. 138, 292. Riots at, ix. 252, 253, 254. Circuit Courts, 345, 346.
 Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company, assistance of topographical engineers desired for construction of, vii. 266; viii. 32, 34, 35, 49. (See *Chesapeake and Ohio Canal*.)
 Baltimore, Lord, portrait of, vii. 50.
 Baltimore Monument, x. 364.
 Baltimore, the steamboat, vii. 50, 126.
 Baltimore Whig Convention, members of, visit Washington, x. 282, 353.
 Bancroft, E., Dr., Deane's letter in cipher to, i. 105.
 Bancroft, George, ix. 19; x. 352; xi. 375. Collector of Customs at Boston, Massachusetts, x. 387; xii. 172. History of the United States, remarks on, x. 355. Secretary of the Navy, xii. 180. Conversation with, 195, 218.
 Banda Oriental, iv. 41.
 Bank of the Metropolis, directorship in, offered to the author, iv. 311. Versus the United States, case decided in favor of, x. 436.
 Bank of the United States, viii. 251, 273, 503; ix. 35-37. Hamilton's report on, i. 185. Restrictions on sale of stock, iv. 139. Critical state of, 311, 324, 341, 495, 498. Plans for relieving, 324, 345. Directors refuse to receive the bills of branch banks in payment; Act of Congress incorporating, 344, 345. Legal opinions on obligations of the Government, 344, 345. Contract with the Spanish Government for transport of specie; loan of Louisiana stock; on employing the United States Minister as agent, 345-349. Maintenance of, essential to the Government, 499; v. 39. Difficulties with the stockholders, 38, 315. Conditions of charter concerning loans to the Government, 175. Mode of appointing directors, vi. 469. Stocks redeemed, 533, 537. Directors, vii. 85. On rechartering, viii. 435, 442, 456, 457. Committee of the House for examining the affairs of; at Philadelphia, charged with subsidizing the press, 480, 501, 502. Controversy with the President, ix. 17. Order for removal of deposits from, 17. Reply of the directors, 26. Publication of R. Rush against, 35, 48. Conversations on, 36, 41, 48, 68. Constitutionality of, 37. Drafts by the Secretary of the Treasury, 41, 48. Defence of the president and directors, 48. Memorial to Congress, 55. Petitions for restoration of deposits, 61, 93. Refusal to deliver up the books; to transfer money for the payment of pensions, 86. President's message, 86. Letter of the bank president, 86. Government directors renominated, 108. Re-issue of old notes, 338. Instalments to Government, 364. (See *Cheves; Biddle; Lowndes; House*, etc.)
 Bankhead, Major, iv. 75.
 Bankhead, Mr., Secretary of the British Legation, vii. 312, 313; ix. 269.
 Bankrupt bill, x. 320.
 Bankrupt law, i. 275, 276, 277; x. 493, 529.
 Banks, speculations, iv. 370, 375. Suspension of, in Baltimore, 382. Frauds through the medium of, 391. In Boston, 396. Deposits of public money in insolvent, exposed, v. 483, 484. Of St. Louis, Missouri, fraudulently aided by Government loans, 484. Discussions on, in the Legislature of Pennsylvania, x. 213.
 Banks, John, in the House of Representatives, ix. 114. Speech on the Tariff bill, viii. 523. Appointed Judge in Pennsylvania, ix. 315.
 Banks, Sir Joseph, iii. 438.

- Banks, Sir Joseph, the merchant-ship, mutiny on board of, iv. 24.
- Banks, Linn, x. 193. In the House of Representatives, 97, 193, 206, 221, 268, 389, 545; his seat contested, 545; xi. 7, 8.
- Barbary States, Lord Exmouth's negotiations for peace between the Two Sicilies and Sardinia, and the, iii. 354-356, 419. Treaty with the United States of June, 1815, 354, 356. Christian slavery in, 355, 357. Piracy; system prescribed by the Koran; confederation against, urged by the Abbé Correa, proposed by T. Jefferson, 355-360, 418-420; vi. 109; viii. 308, 310. Relations with Great Britain, iii. 358.
- Barbeyrac's Notes to Grotius, v. 400.
- Barbour, James, of Virginia, Senator, iv. 57, 67, 80, 227, 506; v. 312; vi. 284, 322; vii. 12, 31, 55, 60, 64, 118, 123, 156, 183, 186, 191, 209, 217-220, 232, 251, 273, 347, 410, 448, 482, 498. Proposes Convention of States to dissolve the Union, v. 13. On Presidential elections; leads the Congressional caucus movement, vi. 235, 242, 450, 466. Supports the Slave-Trade Convention; speech on, in Senate, 345, 348; moves for removal of injunction of secrecy on the proceedings, 352. A witness in the case of Edwards and Crawford, 374. Secretary of War, 520, 526, 536, 542. On war in Georgia, vii. 3, 6, 21. Confers with the deputation of Creek Indians, 4. Letters to Governor Troup; instructions to Gaines; opinion of the Indian Springs Treaty, 12, 33-36, 52. Reports, 52, 189, 364. Favors basis of the Chattahoochie River as boundary of the Creek territory, 71, 72, 92. Letter to the Georgia delegation, 92. Concludes treaty with the Creek Indians, 108, 110, 499. Letter to the chairman of the Committee on Indian Affairs, 113, 136. Project of an Indian government beyond the Mississippi, 113. Fourth of July address, 118, 120. Visits J. Monroe at Oakhill, 158, 160. Illness of, 161, 169, 186. Defends the President's message on internal improvements, 186. Visits Virginia, 265. Proposed for the Vice-Presidency, 352, 374. Report on appointment of cadets, 457. Mission to Great Britain, 468, 485, 525, 538, 544, 546; viii. 6, 8, 9, 17, 31, 54, 56, 85. Charged with suppressing documents relating to the execution of the six militia-men, vii. 527. Censures the conduct of Postmaster McLean, 535. Elected to the State Legislature; contested, viii. 260, 261, 267. (See *Indians*.)
- Barbour, John S., in the House of Representatives, viii. 438, 451, 454, 506, 514, 515.
- Barbour, Philip P., of Virginia, in the House of Representatives, v. 439; vi. 217, 218, 450, 451; vii. 367; x. 431. Sudden death of, 432, 433.
- Barca, Calderon de la, Spanish Minister, xii. 137.
- Barclay, Colonel, Commissioner to carry out articles of the Ghent Treaty, iii. 218; v. 456, 464, 502, 519; vi. 91; viii. 42, 44. (See *Porter, P. B.*)
- Barclay, Thomas, viii. 303.
- Bardaxi, Chevalier, ii. 444; iii. 308. Advises neutrality and exclusion of prizes in American war, ii. 445. On movements of Prussia; Austrian negotiations; Prince Regent's declaration; English reciprocity, 448, 449. Recognition of the Spanish Minister, 494, 562, 601.
- Barère, Bertrand, i. 78.
- Baring, Alexander, letter of, relating to American mission, ii. 509, 512, 523, 548. On Vansittart and the property tax, 277; the sinking-fund and effect of loans, 278; Canada and the Commercial Convention, 279.

- Made Lord Ashburton and Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, xi. 121, 139, 147, 156. Projet relating to the Northeastern Boundary; difficulties about, 196, 203; negotiations concluded, 216. Conversation with, 219.
- Baring, T., son of Alexander Baring of London, v. 212.
- Baring Brothers, claims of, vii. 349.
- Baring & Co., iii. 277.
- Barlow, D. H., Rev., viii. 369, 370.
- Barlow, Joel, i. 361. At Wilna, 441. Death of, at Cracow, 444, 493. Archives of the Russian Embassy deposited with; correspondence relating to, 444-446.
- Barnard, D. D., x. 371, 388; xi. 402. In the House of Representatives, x. 145, 162, 218, 242, 244, 286, 308, 321, 337, 389, 397, 500, 516, 524, 530, 534; xi. 88, 100, 108, 144, 194, 217, 242, 301, 443-447, 488; xii. 19, 25, 37, 53, 57, 129, 135, 152. Speech in behalf of the New Jersey contested members, x. 167; on the Treasury, 400; on the Bankrupt bill, 528.
- Barnard, Isaac D., General, Senator from Pennsylvania, vii. 534.
- Barnave, i. 33.
- Barnet, Mr., American Consul at Paris, iii. 185.
- Barneveldt, injustice to, i. 86.
- Barnewall and Alderson's Reports, v. 389.
- Barney, Mr., vi. 426.
- Barney, W. W., vii. 336.
- Barnum, Captain, inventor of a surveying instrument, viii. 21.
- Barnum, Mr., of Baltimore, x. 362.
- Baroa, Count de, iv. 60.
- Barrell, S. B., sent to New Brunswick to investigate the affair of Baker imprisoned for stopping the mails, vii. 428, 454, 495.
- Barrie, Captain, complaint against, of violating flag of truce, etc., iii. 293.
- Barrientes, Mr., Chargé d'Affaires from Colombia, vi. 111.
- Barringer, Daniel M., in the House of Representatives, viii. 524; ix. 86, 121.
- Barron, James, Commodore, i. 429; ii. 644; vi. 545; vii. 165. Commander of the Navy Yard at Philadelphia, vi. 404, 420.
- Barron, Lieutenant, mortally wounded on board the Boston frigate in 1778; vii. 165; viii. 266. His daughter petitions for aid from Government, 266.
- Barron, W. A., v. 172.
- Barrow, John, secretary of Lord Macartney, his Travels in China, x. 373.
- Barrow's sermons, x. 350.
- Barry, W. T., of Kentucky, vi. 249. Candidate for Governor, vii. 388. Postmaster-General, viii. 107, 109, 301, 340, 359.
- Barstow, S., of New York, in the House of Representatives, viii. 465, 491.
- Barthélemy, Abbé, i. 37. Voyages d'Anacharsis, ix. 414.
- Bartlett, Ibrahim, schoolmaster at Quincy, Mass., ix. 258; x. 36.
- Bartlett, Ichabod, of New Hampshire, his quarrel with Clay, vi. 240.
- Bartley, Mordecai, Member of the House of Representatives from Ohio, vii. 407.
- Barton, Dr., iv. 304.
- Barton, Dr. B. S., ii. 115; vi. 429.
- Barton, David, Senator from Missouri, v. 223; vi. 343, 395; vii. 359, 386, 388; viii. 191, 193. Letters of, published in the St. Louis Enquirer, 327. Chargé d'Affaires at Paris; correspondence with the Duke de Broglie on the spoliation claims, ix. 274.
- Barton, General, vii. 150.
- Barton, Isaac, ix. 301.
- Barton, T. P., son of Dr. B. S. Barton, v. 340.
- Basave, Mr., attaché of the Mexican Legation, ix. 420.

- Bashaw, Capitan, ii. 133.
 Bashaw, Mahmoud, Bey of Tunis, declaration of, iii. 357, 369, 380, 401.
 Bas-reliefs in the rotunda of the Capitol, vii. 189.
 Bass, Hannah, vi. 417; vii. 132.
 Bassano, Duc de, ii. 259. Report of, to Napoleon, 359, 364, 365, 441, 442.
 Bassett, Burwell, of Virginia, in the House of Representatives, iv. 54. Aversion of, to the Administration, vii. 111.
 Batavia Times, v. 265.
 Bateman, Ephraim, Senator, viii. 7.
 Bates, Captain, v. 319.
 Bates, E., vi. 251. Member of the House of Representatives from Missouri, vii. 374, 546.
 Bates, G., the Cunningham Letters, vi. 158, 176.
 Bates, Isaac C., Senator, ix. 199; x. 408. Consultation with, 539.
 Bates, James, of Maine, in the House of Representatives, viii. 431, 444, 445, 466, 539.
 Bates, James W., delegate from the Arkansas Territory, v. 212.
 Bates, Stephen, viii. 399, 403.
 Bates, —, Collector of Bristol, Rhode Island, charges against, vi. 270.
 Bathurst, Countess, iii. 317.
 Bathurst, Lawrence, iii. 231, 381, 382.
 Bathurst, Lord, iv. 102. Succeeds Mr. Canning as Secretary of State, ii. 67. Correspondence of, with Gallatin and Bayard, 640; iii. 234, 251, 252, 265, 278, 282, 286, 289, 293, 296, 354, 356, 369, 381, 398. Letters on Nicholls's transactions, iv. 184. Confers with, on violation of Ghent Treaty, v. 160. Colonial Secretary of State; on government and condition of Canada,—separation of, from Great Britain, x. 53-55.
 Baton Rouge, postmaster at, a defaulter, x. 302.
 Bavaria, King of, allies himself with Austria, ii. 533.
 Baxter, Elizabeth, wife of Joseph Adams, Senr., vi. 217; vii. 132.
 Bayard, James A., i. 133. Appointed agent to Great Britain in cases of appeal under Orders in Council, 135, 147, 148, 151; case of the *Betsy*, 147, 148. In Senate of the United States, 315, 337, 341, 360, 390, 394, 401, 403, 416, 426, 427, 428, 444, 447, 451, 460. His attacks on the writer, 500, 501, 508, 509, 511, 512, 513. Commissioner with A. Gallatin and the writer to negotiate peace with Great Britain under Russian mediation, at St. Petersburg, ii. 474, 479, 486, 487, 491, 499, 504, 507, 520, 532, 533, 535-537, 544, 556, 558. Dissatisfied; urges for official information of rejection of the mediation; proposes to return by way of England to open direct negotiations, 509, 539, 540, 548-550, 553, 558, 561-563, 565. Views of, on powers to treat by direct negotiation; unwilling to concede impressment, 549. Conversation with Lord Walpole, 551. Proposes with Gallatin to go to the Emperor's headquarters, 554, 558, 560. Notes to Count Romanzoff, 556-560, 562, 563-565. Embittered against the Emperor, 563. Preparations for departure, 567. False insinuations against the writer, 575-577. Reappointed commissioner, 583, 590, 640. On the Indian boundary, iii. 3, 4, 9, 11, 15, 20, 37, 42, 52. His exclusive views, 22. Inclines to make concessions, 31. Visits Antwerp, 53, 75, 82, 92, 98. Advocates concession respecting the islands of Passamaquoddy Bay, and adherence to the fisheries, 112, 113, 115, 128, 136. Illness of, 165, 169, 171, 183. Appointed Minister to Russia, 182; departure of, 189, 190, 205, 206. v. 461; viii. 187, 200, 272, 331; ix. 3, 263; xi. 185.
 Bayard, Mr., President of the Chamber of Commerce at New York, vi. 37.

- Bayard, Richard H., of Delaware, Senator, x. 473.
- Bayley, T. H., in the House of Representatives, xii. 130, 139, 240.
- Baylies, Francis, Collector of New Bedford, viii. 111. In the House of Representatives, ix. 447. Chargé d'Affaires at Buenos Ayres, 447.
- Baylies, William, in the House of Representatives, vi. 313; viii. 245, 539; ix. 6, 49, 120, 138, 152.
- Beal, Thomas P., conversation with, on political affairs, x. 351.
- Beale, George W., of Quincy, x. 141.
- Beard, Captain, viii. 18.
- Beardsley, Samuel, of New York, in the House of Representatives, viii. 487, 489, 530; ix. 46, 53, 77, 102, 155, 190, 210; xi. 455.
- Beasley, R. G., iii. 144, 173, 182, 190, 191; vi. 19. Consul at Havre, iv. 420.
- Beatty, Martin, in the House of Representatives, ix. 155.
- Beaumarchais' claim, i. 421; iv. 39, 54, 200; vi. 238.
- Beaumetz, President of Constituent Assembly of France, i. 33.
- Beaumont, Assistant Surgeon, Court of Enquiry concerning, vii. 359.
- Beckett, Mr., interview with, on subject of passports, iii. 238-240.
- Beckford, Captain, of the ship *Horace*, in which the author sails to St. Petersburg, ii. 3, 19, 20, 22, 23, 26, 28, 29, 32.
- Beckley, Alfred, Lieutenant, engaged in prosecution of Alberti, vii. 183.
- Bedford, Duke of, i. 133.
- Bedinger, Colonel, a Revolutionary officer, xi. 430.
- Bedinger, Henry, of Virginia, in the House of Representatives, xii. 236.
- Bedlam Hospital, visit to, with Duke of Sussex, iii. 555.
- Beekman, viii. 205.
- Beeldemaker, Mr., i. 65.
- Beggars, in churches, ii. 120.
- Belgian Government claims reciprocity of duties, ix. 261.
- Belgian Provinces, independence of, acknowledged, viii. 258. Limited monarchy adopted, 258.
- Belknap, Dr. Jeremy, i. 22. History, viii. 188.
- Bell, John, of Tennessee, in the House of Representatives, viii. 469, 477, 487, 490, 520, 522, 526; ix. 78, 366, 371, 383, 392, 396, 410, 463, 485, 513, 517; x. 4, 200, 312, 337. Speaker of the House, 145. Speeches on the Navy Appropriation bill, 279; on the Treasury Note bill, 539; on the Indians, 539; on the Mississippi election, 470. Moves to rescind the admission of Gholson and Claiborne, and to declare Prentiss and Wood elected, 470. Amendment to the Indian Appropriation bill, 546, 549, 550. Scuffle between Turney and, x. 4, 5. Censures the President's course in refusing aid to suppress the Harrisburg mob, 78. Candidate for Speaker, 163. Speech, 172; on freedom of elections, 252. Conversations with, on the Presidential election, 344, 465. Secretary of War, 421; xi. 13, 24. (See *House*, etc.)
- Bell, Moses, a colored man, sues his master for freedom, xi. 293.
- Bell, Samuel, of New Hampshire, Senator, vi. 463; vii. 215, 367, 389, 407, 493, 527; viii. 83, 188, 440. Named for District Judge, vi. 279. Conversations with, on politics, 360; on the Northeastern Boundary question, 482; on the choice of Major-General 513; on nominations, viii. 208, 215, 321.
- Belligerent rights, viii. 67.
- Belluno, Duke of, ii. 379.
- Beloselsky, Prince, ii. 74; death and funeral of, 95, 126.
- Beloselsky, Princess, ii. 95, 96, 220.
- Belser, J. E., of Alabama, in the House of Representatives, xi. 484, 505; xii. 19, 31, 32, 43, 135, 138, 157, 165.
- Belsham's History, viii. 382.
- Belt, The, passage of, ii. 26.

- Beneski, Colonel, contract of, for opening a passage through the Lake of Niagara to the Pacific Ocean, vii. 144.
- Benevento, Prince of, ii. 259.
- Benjamin, Park, ode by, ix. 308.
- Benkendorf, ii. 104, 341, 351, 612, 617, 618.
- Bennett, Mr. Grey, iii. 231, 450.
- Bennett, J. G., editor of the *New York Herald*, x. 383, 384.
- Bennett, Solomon, iii. 452.
- Bennett, the Consul at Pernambuco, quarrels with Kirkpatrick, vi. 470. Suspension of, 509.
- Benningsen, Count, ii. 125, 399, 418.
- Bent, committee of New York merchants on the Revenue bill, x. 395.
- Bentalou, P., vi. 460.
- Bentham, Jeremy, vi. 443; vii. 159. Proposes to J. Madison the preparation of a Digest of Common Law, iii. 511, 520, 530, 531, 535, 536. Notice of, 536, 537. Conversation with, on reform; radical views, 537-539, 540, 544, 551, 555. His religious views, 560-565.
- Bentham, Robert, iii. 520.
- Bentinck, Admiral, ii. 399, 449; xii. 259.
- Benton, Thomas H., of Missouri, Senator, v. 223, 327; vi. 374; vii. 75, 89, 378; viii. 88, 126; ix. 68, 69, 235, 247; x. 144, 396, 533. Negotiates deposits of public money for the Bank of St. Louis, insolvent, v. 484. Efforts of, to secure land-titles; to procure the distribution of public lands, vii. 173, 187, 194. Supports the appointment of Colonel Bissell, 224. Tries to prevent ratification of the Northeastern Boundary Convention, 408; the Florida Boundary; accuses the writer of hostility to the West, viii. 186. Leader of the Western and Southern combination against New England, 190; ix. 235, 247. Speech on the Bank question, 68, 69. (See *Southern States*; *Hayne*.) Letter protesting against annexation of Texas, xii. 21; speeches in favor of, 50, 56. Visit to, 140.
- Bentzon, iii. 31, 90, 127. Governor of St. Thomas; convicted of participation in the slave-trade, v. 447.
- Berber, an Oriental language; researches of Mr. Hodgson in, viii. 170. Bible translated into, 227. (See *Hodgson*, *W. B.*)
- Berg, Grand Duke of, iii. 154. (See *Benaparte*, *Louis*.)
- Bergien, Mr., ii. 77.
- Berlin, visit at, i. 203-226. Taking of, by the Russians, ii. 451.
- Berlin Decree, i. 458; ii. 167, 280; iii. 196.
- Bermuda, vii. 264.
- Bermudez, Zea, the Spanish Minister of Foreign Affairs, vi. 533. Note of, protesting against recognition of Mexican and South American independence by Great Britain, vii. 14.
- Bernadotte, General, elected Crown Prince, ii. 157, 158, 341, 367, 378, 379, 406. (See *Prince Royal of Sweden*.)
- Bernard, General, vii. 353; viii. 28, 359.
- Bernard's Light on Masonry, viii. 426.
- Bernhart's Island, vii. 161.
- Bernstorff, Count, i. 176; ii. 36.
- Beroldingen, Count, iii. 317, 318.
- Berri, Duc de, iii. 151, 264, 298, 339. Assassination of, v. 33, 35. Letters concerning, 153.
- Berrien, James W. M., a cadet at West Point, proceedings of Court-martial against, vii. 247, 260.
- Berrien, John M., of Georgia, Senator, vii. 181, 247; ix. 308; xi. 155. Attorney-General, viii. 99, 109, 113, 128, 171, 184, 203, 207, 359, 406. Resigns, 373. Correspondence with James Blair, 387.
- Bertie, Admiral, interview with; objects to the passage of the *Horace*, ii. 26, 27, 28.

- Berwick, Duke of, the medium of communication between Louis the Fourteenth and the Duke of Marlborough, vii. 320.
- Besborodko, Count, palace of, collection of works of art at, ii. 325, 326.
- Besborodko, Prince, ii. 326.
- Bestor, Mr., v. 167.
- Bétancourt, General, ii. 128, 287, 372.
- Betsey, the, case of, i. 147.
- Betts, Thaddeus, of Connecticut, Senator, funeral of, x. 257.
- Beverley, Carter, and A. Jackson, vii. 297.
- Bezeau, W., letter of, relating to affairs in Brazil, vi. 314.
- Bezerra, M. de, Brazilian Minister, ii. 187, 279, 284, 291, 311, 393, 394, 399; iv. 85.
- Bibb, Governor, iv. 16.
- Bibikoff, Mr., Russian Minister at Dresden, i. 233, 234.
- Bible, the, reading of, vii. 169; viii. 535; notes on, ii. 351, 352.
- Bibles, collection of, at Dresden, i. 235.
- Biddle, Clement C., Navy Agent, viii. 58, 251.
- Biddle, Commodore, iv. 87, 159, 353; v. 164; vii. 32, 269. Instructions to, vi. 84; vii. 500. Letter on the decisions of the Brazilian Courts in cases of blockades, 385. Dispatches, 451. Protests against the secret article of the treaty with Turkey, viii. 255. (See *Prevost, J. B.*; *Turkey*.)
- Biddle, Nicholas, President of the United States Bank, iv. 36, 40, 306, 443; v. 267; vi. 537; vii. 332, 414; viii. 425, 501, 502; ix. 37, 41, 362, 363, 364; x. 115.
- Biddle, Richard, in Congress, ix. 370, 390; x. 9, 104, 193, 195, 220, 321, 337. Speeches, ix. 476, 532; x. 107.
- Bidlack, Benjamin A., of Pennsylvania, x. 493, 524; xi. 199, 273, 483; xii. 21, 44, 49.
- Bidwell, B., i. 254, 386, 419; iii. 445.
- Bielefeld, Baron de, i. 75, 76, 79, 80, 84, 88, 95, 96, 109, 111, 118, 169; iii. 167, 170.
- Bigelow, George Tyler, xi. 262.
- Bigelow, Jacob, Dr., xii. 279.
- Bigelow, agent for the Casaux heirs, xii. 42, 43.
- Bigelow's Medical Botany, vii. 262.
- Bille, Captain, commander of the gun-boats at Christiansand, ii. 24. At the battle of Copenhagen, 24.
- Bille, Stein, Chargé d'Affaires from Denmark, vii. 177.
- Bills, tax on, iii. 465, 466; x. 290, 292. Of Pains and Penalties, v. 226. Drawn by the Colombian Government, vii. 24.
- Binney, Amos, vii. 505, 529.
- Binney, Horace, vi. 187. Counsel for Leavitt Harris, v. 529; vi. 419. Director of the Bank of the United States, iv. 344; viii. 502. In the House of Representatives, ix. 51, 55, 61, 71, 72, 73, 94, 152, 190, 197, 212. Opinion on the Ohio boundary dispute, 216.
- Binns, John, editor of the Democratic Press, vi. 18; vii. 262. Tried in England for high treason, v. 112. Attempts impeachment of Findlay, 112, 113. Attack on G. M. Dallas, vi. 243. Complaints of, concerning Custom-House appointments and Postmasters at Philadelphia, vii. 154, 167, 277. Correspondence relating to, 280, 281, 282. Assault upon R. Bache, 280, 281. Printer to the Custom-House at Philadelphia, 413. (See *Bache, R.*)
- Birch, James H., account of slaves purchased and sold by, in Washington, ix. 417. (See *Allen, Dorcas*.)
- Bird, Savage & Bird, bankers, of London, i. 262.
- Birdseye, Victory, of New York, counsel in the Morgan cases, xi. 74.
- Birkbeck, Maurice, iii. 460.
- Birney, James G., candidate for the Presidency, xii. 76, 92, 130.

- Biscayno Island, on the coast of Florida, iv. 326.
- Biscoe, General, vii. 486.
- Bishop, —, killed by mob at Alton, Illinois, ix. 432.
- Bissell, Colonel, vii. 23, 65, 115, 116, 117, 186. Remonstrance against appointment of, 224, 225, 456.
- Black, Edward J., of Georgia, in the House of Representatives, x. 210, 245, 246, 311, 402, 403, 417; xi. 123, 124, 161, 166, 217, 294, 447, 476, 492, 496, 509; xii. 142, 162, 163, 170.
- Black, Henry, of Pennsylvania, in the House of Representatives, x. 490.
- Black, James A., in the House of Representatives, ix. 315; xi. 542.
- Blacker, Captain, iv. 362.
- Blackmore's Creation, viii. 363.
- Black Sea, viii. 60, 71.
- Blackstone, on the rendition of fugitive criminals, v. 449. On the dissolution of Parliament, viii. 279.
- Blagrove, William, offers gratuity to Elliot for securing patent, v. 405.
- Blair, Francis P., editor of the *Globe*, letter of J. H. Eaton to the, viii. 372. Correspondence with J. M. Berrien, 387. Printer to the House of Representatives, 525; x. 208, 432, 442.
- Blair, James, of South Carolina, in the House of Representatives, viii. 449, 510, 511, 528; ix. 109, 112. Shoots himself, 118. Character of, 119.
- Blair, Mr., of Kentucky, viii. 28.
- Blake, George, District Attorney, iv. 13; v. 145, 397; viii. 111, 231; ix. 158, 161. On the case of *La Jeune Eugénie*, 380.
- Blakelee, Abel, Revolutionary pensioner, ix. 515.
- Blanchard, H. W., ix. 361.
- Bland, Judge, Commissioner to Buenos Ayres, iv. 46; v. 57, 84, 109. Letter to J. S. Skinner, describing state of the country; dissuades from recognition of Buenos Ayres; has a poor opinion of Pueyrredon and his government, iv. 117-119. Disagrees with the other Commissioners, 119, 156. Charged with complicity in privateering, 159, 408, 413-417. Efforts to appoint him Judge of the District Court of Maryland, 408; objected to, 408-413, 416, 426, 436, 445. His connection with the Carreras, v. 56. (See *Brackenridge*; *Commissioners*; *Lands*.)
- Blaney, Lieutenant, vii. 183.
- Blockade, vi. 460. Legality of, ordered by the Peruvian Government, vi. 429. Proclamation of, by General Morales, vi. 482. Rules of, vii. 385. Opinion of King's advocate on, 385. Definition of, 515, 520.
- Blome, Baron de, Danish Minister at St. Petersburg, ii. 81, 83, 88, 89; x. 47. On detention of American goods, 90. Reproaches of France, 90. His views on the Continental system, 91; on Danish privateers, 109, 125, 142, 159, 166, 228, 245, 411, 447; on proposition for peace made by Denmark, 454; on offer to Denmark made by Napoleon, 466. The Allies duped by the Prince Royal of Sweden, 484. Prince Dolgorouki, 485. Famine in Norway, 486. Recalled, 521.
- Bloodhounds, importation of, x. 216. Use of, in wars, 236.
- Bloomfield, General Joseph, Governor of New Jersey, i. 317, 320; in the House of Representatives, iv. 365, 528.
- Blossom, the, British vessel sent to surrender post at the mouth of the Columbia River, v. 247.
- Blount, W., Governor of Tennessee, letter of, vii. 527.
- Blücher, General, victory of, ii. 525, 544.
- Blunt, Joseph, vi. 227, 522; vii. 313, 396; viii. 207, 410. Counsel in the case of the Bolivar, vi. 546.
- Blunt, N. B., conveys the three Conventions to England, vii. 443, 540.

- Blunt's Annual Register, viii. 162. Preparation of paper for, on the Russo-Turkish War; books relating to, 166. (See *Adams, J. Q.*; *American Annual Register*.)
- Board of Admiralty, Dutch, i. 73.
- Board of Agriculture, i. 137.
- Board of Engineers, Report of, on the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, vii. 159, 190, 191.
- Board of Navy Commissioners abolished, xi. 245.
- Board of Officers, to decide the question of rank between Generals Gaines and Scott, vii. 23, 205. On a system of cavalry tactics, etc., 157, 169, 189. Report on re-organization of the militia, vii. 191, 194.
- Bocanegra, José Maria de, Mexican Secretary of State, notes complaining of conduct of the United States Government in tolerating interference in the war with Texas, xi. 203.
- Boddington, Mr., iii. 488.
- Bodin, Jean, author of work entitled "De la République," ix. 229.
- Bodisco, Alexandre, Russian Minister, xi. 131. On the annexation of Texas, xii. 187.
- Bogert, Mr., Russian Consul at New York, vii. 127.
- Bogue, Rev. Mr., Agent of the Cherokees, ix. 527.
- Boileau on the art of rhyming, viii. 132.
- Bois Blanc, island of, iii. 270, 271.
- Bolívar, General, vi. 26. Defeated by Morillo, iv. 101. Successes of, 441; at Cartagena, v. 43. Fortunes and reputation of, 49. His course in the South American Revolution, 50. Supreme Chief of the republic of Colombia, 51. Expedition of, to Peru, 114. And Montilla, 188. Desires connection with the United States, 188. Armistice between, and Morillo, 240, 241, 283. At Lima, vi. 218. Ambitious designs of, vii. 483; viii. 190. Medals struck in honor of, vi. 542. Conduct as a military leader, viii. 190. Letter to Lord Aberdeen, 212. (See *Colombia*; *Great Britain*.)
- Bolívar, the ship, seized for violation of neutrality, vii. 546; viii. 3.
- Bolivia united with Peru, ix. 355. (See *Peru*.)
- Bollman, Dr., iii. 404, 565, 566.
- Bollman, Misses, the, vi. 421, 423.
- Bollman and Swartwout, charge of high treason against, i. 448, 449, 457, 458.
- Bolton, Captain, Court-martial upon, vi. 482; xi. 100.
- Bolton, Mr., vi. 488, 502.
- Bomford, Colonel, of the Ordnance Department, v. 45, 537; vii. 5, 7, 259.
- Bona, massacre at, iii. 386, 401, 402.
- Bonaparte, Carlo Luciano, his Ornitology, vii. 50. (See *Prince Musignano*.)
- Bonaparte, Jerome, vii. 334.
- Bonaparte, Joseph, iii. 196, 197; iv. 9. At the head of the Lallemand expedition to Mexico, 19, 20, 84. Letter to Galabert, 48. (See *Survillier*.)
- Bonaparte, Louis, created Duc de St. Leu, iii. 153.
- Bonaparte, Lucien, iii. 197.
- Bonaparte, Napoleon, iii. 100, 206, 207, 220; iv. 19. Breaks off negotiations with Austria, iii. 100. Landing in France; proclaimed rebel and traitor by the King, 165, 192, 193. At Lyons, 169, 171. Sentiment of the people opposed to, 165-172; turns in favor of, 173-185, 191. Arrival in Paris, 176. Proclamations to the people and the army, 176. Appoints Ministers, 177. Intentions of, pacific, 178, 182, 197. Visits the Hospital of Invalids, 192. Overtures from Austria, 197. Attacks the Prussians at Charleroi, 227. Defeated by Wellington, 230. Banished to Saint Helena, 254. Comparison with Washington, viii. 40.
- Bond, William C., engaged in establishment of Astronomical Observatory at Cambridge, Mass., x. 142.

- Conversation with, on the Washington Observatory, xii. 198.
- Bond, William K., in the House of Representatives, ix. 394; x. 11, 80, 94, 107, 175.
- Bonds, custom-house revenue, taken at Moose Island, trial concerning, iii. 456. Of credits upon duties, conditions of, vii. 32.
- Bonhomme Richard and the Serapis, v. 109.
- Bonnet, M., iii. 153.
- Bonnet, of American manufacture, presented to Mrs. Adams, v. 319.
- Books, fabrication of, in Germany, i. 179. Obstructions to the exchange of, by English laws, iii. 544.
- Boon, Ratliff, of Indiana, in the House of Representatives, viii. 525; ix. 138, 206, 292, 324, 338, 445, 522, 548; x. 20, 27, 80.
- Boothroyd, —, agent for claims on the Government of Hayti, vi. 232.
- Boott, Mr., iii. 190.
- Bordeaux, i. 8.
- Bordeaux, Duc de, birth of, v. 215. Claimant to the throne of France as Comte de Chambord, 216.
- Borden, N. B., in the House of Representatives, x. 10, 27, 60.
- Bordentown, New Jersey, vi. 418.
- Boreel, iii. 236.
- Borel, F., his work on Armed Neutrality, ii. 127, 142. (See *Gervais*.)
- Borgo, Pozzo di, Russian Ambassador at Paris, iv. 384; v. 24, 29, 33. Dispatches from, 140, 142. Letter to General Tuyl, 142, 156; vii. 9.
- Bornholm, island of, ii. 39-41.
- Bose, Count de, i. 239.
- Bosset, M., Minister of Brandebourg, i. 89.
- Bossier, Pierre E., of Louisiana, death of, xii. 18.
- Bossuet a party writer, ii. 241.
- Boston, Massachusetts, iv. 421; vi. 415, 529; ix. 419; x. 465; xi. 372. British occupation of, i. 5. Public meeting at, on the case of the Chesapeake, 468, 534. Increase of, iv. 6, 410. Appropriation for fortifying harbor of, vi. 532; x. 104. Appeal of confederates of, viii. 96, 97. Action of citizens on the Anti-slavery excitement, ix. 252. The writer delivers oration on J. Madison at, 303, 304, 308. Petitions Congress for repeal of coal duties, 321. Memorial, xi. 281. Celebration on the bringing of water into, xii. 272.
- Boston, the frigate, i. 8. Voyage in, ii. 4; xii. 277.
- Boston Atlas, the, report of R. Fletcher's speech in Faneuil Hall, ix. 449. On the tariff, x. 443; xii. 85. Address, 100. Letters on the Texas question, 171.
- Boston Centinel, communications to the, i. 26, 27.
- Boston Courier, viii. 238; ix. 16; x. 299; xii. 36, 85.
- Boston Daily Advertiser, viii. 388; ix. 456.
- Boston Daily Advocate, articles in, ix. 48.
- Boston Galaxy, the, vi. 244.
- Boston Marine Insurance Company, i. 295.
- Boston Patriot, the, vi. 62. (See *Newspapers*.)
- Boston Port Bill, Jefferson's resolution for a day of fasting, on receiving, viii. 277.
- Boston Sentinel, v. 304; ix. 361.
- Boston Statesman, the, vi. 61.
- Boston Whig Association, invitations to address, xi. 259, 262. (See *Whig*.)
- Botta's History of the American Revolution, v. 14.
- Botts, John M., of Virginia, in the House of Representatives, x. 152, 191, 233, 235, 240, 245, 307, 308, 318, 319, 321, 324, 489, 506, 509, 522; xi. 12, 113, 136, 221, 239, 246, 274, 279, 445; xii. 30, 46. Speech, 188, 189. (See *Jones, J. W.*)

- Boucher, Mr., lectures of, ii. 116, 127, 129, 131; disputants, 132, 133, 134.
- Bouldin, James W., in the House of Representatives, ix. 205, 211, 282, 325, 392, 497, 540, 545; x. 15, 76.
- Bouldin, T. T., of Virginia, in the House of Representatives, viii. 440, 456, 459; ix. 91. Views and character of, 92.
- Bouligny, Dominique, Senator from Louisiana, vii. 173, 307.
- Boundaries: in a wilderness, best settled by a parallel of latitude, iv. 234. Objections to taking the middle of rivers for, 254, 255, 256. Russian, vi. 100. Between Georgia and Alabama, 536; vii. 223; and Florida, vi. 536; vii. 364, 371, 378; settled, 386, 409, 421; proclamation of George III. concerning, 386. Between Illinois and the Territory of Michigan, vii. 16. Between Ohio and Michigan, ix. 197, 199. Northern, of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, 214. Between Wisconsin and Missouri; and Michigan, x. 10. Between Iowa and Missouri, xi. 213.
- Boundaries of the United States, iv. 208. Negotiations with Great Britain for settlement of, Indian; Northeastern; Western, iii. 5-126; v. 244-262, 386, 456, 457, 464; vi. 42, 91, 140, 141, 493; vii. 86-542; ix. 229. At Lake Champlain, iv. 145, 211. Between Moose Island and Campo Bello, v. 446. Northeastern, referred to arbitration, vii. 327, 428, 440; proceedings in the Maine Legislature concerning, 440; appointment of agents for the settlement of, 460, 482, 516; correspondence on, 473, 542; discussed in the Massachusetts Legislature, x. 490. (See *British Government; Canning; Commissioners.*) With Spain: proposals and discussions on the Louisiana; the Western boundary, iv. 26, 40, 48, 84, 106, 110, 124, 146, 161, 168, 170-172, 176, 208, 216, 219-221, 234-239, 244-248, 250-256, 261, 264, 266-275; v. 67-69, 82; xii. 64. With Mexico, viii. 464; ix. 278. State, between Georgia and the Creek Territory, iv. 118; vii. 66, 68, 69, 79.
- Bounty for captured slaves, iv. 197. On cotton, v. 179. On ships, vii. 161.
- Bourbon, Duc de, iii. 264.
- Bourbons, the, ii. 439; iii. 178, 180, 182; ix. 351. Probable restoration of the family of, ii. 439, 460. Unpopularity of, iii. 193, 299.
- Bourke, Mr., the Danish Minister, iii. 324, 492, 497.
- Bourne, G. S., vi. 510; vii. 527.
- Bourne, Sylvanus, Consul at Amsterdam, i. 59, 60, 61, 86, 119; ii. 647; iii. 36; v. 215.
- Bourquenay, Mr., Secretary of the French Legation, iv. 301. (See *Piracies; Privateers.*)
- Bouts-rimés, i. 113.
- Bowditch, Nathaniel, ii. 220; iv. 211; viii. 365, 408; ix. 169.
- Bowditch's Navigator, x. 119.
- Bowdoin, James, i. 250.
- Bowdoin College, invitation to, vii. 144, 145.
- Bowen's negroes, vii. 222.
- Bowlin, James B., of Missouri, in the House of Representatives, xi. 486, 509; xii. 157.
- Bowne, Samuel S., of New York, in the House of Representatives, x. 503, 536, 541; xi. 221, 234, 286.
- Boyd, General, claim of, on the East India Company, iii. 539, 541.
- Boyd, George, bearer of dispatches, iii. 43, 54, 57.
- Boyd, John Jay, agent of Le Roy, Bayard & Co., iv. 494.
- Boyd, Linn, of Kentucky, in the House of Representatives, xii. 16, 20, 150.
- Boyd, W., i. 508.
- Boyer, on giving him the title of President of Hayti, vi. 232, 233.
- Boyle, Rev. Mr., vii. 138.

- Boyle, John, appointed Judge of the District Court in Kentucky, vii. 225.
- Boylston, author's ancestors by name of, vii. 146.
- Boylston Prizes, viii. 407, 408.
- Boylston, Susannah, wife of John Adams, Senr., vi. 417; vii. 132.
- Boylston, Thomas, i. 52.
- Boylston, Ward N., i. 51, 52, 141; viii. 408, 410.
- Brackenbrough, delegate to Bank Convention at New York, ix. 445.
- Brackenridge, Judge, viii. 51, 322. Secretary to the Buenos Ayres Commission, iv. 118, 119, 156, 408. Misunderstanding with Judge Bland, v. 57. Account of his mission, 57. In the House of Representatives, x. 412.
- Brackett, artist, his bust of General Harrison, x. 322.
- Braconnier, Mark and Francis, trial and acquittal of, for counterfeiting, iv. 399.
- Bradbury, Mr., ix. 357.
- Braddock's defeat, viii. 219.
- Bradford, Alden, history, ix. 157.
- Bradford, Gamaliel, Dr., viii. 399, 409.
- Bradish, Luther, v. 198.
- Bradley, Abraham, First Assistant Postmaster-General, interview with, on the subject of J. McLean's transactions in the appointment of a Postmaster at Philadelphia, vii. 537; viii. 13, 24. Letter to the President, 340.
- Bradley, S. R., Senator, i. 274, 285, 293, 309, 312, 315, 318, 323, 324, 328, 362, 367, 368, 378, 379, 382, 388, 389, 392, 393, 403, 405, 406, 414, 418, 425, 426, 448, 453, 458, 461, 462, 474, 476, 477, 481, 482, 491, 497, 500, 504, 505, 506, 515, 520, 522, 528, 531.
- Bradley, W. C., vi. 225, 466, 469, 474, 489; vii. 77. Agent to the Commission on the Treaty of Ghent, iv. 211, 215; v. 44; conversation with, on proceedings of, vi. 334. A partisan of Crawford, 232, 248.
- Bragg, Braxton, Lieutenant, xi. 544.
- Braham, Mr., iii. 300, 301, 310.
- Braintree, i. 4, 5; x. 130. Delivers oration at, 138. Second Centennial of, 141.
- Branch, John, of North Carolina, vi. 347; vii. 96, 99, 100. Nominated for Judge in Florida, v. 491. Remonstrances against, 491, 494. Secretary of the Navy, viii. 99, 109, 128, 179, 184, 203, 207, 324, 354; resigns, 357, 359. In the House of Representatives, viii. 480. On Executive powers, ix. 130.
- Brancia, Chevalier, ii. 57, 177, 266, 341, 343, 348, 387, 388.
- Brandywine, the frigate, preparing for sea, visit of La Fayette to, vii. 39, 43.
- Bravo, Nicholas, Vice-President of the Mexican Republic, vi. 456.
- Brawner, Mr., vi. 412.
- Bray, Chevalier de, ii. 49, 57, 70, 75, 124, 305, 309, 311, 333, 334, 388.
- Bray, Madame de, ii. 57, 61, 81.
- Braynard, S., ix. 321.
- Brazil, declares itself independent of Portugal, ii. 183; vi. 283. Treaty of commerce with Great Britain, ii. 85. American Minister sent to, 185. Sends Minister to Russia, 187. Discussions on recognition of, vi. 280-285, 314, 317. Emperor of, his 'republican views, 283; suspected of plotting to restore the Portuguese power, 314, 318; takes the oath to the constitution, 328; proclamation of: adheres to the treaties of Portugal, 354, 382; declares intention of abolishing the slave-trade, 354; letter, 359. Negro population of, in excess of the white, 354. On the appointment of an agent to, 475, 581. Ordinance requiring bonds of American vessels not to go to Buenos Ayres; instructions to resist, 495, 500. Treaty with, viii. 116. (See *Kebello; South America; Rio Janeiro; Brazilian Government.*)
- Brazilian Courts, decisions of, in cases

- of blockade, influence of the British Government on, vii. 385.
- Brazilian Government, v. 156. Measures of, for suppression of the slave-trade, vi. 354. Bound by treaties of Portugal with Great Britain, 354. Treaty of alliance with the United States, 475. (See *Brazil*.)
- Breadstuffs, petitions for repeal of duty on, ix. 318.
- Breakwater, project for, vii. 66, 75.
- Brearley, David, vii. 227. His printed draft of a constitution, vi. 121, 125.
- Breck, S., of Pennsylvania, in the House of Representatives, vi. 259.
- Breckinridge, John, Senator, i. 266, 273, 278, 284, 293, 299, 346, 348. United States Attorney for the district of Illinois, vii. 225; viii. 3.
- Bremen, vii. 348. (See *Hanseatic Cities*.)
- Brengle, Francis, of Maryland, in the House of Representatives, xi. 517; xii. 9.
- Brent, Daniel, iv. 9, 10, 27, 100, 152, 236, 253; v. 27, 110; vi. 29, 46, 123, 124, 368, 384, 502, 517; vii. 14, 16; viii. 66, 75, 255. Consul at Paris, ix. 321.
- Brent, Robert, Justice of the Peace, Paymaster-General, iv. 9, 25, 369; resigns, 408. Estate of, involved in public expenses, 473.
- Brent, Thomas L., Chargé d'Affaires in Spain, iv. 194, 309; v. 127, 375; vi. 520; vii. 85, 300. Letter concerning G. W. Erving, xii. 109.
- Brent, W., of Louisiana, in the House of Representatives, urges the removal of Sterret, Naval Officer at New Orleans, vi. 546.
- Bresson. (See *De Bresson*.)
- Brevet rank, ix. 81. Law defining, viii. 14, 28. Pamphlet on, 91. (See *Army*; *Scott*.)
- Brewer, Dr., editor of the Boston Atlas, xi. 255, 266.
- Brewster, Davis P., of New York, in the House of Representatives, supports the reciprocity system, xi. 321.
- Bridge, James, recommended as Agent on the Northeastern Boundary question, vii. 460, 483.
- Brief Review, etc., of the Case of L'Amistad, a pamphlet entitled, x. 379. (See *Amistad*.)
- Brig of the King of Spain brought into Baltimore; mode of restoring, iv. 348, 349.
- Briggs, George N., of Massachusetts; in the House of Representatives, viii. 539; ix. 201, 281, 294, 325, 451, 452, 498, 537; x. 19, 27, 60, 156, 163, 193, 221, 531; xi. 142, 193, 253, 281, 403. Nominated for Governor, 380. Address to the writer at Pittsfield, 404. Renominated, xii. 274, 278.
- Brigham, —, Corresponding Secretary of the American Bible Society, viii. 148.
- Brigham, Josiah, ix. 254, 257; x. 357; xi. 263.
- Brinkerhoff, Jacob, of Ohio, in the House of Representatives, xii. 17, 146.
- Brinkman, Captain, ii. 611, 619, 625.
- Brinley, Francis, viii. 414, 415.
- Brion, Count de, ii. 453.
- Brissot, M., i. 33.
- British, the, retreat of, from Plattsburg, v. 294. Repulse from Baltimore, 294.
- British Admiralty, iii. 425. (See *Admiralty*, *Lords of the*.)
- British Ambassador at St. Petersburg, ii. 399, 401. Transmits proposals for mediation with the United States, 403. (See *Cathcart*.)
- British Cabinet, the, iv. 121; vi. 99. Decision on the conduct of Arbuthnot and Ambrister, 312, 376. (See *British Government*.)
- British Colonies, prohibitions on commercial intercourse with, iv. 494, 495, 498, 503, 504; vi. 103, 139, 259, 407. Ports opened by Act of Parliament,

- vi. 52, 146. Trade question, 540. American vessels interdicted from entering ports of the, vii. 114, 116, 149, 170. West India, emancipate their slaves, ix. 251. (See *Commerce*; *West Indies*; *Trade*.)
- British commandant offers reward for apprehension of an American citizen, iii. 286.
- British debts, interest on, during the Revolutionary War, settled by compromise, vi. 277.
- British fleet, defeat of, on Lake Ontario, ii. 536.
- British frigates, impressments by, i. 314.
- British Government, i. 144, 561. Policy of, towards France, i. 38; towards the United States, 108. On neutral rights, 386. Sends embassy to Russia, ii. 399, 495. Offers to treat directly with the United States, 509, 539, 542; terms, 548-551. Declines mediation of Russia, 509; reasons for, 512, 539, 542; refusal of, denied, 512, 545; notice to the Emperor, 551; official note to Count Nesselrode, 557; renews negotiations, 583-590; appoints three Commissioners, 638; proposes removal of mission to Holland, 638; disagrees with Commissioners concerning the sense of stipulation relating to the restoration of slaves, iii. 234, 255-258; refers to arbitration, iv. 93; compromise; claims, v. 407, 535; negotiations renewed, iii. 283. Aids Spain; offers of mediation; mission, 290, 291; iv. 48-52. Advocates liberal commercial policy, 292, 308. Objects to articles of the American Treaty with Algiers, 354, 356, 400, 419. Assumes protection of the Ionian Isles; Lord Exmouth's expedition to the Barbary States, 354-360. Mediation with Naples and Sardinia, 355, 380, 418, 420. Second expedition to Algiers, 386. Regulations of West India trade, 389. Negotiations relating to commerce (see *Commerce*; *Trade*); to boundaries (see *Boundaries*). Appeal of the Legislature of Nova Scotia about the fisheries, iv. 95. Connection of, with the Seminole War; policy in relation to Indian affairs; disavows the Treaty of Nicholls, 102, 171, 179, 180, 184. Offers indemnity to Portugal for injuries caused by the privateer General Armstrong at Fayal, 135. Proposals on the subject of impressment and abolition of the slave-trade, 141, 146. General Jackson's charges against, 180. Proposals for joint recognition of the independence of Buenos Ayres, 186, 203, 205, 207, 435, 453. Refuses to protect subjects joining the South American insurgents, 337. Interposition of, to procure the ratification of the Florida Treaty, 458. Policy of, towards revolutions in Europe, v. 194. Views of, on settlement at the mouth of the Columbia River, 245-248, 252, 259. Refuses to prohibit the sale of prizes in British ports, vi. 172. Supports South American independence, 203, 498, 533, 535. Control over Greece, viii. 184. Slave-Indemnity Treaty, ix. 344. Policy of, in Canada, x. 53-55. Correspondence on the slave-trade, 401, 410; on the right of visitation relinquished in the Ashburton Treaty, xi. 326. Suspected of favoring annexation of Texas, 374. Concerning abolition of slavery, xii. 66. (See *Cabinet Meetings*; *Great Britain*; *Spain*; *South America*; *Castlereagh*; *Liverpool*, Lord.)
- British House of Commons, viii. 270, 467. (See *House of Commons*.)
- British Institution, visit to the gallery of the, iii. 554.
- British Ministry, ii. 67, 68, 278, 439; vi. 25.
- British Museum, visit to the, iii. 552.
- British officers, iii. 26, 27, 77, 92, 286.

- Engage in war with Spain in aid of the South American insurgents, iv. 16, 24, 29. Carry away slaves from Southern ports during the war; proclamations of, 257, 258; charged with selling, 258, 558; deny the charges, 398, 399.
- British Parliament, iv. 522. Acts of, not valid without the King's approbation, vi. 380. Proceedings of, compared with those of Congress, viii. 154. (*See Parliament.*)
- British Plenipotentiaries, iii. 306.
- British Provinces, ix. 466. Tour through; remarks on condition and government of, x. 353-355.
- British seamen engaged in Baltimore piracies, iv. 362. (*See Seamen.*)
- British subjects, claims of, to lands in Alabama, Mississippi, and the Floridas, v. 485-487.
- Brito, M., i. 112, 117; ii. 68; iii. 151, 163; vi. 529.
- Brock, in Holland, i. 190.
- Brockenbrough, J. W., Judge, in Virginia, decision in favor of J. H. Pleasants, ix. 40.
- Brockenbrough, William A., of Florida, in the House of Representatives, xii. 238.
- Brockway, J. H., of Connecticut, in the House of Representatives, xi. 182.
- Brodhead, John R., delivers address before the New York Historical Society, xii. 108.
- Brodhead, Richard, of Pennsylvania, in the House of Representatives, xii. 19.
- Brogie, Duc de, iii. 155. (*See Barton.*)
- Brokerage, charge of, on French and American shipping, vi. 18.
- Bronaugh, Dr., viii. 410. Certificate of, v. 437, 466.
- Bronchitis, x. 127.
- Bronson, Isaac H., of New York, in the House of Representatives, ix. 396, 467, 470, 478; x. 3, 22, 87.
- Brook, Adam, petitions for compensation for a silk-spinning wheel, ix. 460.
- Brook, Judge, exposes abuses in the post-offices, viii. 32.
- Brooke, Colonel, in command at Pensacola, v. 366.
- Brooks, Charles, Rev., of Hingham, vii. 131. Secretary of the Plymouth County Association, x. 33.
- Brooks, James G., vii. 389.
- Brooks, John, Governor of Massachusetts, iv. 6, 234, 421; vi. 417.
- Brooks, P. C., ix. 256.
- Brooks, Samuel, Chief Clerk of the Treasury, superannuated, viii. 68.
- Brother Jonathan, the, a newspaper, publishes author's poem of "The Vision," x. 176.
- Brougham, Henry, Lord, on the Barbary hostilities, iii. 419. Advocates universal suffrage, 471, 472. Lord Ellenborough's treatment of, 563. Speech on the Slave-Trade Convention of 1824, xi. 345.
- Brown, Aaron V., of Tennessee, in the House of Representatives, x. 226, 486, 500, 522; xi. 180, 507; xii. 52, 80, 131, 153, 154, 159. His defence of the Committee on the New Jersey elections, 238, 239. "Address" by, xii. 123.
- Brown, Albert G., of Mississippi, in the House of Representatives, x. 266; xi. 471.
- Brown, Anson, death of, x. 313.
- Brown, Captain, of the Alliance, ix. 27.
- Brown, Charles, of Philadelphia, in the House of Representatives, x. 493, 511, 521; xi. 216, 234.
- Brown, George, Commissioner to the Sandwich Islands, xi. 278. Conversation with, 365.
- Brown, J. B., on the tariff, viii. 451, 462.
- Brown, Jacob, General, Commander-in-Chief of the United States Army, iv.

- 155; v. 321, 366; vi. 492, 519; vii. 23, 24, 26, 29, 39, 55, 79, 115, 123, 179, 224, 360, 447. His management censured, vi. 8. Conversation with, on Calhoun's prospects, 290, 441, 480. Urges a good understanding with Clinton, 441, 442. Advocates Clinton for Secretary of State, 509. War with the Creeks, vii. 8, 37. Visit to J. Monroe, 33. Dinner of, to General La Fayette, 39. Dispatches from, 52, 300, 357, 488. His differences with General Ripley, 55, 58. On the appointment of an Inspector-General of the army, 88. His political relations with Clinton and Jackson, 170, 177. Essays of, in the Albany Daily Advertiser, 177. Southern tour, 244. Letter, 357. Order of, for changing military stations, 360, 404. Illness of, 384, 403. Decisions of, on questions of military rank, 392. Death of; his high military reputation and irreproachable life, 447, 448. Commander-in-Chief, 448. Honors to be paid to his memory, 448. Funeral of, 451. Order announcing decease of, to the army, 452. Obituary inscription for, ix. 159. Ingratitude of his native State towards, 160.
- Brown, James, of Louisiana, Senator, iv. 491, 493, 518; v. 39, 285; viii. 249. The mission to Mexico is offered to, vi. 122. Minister to France, 174, 187, 188, 191, 400, 404, 533.
- Brown, John A., conversation with, xi. 129.
- Brown, John V., petitions Congress to arraign the writer at the bar of the House, ix. 500; referred to committee, 501.
- Brown, John W., in the House of Representatives, ix. 125, 195; xii. 40.
- Brown, Matthew, Rev. Dr., President of Jefferson College, x. 268; xi. 438.
- Brown, Milton, of Tennessee, in the House of Representatives, x. 522; xi. 95, 505; xii. 145, 153.
- Brown, Nathaniel, viii. 426.
- Brown, R. B., President of the Mercantile Library of New York, viii. 419.
- Brown, William J., of Indiana, in the House of Representatives, xii. 146.
- Brown, Mc., tailor, iii. 217.
- Brown, Rev., a Scotch divine, viii. 268.
- Brownson, O. A., x. 345.
- Bruce, John, contracts for clearing the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers, vii. 247, 251.
- Bruce, —, Attaché of the British Legation, xi. 150.
- Brühl, Count, i. 232, 233.
- Brulé, Citoyen, i. 118.
- Brunswick, Duke of, iii. 438.
- Brunswick, Princess of, i. 59.
- Brush, Henry, of Ohio, in the House of Representatives; conversation with, on candidates for the Presidency, v. 305.
- Brussels, at, iii. 145-148.
- Brutus and Cassius, vii. 169.
- Brutus, the, a privateer, iv. 162.
- Brüxner, deposition of, in case of Harris *versus* Lewis, vi. 419. Malicious insinuations of, against the author, 419.
- Bryan, Mr., of North Carolina, vii. 67.
- Bryant and Sturgis, indemnity made to, by the Russian Government, vi. 529, 530.
- Bryant, George W., viii. 426.
- Bryant, T. S., Assistant Surgeon, trial of, vii. 359, 363, 371, 384, 392.
- Bryant, William Cullen, signs Anti-Slavery petition, x. 92.
- Brzozowski, Abbé, Le Père Général des Jésuites, ii. 103, 118, 119, 159, 239, 240. Discussion with, on the religious sects of America; on the sacraments; confirmation, 269, 270. His opinion of Protestants, 347, 348; on Jesuit College and Easter, 451, 452, 453. Efforts at conversion, 582.
- Buchanan, James, in the House of Representatives, vi. 391. Publications of

- Philip S. Markley and, vii. 357. Senator, viii. 307; x. 19, 402; xi. 185. Secretary of State, xii. 180, 196, 257, 266.
- Buck, Mr., of Vermont, concerned in the Van Ness controversy, vii. 275.
- Buckingham, James S., ix. 498. Proposes to bring in a bill in Parliament preventing duelling, 500.
- Buckingham, Joseph T., editor of the Boston Courier, virulent against the writer; his repentance, ix. 453. Visit from, x. 127; xi. 382-384.
- Buenos Ayres, invasion of Brazilian troops into, iii. 505, 510, 511. (See *Spain*.) On acknowledging the independence of, iv. 13, 15, 28, 88, 117, 165, 186, 190, 199, 203-207, 335, 380, 435, 453, 471; v. 81, 84, 86, 114. Agents, consuls, and deputies of, iv. 14, 30, 88, 138, 153, 158, 190. Declaration of independence, 14, 30, 46, 47. Frigate Congress dispatched to, 15. Expedition to Florida, 89. Relations with the republic of Colombia, v. 114. Conspiracy against the Government, vi. 111. Appointments to, 413, 414. Threatening state of affairs in, vii. 451. Blockade of the Brazilian coast, 451, 452. (See *Aguirre; South America*.)
- Buffalo, visit to, xi. 395, 396, 414.
- Buffon, i. 175.
- Buffum, Arnold, ix. 301. Letter of, x. 468.
- Bulfinch, C., vii. 5, 189, 248; viii. 55.
- Bulgari, Count, Russian Chargé d'Affaires at Madrid, v. 230.
- Buller, Charles, Private Secretary of Lord Durham, x. 46. Embarks for England, 47. Conversation with, 47.
- Bunce, Isaiah, of Litchfield, Connecticut, vii. 76.
- Bunker, Captain, of the steamer Washington, vii. 314.
- Bunker's Hill, i. 5. Anniversary of the battle of, viii. 545. Ceremonies on completion of Monument, xi. 382.
- Burch, Benjamin, ix. 263. Clerk of the House of Representatives, x. 45.
- Burd, George, of Pennsylvania, in the House of Representatives, viii. 523; ix. 81, 121.
- Burdett, Sir Francis, iii. 439, 512. Speech of, on elective reform, 534, 537.
- Burges, Mr., vii. 350. Concerning Marine Hospital at Philadelphia, vii. 261.
- Burges, Tristram, of Rhode Island, in the House of Representatives, viii. 455, 464, 473, 490, 493, 524; ix. 44, 53, 77, 96, 128, 207, 265. (See *House*.)
- Burk's History of Virginia, viii. 291.
- Burke, Edmund, i. 4. On the French Revolution, 25. Author of the Junius Letters, vii. 318. Refuses presents for public services, xii. 216.
- Burke, Edmund, of New Hampshire, in the House of Representatives, x. 419. His election contested, xi. 443; confirmed, 533; xii. 10, 11, 47, 137, 143, 155, 158.
- Burke, J. N., Comptroller, letter relating to sale of the Amistad, x. 367.
- Burlamaqui on the delivery of fugitive criminals, v. 400.
- Burlington, Vermont, v. 351.
- Burnap, G. W., Rev., viii. 40, 267.
- Burnet, Judge, of Ohio, Senator, viii. 86, 94, 214; xi. 424, 426. Address, 427. Speech, 429.
- Burnley, Mr., member of the Council of Trinidad, vii. 159.
- Burns, Robert, vii. 152; viii. 149.
- Burr, Aaron, i. 264, 277, 279, 286; ii. 67; vii. 272; viii. 449. Duel with Hamilton; indicted for murder, i. 314; nolle prosequi, 317, 320. Partiality of, 325, 348, 350, 353. Franking privilege granted to, 360, 362. Farewell address to the Senate, 365. Conspiracy of, 444, 446, 449; iii. 480. Declares a pacific purpose, 452. Surrender of, 458. At Paris, ii. 102. Trial of, vii. 35. Life of, by M. L.

- Davis, ix. 429. Remarks on his character and career, 429, 433, 434, 442, 444.
- Barrell, Sir C., iii. 231.
- Burrill, James, Senator from Rhode Island, funeral of, v. 220. On retrenchment, 232.
- Burrows, Silas, of New York, efforts of, in favor of aid to J. Monroe, viii. 258. Services rendered in rescuing the corvette purchased for the Emperor of Russia, 258. A partisan of Clay; overtures of the Jackson party, 259.
- Burt, Armistead, of South Carolina, in the House of Representatives, xi. 511, 516, 533, 542; xii. 137.
- Burtin, Mr., his collection of paintings at Brussels, iii. 146-148.
- Burton, H. G., Governor of North Carolina, vi. 279; vii. 67. Urges coalition with the Crawford party, vi. 355, 356.
- Burwell, William A., of Virginia, in the House of Representatives; death of; his character and talents, v. 281.
- Burying-ground of the members of Congress, v. 220.
- Bussche, Baron de, Minister from Westphalia at St. Petersburg, ii. 68, 69, 95, 130, 131, 228, 247, 302, 388; iii. 299, 322, 324-327.
- Bussey, Benjamin, i. 442.
- Bust of the writer, by Persico, viii. 123.
- Butler, Antony, Colonel, v. 437, 461; ix. 378; xi. 354, 359, 363. Replaces J. R. Poinsett in mission to Mexico, viii. 159; xi. 343, 349. Correspondence, 347-370. His recall demanded, 360.
- Butler, Benjamin F., Attorney-General of the United States, ix. 156. Opinion of, on the Ohio boundary dispute, 227, 233. (See *Ohio*.)
- Butler, Charles, xi. 505.
- Butler, Lieutenant, vi. 538; vii. 8, 67.
- Butler, P., Senator, i. 268, 269, 271, 278.
- Butler, Richard, viii. 85.
- Butler, Samson H., of South Carolina, in the House of Representatives, x. 199; xi. 147.
- Butler, W. O., of Kentucky, x. 331. In the House of Representatives, xi. 3, 161, 291.
- Butler's Hudibras, viii. 348.
- Butman, Samuel, of Maine, in the House of Representatives, vii. 382. Conversation with, on the Northeastern Boundary question, 495, 516.
- Butter Week, answers to Roman Carnival, in the Greek Church, ii. 232. Festivities of, 232, 233.
- Bynum and Garland committee, x. 275, 276, 289.
- Bynum, Jesse A., x. 76. In the House of Representatives, ix. 194, 197, 280, 294, 321, 329, 477, 513, 524; x. 75, 98, 144, 175, 181, 183, 202-204, 270.
- Byrne, Edward, Lieutenant, dismissed from the Navy, x. 51. (See *Jackson, A.*)
- Byron, Lord, review of his works, viii. 218. Remarks on, 218, 248. Galt's Life of, 248. Introduces the ottava rima, 346, 348, 352.

C.

- Cabinet Meetings, iv. 300, 407; vi. 137, 159, 267; viii. 4. On the occupation of Amelia Island, iv. 15, 31, 35, 36, 39, 51, 60, 91, 92. The South American Colonies: on recognizing the independence of; mediation; missions to, 51, 91, 92, 165-168, 204-207, 459-462; v. 491, 492; vi. 24-26, 110-112, 187, 193, 281, 314, 328, 414; vii. 229, 546; opposed to the interference of the Holy Alliance with, vi. 177-179, 181, 186; answer to Baron Tuyl's note relating to, 179, 199-210; position of France towards, 399. (See *Brazil*; *Colombia*.) Discussions on the evacuation and cession of Florida, iv. 91-112; Jackson's proceedings condemned, 108-115; v. 368, 370-

372, 463; acts of hostility authorized, 108-111; restoration of Pensacola decided on, 112. Commercial treaty with Great Britain discussed, 101-165; abolition of the slave-trade; impressment; treaties; right of search, 141, 146, 147, 150-152, 336; v. 5-9, 216, 222; vi. 148, 149, 165, 338, 426. (See *Great Britain; Castlereagh; Canning.*) On the accumulation of offices in one person, iv. 141. On Courts-martial, 141, 142. On duty of communicating with the Government, 166; v. 463, 464. Discussions on the Florida Treaty, iv. 145, 207, 208, 213, 235, 245, 249-253, 266, 267, 405, 407, 411, 448-450, 459, 521; on claims of citizens against Spain; to be discharged; Commissioners on, to be appointed, 152, 252 (see *French Spoliations*); settlement of boundaries; navigation of the rivers, 246, 267; possession of the rivers and islands insisted on, 250, 267; Florida grants. (See *Spanish Grants.*) Florida Treaty, on carrying into execution the, v. 28, 31, 71, 72, 74, 79, 83, 99-103, 105, 125-127, 286, 321, 322. Transactions with France: On the tonnage question and the eighth article of the Louisiana Treaty, 195. Negotiations for commercial Convention with France: case of the Apollon; La Jeune Eugénie; De Neuville's articles, 286, 339, 342, 348-350, 352, 353, 380, 381, 389-391, 417-419, 423, 487, 529-533, vi. 15-17. Mission to France, 174, 181. Claims on France, 404; vii. 59-61; proposal to refer to arbitration, 279. War with France, fears of, v. 425. Mr. Lynch's proposal for disposing of the steamship Robert Fulton rejected, 198. On the inaugural address, 308. H. Clay's claim of outfit for the Convention of 3d July, 1815, 329. On appropriations for the Dauphin Island

fortifications, 331. Georgia claims for depredations of the Creek Indians; interest on, rejected; on extinguishment of Indian land-titles; letter of the Georgia delegation; surveys; defiance of Governor Troup, 341, 534, 536, 538; vi. 255, 256, 270-272; vii. 32-35, 47, 73, 74, 89, 90, 219, 220, 233. Conduct of the Marshal of Georgia, vi. 86, 87. To consider the letter of Governor Clinton proposing to maintain the jurisdiction of Carleton Island by force, v. 395. On recommending internal taxes, 408. Crawford's estimates of receipts and expenditures discussed, 408-411. On the appointment of Postmaster at Albany, 480. Course of the Postmaster-General criticised, 480, 481. On the case of Lanham, 485. On reducing the army; appointment of officers by the President disapproved, 486, 488. On office-hours of the Department Clerks, 536. Weakness of, vi. 7. On military nominations, 33-35. To consider Sanchez's proposition of admission of the Havanna to the Union, 70-74; rejected, 73; on sending agent to, 112. (See *South American Governments; Canning.*) To discuss the President's Message, 105; criticisms on, 106-110. Remarks on the West Point Academy, 106, 107. On the revenue, 108. On the Cuban question, 138, 139. To consider affairs with Greece; letter from Greek Envoy soliciting aid and recognition, 172, 230. On successor to Mr. Thompson, 174, 175. President's Message, the alarming tone of, deprecated, 194-196. On blockading Porto Rico and Cuba, 230. On agent to be sent to Hayti; on Boyer as President, 233. To consider the establishment of military posts on the Pacific and on the Missouri River, 250. On appoint-

- ment of a Fourth Auditor; of E. Bates as District Attorney in Missouri, 251, 254. Claims of Virginia for interest-money, 276, 278. On the Edwards-Crawford controversy, 297, 304-306, 339, 389-395. Discussions on the removal of Edwards from the Mexican mission, 389, 390, 392-395. Promotions in the Navy, 337, 338. Employment of the naval force, 357. Transfer of Government appropriations, 378. Invitation to General La Fayette, 378, 383, 400. On signing of Acts of Congress by the President, 379, 380. Northwest Coast, appropriations for Convention, 403. To decide on the prosecution of D. Holstein, 430. The President's Message, 431-455. Call of the House for correspondence from the South Sea relating to Stewart and Prevost, 461. On Congress at Panama, 542. The case of Commodore D. Porter; report of the Court of Enquiry upon; decide upon a trial by Court-martial; his proceedings at Key West; hostile measures of Commodore La Borde, 544; vii. 229, 289. To consider sending of the new Creek Treaty with documents to the Senate, 110. Report of the Secretary of War, 110. To consider letter of the Secretary of War on Indian affairs, 113. On the decease of Thomas Jefferson, 123. Treaties with Colombia, Guatemala, and Denmark, 229. The Scott and Gaines quarrel; publication of correspondence by Scott, 252, 253, 254; viii. 42-44, 74. To consider the sending of a Minister to Brazil, 278. On the manner of appointing the staff-officers of the Marine Corps, 298. On the Georgia and Florida boundary question, 409. To consider the seizure of prize-slaves at Key West; questions involved in, 418, 419, 423. Right of complaint by Lieutenant Holland denied, 423. Constitution of the Cherokee Indians; right of, to form, considered, 422, 442, 444. Cumberland Road, 442. On the nomination of Major-General; Generals Macomb, Scott, Gaines, and W. H. Harrison the candidates, 506. To consider the assault made upon the son of the author by Russell Jarvis, 510, 511. On the appointment of a Minister to Great Britain, 546; to Colombia, 546. On the Eaton affair, viii. 178, 207. Seminole War in 1818, 274, 276, 296, 304.
- Cadets at West Point, trial of; discipline of, iv. 427, 431. Discharged; apply for midshipmen's warrants, vii. 167; xi. 277. Trials of, 246, 259, 264, 474. Punishment of, at West Point, 265. Appointment of cadets, 457.
- Cadiz, v. 29. Massacre at, 102. Surrender of, to the French, vi. 185.
- Cadmus, the, General La Fayette sails in, for America, vi. 461. Bill for relief of owners, xii. 149.
- Cadore, Duc de, ii. 259.
- Cadwalader, Thomas, General, vi. 421; viii. 355. Proposed for Collector at Philadelphia, vii. 93. Director of the United States Bank, viii. 442, 502.
- Caermarthen, Marquis of, viii. 303.
- Cæsar, Augustus, death-bed of, ii. 8, 9.
- Cæsar, Julius, v. 338.
- Cahoone, Captain, of the Vigilant, the author takes passage with, vii. 151-153.
- Caillard, Mr., French Minister at Berlin, i. 214, 215.
- Calcasieu, the, iv. 107.
- Calcutta, a British port, American cargoes coming from, ii. 199, 200, 201. Vegetables in, vii. 268.
- Calderon and Argaiz, the Spanish Ministers, correspondence of, with the Secretary of State, x. 431.
- Caldwell, E. B., v. 42, 322.

Caldwell & Law, Commissioners in the case of Harris *versus* Lewis, v. 382, 383.

Calenus, Quintus Fufius, Cicero's argument against, viii. 122. (See *Philippics*.)

Calhoun, James S., Consul at Havanna, xi. 111.

Calhoun, John, of Kentucky, in the House of Representatives, x. 63, 89. Imports iron for ship-building, 100.

Calhoun, John C., iv. 125, 127, 136, 140, 162, 197, 207, 214, 252, 266, 267, 312, 401, 404, 409, 412, 478; v. 34, 46, 64, 76, 89, 100, 236, 309, 315, 327, 331, 333, 339, 347, 360, 363, 391, 451, 485, 487, 535; vi. 6, 56, 97, 106, 107, 115, 137, 187, 225, 252, 268, 277, 337, 381, 385, 427, 498; vii. 52, 61, 69, 114, 120, 196, 198, 224, 280, 367, 421, 427, 498, 507; viii. 166, 171, 174, 190, 231, 233, 411; ix. 105, 263, 461. Secretary of War, iv. 15, 28, 34, 36, 39, 47; vii. 457. His independence of character, ambition, and eloquence, iv. 36; vii. 447. Reform in the War Department, 446. Conversation with; opposes acknowledgment of South American independence; on Commissioner to Russia, iv. 28, 61, 76, 118, 119, 495. Hostilities of, to Jackson; anticipates war with Spain, 107, 108, 111, 113. Argues against the author on taking of Pensacola, 113, 114. On Florida affair, 119. Opinion of, in case of Captain Hall, 142; on impressment, opposes Lord Castlereagh's modification, 147, 148, 149. Anxious for concurrence of Great Britain on the recognition of Buenos Ayres, 205, 207. Report of, on means for making military roads; on accepting the mission to France, 477. Opinion of, on the Slave question, 530. On slavery; arguments in favor of, v. 10. On the Indian Treaty, 21. Opposes forbearance

towards Spain, 29, 31. Conversation with, on politics, 127, 128. Observations of, on disaffection to the Government and distress throughout the country, 128; on projects for the Presidency formed at Ghent, 129; on the right of searching slavers, and British motives for advocating, 218; on the French Tonnage Act, 287, 349, 531. The author submits to him his report on Weights and Measures; alterations suggested by, 291. On the Administration and its embarrassments, 313, 314. His management of the War Department attacked, 314, 326. Supports the author's views on reciprocity, 349. On the altercations of Jackson with Callava and Fromentin; fears the effect of newspaper commentaries on, 360, 379. Candor, self-possession, and honorable principles of; sensitive to public opinion, 361. On Jackson's military authority in Florida, 366, 367, 368, 370, 372. His deposition in the case of Harris and Lewis contradictory to Crawford's, 385. On Crawford's betrayal of confidence to Harris, 387; on his misrepresentation about the appointment of General Flournoy, 387. Disclaims right of jurisdiction of Carleton Island, 396. On means of reducing the public debt, 409. On the case of the Apollon, 418. On Speaker of the House opposed to Taylor, 434. Objects to publication of the Jackson and Fromentin correspondence, 442. A candidate for the Presidency, 466, 468, 475, 478. His bitterness against Crawford, 497, 514. Against proceedings in Congress and the Speaker, 523, 524. Charges Parker with ridiculing him, 527. Denies complicity with Russell, 538. Consults with the President on Dauphin Island fortifications, 542. Prospects of, for the Presidency, vi. 7. His management

of the War Department, 8. On the Georgia claims, 10-12. Advocates De Neuville's separate article on discriminating duties, 16. Opposes sending Ministers to the South American republics, 24. On Senate's power in military nominations, 34. Relations with; cavillings of his partisans, 42, 43, 244. Advocates an independent newspaper, 47. Arguments of, in favor of admitting the island of Cuba, 70. On the British acquisition of Cuba, 137, 138, 139. Opposes conceding the right of search for slaves, 149. Doubts the author's plan for Convention regulating belligerent rights, 164, 165, 166. Enthusiasm of, for the Greek cause, 173. On the European Congress and South American affairs, 177, 179, 180, 185, 186, 190. On reply to the Emperor of Russia's communications concerning South American affairs and interposition of the Holy Alliance, 200, 205, 206. Opposes movement to blockade Porto Rico and Cuba, 230, 231. On the Massachusetts claim, 232. Coalition between Clay and Jackson, 249, 292, 316, 407, 417. Nominated for the Vice-Presidency by the Harrisburg Convention, 250. Efforts of, to obtain the author's support, 273, 274, 279, 290, 308. Opposes claim of Virginia for interest, 277. Advocates recognition of the Empire of Brazil, 281. Project of coalition between Clinton, the author, and, 293. Opinion of, on the Edwards Memorial proceedings, 301, 304, 306, 361, 370, 394. On signing Acts of Congress, 379. Implicated in the proceedings of Edwards against Crawford, 384. Letter of, to the investigating committee and to D. Webster, 386. The competition of Clay, 447. Relations of, with the author, 480, 486. Advises the President, 485. Letter of, to C. P. Van

Ness, on appointments, 490. Attempts of, to prevent appointment of H. Clay as Secretary of State, 506. His system of opposition to the Administration of the author, 506, 507, 509, 524. Sworn into the office of Vice-President of the United States, 518. Letter to General Scott, vii. 205. Charged with dereliction of duty in the Senate; debates on, 433. Political connection with McLean, viii. 25. Capitol, building of the, 55. Vice-President under Jackson, 96. Violence of his partisans against New England, 195. Leader of the South Carolina dissensions, 237. Course of, relating to Jackson's captures in Florida, 249. (See *Jackson*.) Misunderstanding between Van Buren and, 274. Correspondence with; controversies with Jackson, Crawford, and Southard, 274, 297, 304, 305, 314; pamphlet on, 314, 316, 320, 327. Comments of the press, 324. Interview with, 331, 332. Candidate against Jackson, 333, 337, 358. Compromise with Clay on the Tariff, 424, 425. Resigns the office of Vice-President, 517. In Senate, 517; ix. 155, 162, 218, 224, 226, 232, 516; xi. 113. Speech on the Enforcement bill, 536; Webster's reply, 537. (See *Crowninshield*; *Crawford*; *Wirt*; *Adams*, *J. Q.*; *Eaton*, *J. H.*) Speeches on the Patronage bill, ix. 225; on Mexican Treaty, 282. Combined with Southern Convention, 421. Defends himself from Clay, 505. Letter vindicating his change of party, 505. (See *Persico*.) Leader of the Nullification party, x. 168. Compromise of 1833 with Clay, 443. Speech advising ratification of the Ashburton Treaty, xi. 284. Secretary of State, 527. Senate; report on Census, xii. 29, 36, 61 (see *Census*); on the Oregon question, 228. Calhoun, Mrs. John C., v. 490.

- Calhoun, William B., in the House of Representatives, ix. 19, 402, 538; x. 8, 27, 60; xi. 405.
- California, Russian settlement in, vi. 157.
- Call, General, Delegate from Florida, vi. 438, 468, 515.
- Call, Richard M., Navy Agent at Gibraltar, viii. 62.
- Callao, castle of, besieged by South American republicans, vii. 9.
- Callava, Spanish Commissioner in Florida, imprisoned by Jackson, v. 359. Threatens resistance, 368. On immunities of, as a public Minister, 372, 373, 374, 379. Refusal to produce his credentials, 453.
- Calvin, John, his exposition of the forty-fifth Psalm, iii. 498, 499.
- Calvinistic doctrines of election and regeneration, v. 231.
- Cambreleng, C. C., of New York, in the House of Representatives, vii. 127, 204, 372, 377; ix. 51, 73, 76, 96, 209, 278, 324, 331, 371, 376, 380, 382, 384, 385, 391, 392, 400, 406, 409, 413, 449, 450, 512, 515, 517, 528; x. 6, 27, 28, 74, 97. Efforts of, to induce coalition with Crawford, vi. 236. Opponent of the Adams Administration, vii. 68, 112.
- Cambridge, the Duke of, iii. 16, 405.
- Cambridge, Massachusetts, exhibition at, x. 118, 119; xii. 89. (See *Harvard University*.)
- Camden, Marquis of, iii. 434.
- Camoens's *Lusiad*, Millie's translation of, vi. 529.
- Campbell, Colin, Sir, Governor of Nova Scotia, recalled, x. 354.
- Campbell, G. W., of Tennessee, Senator, iv. 67, 401; v. 131. Manager in the case of Judge Chase, i. 355. Fights a duel, 517. Proposed for the mission to Russia, iv. 72, 76, 78, 80. Instructions to, 407. Dispatches from, v. 18, 24.
- Campbell, John, of South Carolina, in the House of Representatives, viii. 372; ix. 508; x. 8, 29, 158, 186-194, 202, 220, 235, 336, 426, 514; xi. 54, 231, 443, 465, 494, 504, 513; xii. 27, 30, 175.
- Campbell, John W., of Ohio, in the House of Representatives, vii. 71.
- Campbell, Robert B., Consul at the Havanna, secret instructions to, xi. 351, 353.
- Campbell, W. B., of Tennessee, in the House of Representatives, x. 322; xi. 161, 222, 225.
- Campbell, Rev. Mr., vii. 86, 268; viii. 129, 177, 178, 207, 214.
- Campbell, —, United States Commissioner, pecuniary speculations of, vii. 47. Conduct of, criminating Crowell, 87.
- Campenhausen, Baron, Treasurer-General of Russia, ii. 154-156, 160, 215, 233-236. Interviews with, to procure relief for the American vessels detained in Russian ports, 166-168, 194-202, 215, 233-236, 256, 262-264. Letter of, concerning orders to the Commission of Neutral Navigation to release the vessels, 168, 169. Charges American importers with fraud, 181, 194, 195, 263, 264. On Russian trade with the United States; desires money in return for Russian exports; denies that the balance of trade is in favor of Russia, 194-202, 207; American vessels sailing under false papers, 197, 202, 233-236, 257; conduct of France; Continental system of commerce, 236, 237. Protests against the decision of the Commission at Archangel in the case of the *Eliza*, 256. (See *Gourieff*; *Romanzoff*.)
- Campino, Joaquin, Don, Minister Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary from Chili, presented to the President, vii. 467; viii. 107.
- Campuzano, Mr., Minister from Spain, iv. 437.

- Canada, American war in, ii. 439. In danger of invasion, iii. 18, 25. Recaptures on the borders of, v. 352. Authority of Governor of, to surrender fugitive slaves, 358, 400, 449. Disturbances in, ix. 440, 465-467; x. 44. Conversations on condition of, 47, 52. Lord Durham's mission to, 47. Hostility between English and French population of, 47. Discontent with the Home Government, 54, 55. Policy of the United States towards, 54, 55. (See *Dalhousie*; *The Carolina*; *Wilcocke*; *Papineau*; *Bathurst*; *British Government*.)
- Canals and Dykes, works on, i. 114.
- Canandaigua, visit to, xi. 397.
- Cañaz, Antonio José, Envoy Extraordinary from the United Provinces of the Centre of America, arrival and presentation of, vi. 405, 406. On proposal for opening passage between the Atlantic and Pacific, 530. Negotiates treaty, vii. 66.
- Cancrin, Count, Russian Minister of Finance, viii. 425.
- Cane presented to the writer, xii. 15, 182.
- Canning, George, ii. 67, 68, 108; iii. 249, 337; v. 214, 215, 226; vi. 498; vii. 14; viii. 20, 167, 265. Bitterness of, against the United States, iii. 437, 523, 524, 525. Appointed Governor-General of India; Secretary for the Foreign Department, vi. 83. Correspondence concerning mediation with France and Spain, 138. Speeches of, on South America, 154. Proposals of, to R. Rush, to protest against interference of the Holy Alliance between Spain and South America, 177-179, 182, 185, 187, 208. Letters and opinions on, 185, 188, 205. His speech on the Slave-Trade Convention, 311, 321. Letter of congratulation to the author, 534. British Secretary of State, vii. 14. Note of, on the interdiction of trade with West India Colonies, 164, 166, 170, 237. Reply to, 171, 173, 174, 254. Death of, 328. His enmity to the United States, 328. Correspondence read in the Senate, i. 487.
- Canning, Stratford, arrival of, v. 181, 187, 215, 260, 318, 459, 502. Interviews with, 181, 521. For suppression of the slave-trade; right of search; impressment, 181, 184, 189, 193, 214; African squadron, 225; right of search, 232, 447, 449. Failure of the negotiations, 321. On establishing a uniform system of weights and measures, 190-193. European politics, 194, 195, 214, 226. On South Sea settlements of the United States; Columbia River; debate in the House of Representatives; declares projects for new settlements violations of the Convention of 1818; sending out of steamer Ontario; irritated discussion, 243, 260. Recapture of culprit Wilcocke, escaped from Canada and arrested in Vermont; right of, questioned, 351. On delivery of Newfoundland vessel seized for breach of revenue laws, 357, 429, 446, 449. Desires surrender of a British sea-captain guilty of piracy, by the United States authorities; law to deliver foreign criminals, 357, 358, 363, 386. The Boundary Commission under the fifth article of the Treaty of Ghent, 386. Letter and discussion on the affair of Carleton Island, 403-446. Affair of Russia and Turkey, 449, 450. On the boundary at Detroit River; proposal of British Commissioner, 464. Proposals of Commissioners on the Western Boundary, 471. Advances claim of British subjects to lands in Alabama, Mississippi, and the Floridas, 485-487. Recalled, vii. 46. Interviews with, vi. 13, 35, 39, 41, 42, 81, 84, 87, 91, 103, 105, 123, 127, 138, 139, 140, 142, 147.

- 151, 157; vii. 109, 216. Instructed to resume negotiations on the slave-trade and right of search; urges concession, vi. 13, 35, 37, 41, 138, 147, 149. Observations on the French Convention, 38. On the first article of the Treaty of Ghent relating to slaves: reference of, to a third power; disagreement of Commissioners; signing the Convention, 42, 90, 106, 123, 139, 142, 147, 166. West India Colonial trade, restrictions on, 82, 88, 103, 105, 127, 139, 154; notes on, 92, 96. On the fisheries, 151. South American republics, 154. Notes on the slave-trade, 157, 427, 428. On forms of certificates for the exchange of ratification of the Slave Convention; accuses the author of making false imputations, vi. 120, 121. Leave of absence, 147. Departure of, 157. On suppression of the slave-trade, 147. Impressment, 147-153. Author's letter to, on right of search, 149, 151, 345. South American affairs, 154. (See *De Neuville*; *France*; *Slave-Trade*; *Convention*; *Cabinet*; *Northern Boundary Commission*.)
- Canterbury, Archbishop of, iii. 350.
- Canton, vii. 268.
- Canton, the ship, vi. 429.
- Capellen, Baron Van der, iii. 35.
- Capen, Nahum, memorial for copyright law, xi. 489.
- Capital punishment, petition for abolition of, ix. 259; views on, 259.
- Capitol, the, at Washington, D.C., designs for tympanum of, vi. 541, 542, 543; vii. 5, 7, 20, 24. Paintings for, 399; x. 59. Building of the, viii. 55. (See *Persico*.)
- Capo d'Istria, Count, iv. 389; viii. 167, 175, 184, 203.
- Captain of a British fishing-vessel seized for breach of revenue laws; delivery of, not authorized by law, v. 357.
- Captured vessels delivered up by the British Government, v. 391.
- Caraccas, war with, iv. 101; v. 186.
- Caracci's picture of the Lord's Supper, viii. 171.
- Caramalli, Hamet, i. 425-430.
- Carberry, Mr., Mayor of Washington, vi. 223, 398.
- Carleton Island, in the river St. Lawrence, jurisdiction of, v. 392; disputed, 394. Taken from the British in the War of 1812; attached to the State of New York in 1817, 394, 395, 396, 446. (See *Clinton*; *Smyth, C.*)
- Carlsrona, Sweden, ii. 38, 169.
- Carmichael, Hiram, sentenced by Court-martial to be shot; sentence remitted, vii. 540.
- Carnival at Berlin, i. 225.
- Caroline, Queen of England, v. 214, 226, 299. Death of, 412, 416.
- Caroline, the case of the, tried at St. Andrew's, New Brunswick, v. 446; ix. 465, 507; x. 422; xi. 26, 27.
- Carr, John J., tenant on Quincy farm, xii. 82.
- Carroll, Charles, of Carrollton, v. 23; vi. 426, 499; vii. 120, 159, 167; xi. 469.
- Carroll, Daniel, of Duddington, on committee for reception of General La Fayette, vi. 409.
- Carroll, Michael B., a retired Master-Commandant of the Navy, solicits office, vii. 425.
- Carroll, —, in Senate of New York, vii. 360.
- Carroll, Mr., iii. 125, 173.
- Carreras conspirators against the South American Governments, v. 56.
- Carrying trade, v. 128.
- Carson, S. P., of North Carolina, in the House of Representatives, vii. 431; viii. 522, 528; ix. 97.
- Cartel, neutrality of a, ii. 644.
- Carter, Timothy Jarvis, of Maine, in the House of Representatives; death of, ix. 511.
- Carter, William, Master-Commandant, Court-martial in case of, vii. 372. Dis-

- qualified on account of intemperance, 373, 375.
- Carter, William B., of Tennessee, in the House of Representatives, ix. 323; x. 17.
- Carthage, surrender of, iii. 308, 353. Fighting of the Patriots for, v. 187, 241. Establishment of line of packets to, viii. 259.
- Cartwright, Major John, iii. 532, 533.
- Cartwright, Joseph, a colored preacher, purchases freedom of himself and family, x. 264.
- Caruthers, R. L., in the House of Representatives, xi. 186, 194, 215, 220, 235, 327.
- Cary, Mr., of Bridgewater, Mass., vii. 325.
- Cary, Shepard, of Maine, in the House of Representatives, x. 541; xii. 129, 153, 156, 159.
- Carysfort, Earl of, iii. 346.
- Casa Yrujo, Marquis de, Minister from Spain, appeals to the people against the Government, i. 410. Letter of, 410, 414.
- Casamajor, Mr., i. 511.
- Casaux claim, xii. 42, 49.
- Casey, Zadok, of Illinois, in the House of Representatives, x. 16, 19; xi. 3.
- Cass, Lewis, Governor, iii. 312, 330; v. 382, 412; vii. 16, 106, 483. Senator, v. 12, note; xii. 223, 224. Letters of, vi. 191, 530, 532. Dispatches from, announcing hostilities by the Winnebago Indians, vii. 310. Indian Commissioner, viii. 9, 24. Secretary of War, 484; ix. 137; x. 115. Conversations with, 215, 219, 237, 260. Correspondence with France on the slave-trade, xi. 175. The Quintuple Treaty, 175, 243, 338. Controversy with D. Webster, 341, 343, 360.
- Cassilis, Earl of, iii. 309.
- Cassin, Captain, vi. 84.
- Castel-Cicala, Prince, iii. 507.
- Castine, charges against Collector at, vii. 473.
- Castlereagh, Lady, iii. 312, 317.
- Castlereagh, Lord, ii. 68, 432, 439; iii. 8, 21, 22, 30, 44, 174, 190, 214, 231, 252, 312, 313, 314, 346, 368, 369, 419, 421, 431, 434, 471, 473, 481, 491, 513, 527, 528, 554, 556; iv. 334, 402; v. 160, 321. The Russian mediation; letter to J. Russell; conversation with Lord Walpole relating to; on rejection of, ii. 512, 517, 542, 545, 569. Proposes direct negotiations, 569, 578, 591. Changes his opinion on continuing the war with America; advocates peace, iii. 195. Interviews with, 202-205, 231-234, 281-297, 305, 327-331, 343, 346, 353-360, 386-389, 391-404, 422-428, 452-457, 489-491, 517-519, 548-551, 559-561. Speech in the House of Lords in favor of grant to the Duke of Cumberland, 231. Renewal of negotiations for treaty of commerce, 282, 391. Approves of the law preventing impressment; reduction of armaments on the lakes, 283-288, 395-398. Denies the cession of Florida to Great Britain, 289. South American republics, 291; iv. 91, 103. On the capture and sale of slaves by British officers; proposes a joint commission to inquire into, iii. 293-295; iv. 93. Discussions on various subjects, iii. 296, 297. Letter on treaty between the United States and Algiers, 356. Algerine affairs; advocates moderate measures for suppression of the Barbary piracies and the slavery of Christians, 354-360. The West India Colonial trade; regulations affecting American interests, 391-394. The slave-trade; advocates mutual capture and search of slave-vessels by cruisers of all nations, 454, 557; iv. 150, 151, 335, 389. Refuses to interfere in the case of the *Nanina*, iii. 459. Speech on the Catholic question, 522, 523. Presents received by, at the Vienna Congress, 528. Suggests mediation between the

- United States and Spain, 549, 550, 560, 561; iv. 48-50. Libel upon, iii. 562. Dispatch to Sir H. Wellesley, iv. 50, 138. Northwest Boundary, 93. Speech on the Slave-Trade Abolition Treaty with Spain, 95. Proposes additional articles to Convention of 3d July, 1815, 95, 121. Disavows Nicholls's Treaty with the Seminoles, 102. Rivadavia's letter and the Moscow Memoir, 103. Note to the Allied Powers, 137. Reply to Don Carlos refusing to employ force against the South American colonies, 137. Instructions to Sir Charles Bagot, vi. 99.
- Castries, M. de, iii. 154.
- Castro, Perez de, Minister of Foreign Affairs in Spain, v. 106, 228. Dispatches from, 133. Circular on affairs in Naples, 347. Note of, 270.
- Catar, General, letter of, to Lauriston, ii. 527.
- Catechism of Reform, by J. Bentham, 535; remarks on, 535, 537.
- Cathalan, S., Consul at Marseilles, iv. 34.
- Cathcart, Lord, British Ambassador at St. Petersburg, ii. 399-401, 412, 428, 495, 539, 542, 545; iii. 207, 417. Note to Count Nesselrode, ii. 591.
- Cathcart, Mr., his claim, iv. 426; v. 163.
- Cathedral church of St. Alexander Newsky, magnificence of, ii. 70.
- Catherine the Second, Empress of Russia, i. 12. Edict of, prohibiting intercourse with China, ii. 153, 245. Refuses safe-conduct to Ledyard, viii. 310.
- Catherine, Grand Duchess, fête of, ii. 74, 89. Ambition of, 93, 188, 255, 285, 407.
- Catholic question, debates on, iii. 522-524.
- Catlet, Mr., vi. 288.
- Catlin, George H., of Connecticut, in the House of Representatives, xi. 507.
- Caton, Miss, iii. 387.
- Caton, Louisa, iii. 387, 507, 508.
- Catron, Judge, x. 431.
- Caucus, x. 523, 524; xi. 299, 443, 504. For designating a Presidential candidate, v. 191, 226, 235, 236, 258; x. 145, 148, 155. Policy of the States regarding, v. 231. Nomination of President by, adverse to the sentiment of the nation, 237, 244. For Governor in New York, 282, 284, 290.
- Caulaincourt, A. A. L., Duc de Vicence, ii. 49. Ordered to seize the Duc d'Enghien, 164. Resentment of Russian nobility against; exonerated by the Emperor, 165, 513. (See *Duc de Vicence; French Ambassador.*)
- Causin, John M. S., of Maryland, in the House of Representatives, xi. 517; xii. 11, 148, 153.
- Causten, James H., memorial for forfeiting charter of the Bank of the Metropolis, ix. 397, 404.
- Causten, John, the author's footman, injured by accident to the carriage, x. 425.
- Cayley, —, of St. Petersburg, deposition of, in the case of Harris *versus* Lewis, vi. 419, 420.
- Cazes, M., French Minister of Police, iii. 436.
- Censeur, the, iii. 188.
- Census, of the Russian Empire, ii. 248. Of the United States, ii. 283. Taking of the fourth, v. 125, 130, 134, 147, 155, 264. Of 1810, published in the National Intelligencer, 130, 148; included household manufactures, 134. Account to be taken of manufactures, 134. Importance of, 134. To be taken every ten years, 134. How enumerated, 134, 135; record of the enumeration, 148. Of 1800, 487. Returns, x. 494. Of 1840, xi. 520. Inquiry into errors of, xii. 22, 23. Conversation concerning, 29, 63.
- Central America, Republic of, commercial treaty with, vii. 66, 82. Sends Plenipotentiary to Panama Congress,

97. Civil war in; republic dissolved, viii. 42.
- Cercle Diplomatique, iii. 151.
- Ceremonials, Court, ii. 50, 55-61.
- Cerisier, A. M., History of the United Provinces written by, i. 85. A French Republican; partiality of his opinions, 86.
- Certificates of election, v. 311; ix. 366.
- Certificates of origin from French Consuls; their authenticity questioned; proved to be original, ii. 157, 175, 176, 201, 224-227, 236; vi. 469. Russian, ii. 169, 195, 236, 256. Correspondence concerning, 257.
- Cevallos, Prime Minister of Spain, iii. 462.
- Chabot, M., i. 139.
- Chace, Captain, of Baltimore, privateer, prosecution of, iv. 520.
- Chagres. (See *Carthagena*.)
- Chalmers's Collection of Opinions of Eminent Lawyers, vi. 51.
- Chamber of Commerce at Philadelphia, vii. 66, 75.
- Chamber of Deputies, iii. 172.
- Chambers, Colonel, vii. 373; viii. 267.
- Chambers, E. F., Senator from Maryland, speech of, on power of the President to enforce order in the Senate, vii. 433. On mission to England, 517.
- Chambers, George, in Congress, ix. 88, 89, 103, 190, 280.
- Chambord, Comte de. (See *Bordeaux, Duc de*.)
- Champagny, J. B., Duc de Cadore, ii. 83. Letter of, 64, 245.
- Champions of the North, their contest with the Slave party, v. 308.
- Champlain, Lake, new forts on, thrown within the British line, iv. 145. Proposal for survey of, x. 3.
- Chancellor, the Lord, of England, iii. 374, 554.
- Chandler, John, of Maine, Senator, vii. 389, 409. Conversation with, concerning the appointment of William P. Preble; arbitration in Northeastern Boundary question, 495, 504. Appointed Collector at Portland, viii. 112.
- Changuion, Mr., iii. 261.
- Channing, Henry, letter of, ix. 265. Pamphlets, on the dangers of foreign immigration; in reply to one by Dr. W. E. Channing, 265.
- Channing, William E., Rev., his reputation as a preacher and writer, ix. 265. Views on slavery, 265; pamphlet on, 266, 268. Letter to, 431. Letter of, to H. Clay, on the Texas question, 431. Conversation with, on Abolitionism, x. 39-42. A Whig; changes party, 40. Residence in Virginia, 41. Letter to J. Phillips in refutation of Clay's anti-Abolition speech, 123. Labors of, in the Anti-Slavery cause, xi. 258.
- Chapelle, iv. 76.
- Chapin, Graham H., ix. 281.
- Chapin, Dr. Stephen, President of the Columbia College, conversation with, on the Smithsonian bequest, x. 23; seeks aid from, 89.
- Chapman, B. B., delegate from Iowa, x. 279.
- Chapman, Dr. Nathaniel, vii. 520, 522; viii. 426.
- Chapman, R., of Alabama, in the House of Representatives, ix. 400, 550; x. 17, 333; xii. 36, 139, 156.
- Chappell, Abraham H., of Georgia, in the House of Representatives, xi. 507; xii. 146.
- Charles, Arch-Duke, of Austria, ii. 93.
- Charles Augustus, Crown Prince of Sweden, death of, ii. 133.
- Charles the Fourth, of Spain, iii. 309; iv. 328.
- Charles the Tenth, King of France, vi. 449, 452; viii. 256, 342.
- Charles, Mr., paints the author's portrait, x. 112, 116.
- Charleston, South Carolina, removal of custom-house officers at, vii. 163. Elections in, viii. 238. Memorial

- from, ix. 97. Mobs seize the mails, 254, 255.
- Charleston City Gazette, attacks upon the author signed "Sagittarius," published in, v. 319.
- Charleston Courier, vi. 49.
- Charleston Mercury, vii. 40; viii. 459.
- Charlestown, i. 5. Reception of the author and solemnity on occasion of decease of J. Adams and T. Jefferson, vii. 138. Dry-docks at, 360. Destruction of convent at, ix. 169, 253.
- Charlotte of Wales, Princess, marriage of, iii. 312, 339, 342, 350, 351, 360, 435, 473.
- Chase, Captain, of the General Santander, vi. 377, 385.
- Chase, Dudley, of Vermont, Senator, vi. 466. Solicits office of Judge of the Orphans' Court, vii. 239.
- Chase, Jeremiah, Chief Justice of Maryland, i. 348.
- Chase, Samuel, Judge, inquiry into official conduct of, i. 284. Impeachment of, 309, 310, 318-328, 336; his answer, 345-348; examination of witnesses, 350, 353; Mr. Harper's defence of, 352-357; Hopkinson's, 356; Key's, 356; Lee's, 356; Martin's, 357; vote on admission of witnesses, 358; managers' speeches, 359; debates on manner of putting the question on the articles of impeachment, 361, 362; vote on, 363. Acquittal of, 364. A party prosecution, 370. Payment of witnesses in case of, 310, 439. Influence of, on the Constitution; his activity during the Revolution; his turbulent temper; twice impeached; Judge of the Supreme Court of the United States; decision of, on common law, v. 213, 214.
- Chassériau, vi. 396.
- Chateaubriand, F. A., Viscount, discourse of, on admission into the French Academy, ii. 292. His "Itinéraire," 322, 323. Correspondence with Count de Menou, vi. 158, 162.
- Chatham, Earl of. (See *William Pitt*.)
- Châtre, Count de la, iii. 234, 261, 299, 320, 321, 339, 415, 436.
- Chattahoochie River, as boundary of the Creek Indian lands, vii. 66, 69, 73, 79, 108. (See *Creeks; Boundary Lines*.)
- Chatterton, i. 134.
- Chaumont, M. Le Ray de, iii. 154; vi. 513, 514.
- Chauncey, Elihu, head of Philadelphia deputation on the petition for Bank of the United States, ix. 93. (See *Philadelphia; Bank*, etc.)
- Chauncey, Isaac, Commodore, Commissioner with Mr. Shaler to settle Algerine affairs, iii. 455, 472.
- Chauncey, The, iii. 13.
- Chaytor, Captain, of the Santissima Trinidad, vi. 385.
- Cherry, G. W., conversation with, on the colonization project, ix. 437. (See *Colonization Society*.)
- Chesapeake, the frigate, attacked by the Leopard, i. 468; popular indignation at, 469; ii. 499, 500.
- Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, vii. 159, 266; ix. 143. Adverse opinions on, 190, 191, 195. Subscriptions to, 536. Bill for, passes the Senate, viii. 6. Put into operation, 23. Choice of officers for, 23, 26, 32, 35, 37. Rivalry of the Baltimore and Ohio Railway, 32, 33. Meeting of the officers, 38, 48, 73. Ceremony of breaking ground for, 45, 48, 49; addresses by the author and others, 49. Conflicting interests, 54, 73. Negotiation of loan, 112, 158. (See *Rush, R.; Cabinet*.)
- Chesapeake Bay, x. 3 (see *Great Lakes*), 12.
- Chester, Robert, iii. 213, 316, 317, 318, 371, 381, 416, 527, 543.
- Chetwood, William, of New Jersey, in the House of Representatives, ix. 315.
- Chevagnes, Captain, of the Sensible, ii. 4.

- Chevallé, Mr., iv. 39, 74.
 Cheverus, Rev. Father, ix. 35.
 Cheves, Langdon, viii. 410. President of the Bank of the United States, iv. 324, 341, 344. Raises money for paying the Louisiana Loan, v. 175. Resigns, vi. 121. Commissioner of the Slave Indemnity Convention, 121, 270; vii. 75, 201, 246, 309; viii. 58; resigns, 62. Eulogizes Crawford, vi. 384. Letter of, xii. 90, 91.
 Chicot, Auguste, application for pardon of, vii. 498.
 Chief Justice of the United States, influence of the office of, ix. 243, 251. Effect of appointment by Andrew Jackson, 243.
 Chiegeson, Governor of Christiansand, ii. 24.
 Child, David Lee, conversation with, xi. 339, 340. Pamphlet on the Texan Revolution, 355.
 Child Harold, viii. 265.
 Chili, Government of, gives authority to Don Aguirre for the purchase of warlike stores, iv. 14, 123. Acts in concert with Colombia, v. 114. Revolution in, vi. 111. (See *South America; Aguirre*.)
 Childs, Henry H., Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts, xi. 404.
 Chilton, Samuel, of Virginia, in Congress, xi. 507.
 Chilton, Thomas, of Kentucky, in the House of Representatives, vii. 414, 447; ix. 51, 55, 78, 121, 198, 205, 212.
 China, question of a mission to, considered, x. 444, 445; xi. 167, 290. War with Great Britain; mediation proposed, x. 188, 445; xi. 30. Commercial relations with, 300.
 Chinese, religion of the, xii. 227.
 Chinese Governor, ii. 153.
 Chinn, Joseph W., of Louisiana, in the House of Representatives, ix. 103; x. 181, 183, 186, 200, 302.
 Chittenden, Martin, of New York, in the House of Representatives, x. 541.
 Chitty, Joseph, iii. 533, 563. Works of, vi. 52.
 Choate, Rufus, of Massachusetts, in the House of Representatives, viii. 509, 539; ix. 115. Senator, xi. 77, 260, 518.
 Choiseul, Duc de, iii. 152.
 Chouteau, iv. 258.
 Chrestomathia, by Jeremy Bentham, iii. 511.
 Christian Church in New England, x. 345.
 Christian's Blackstone, v. 449.
 Christianity, a part of the common law of England, contested by Jefferson, viii. 291.
 Christiansand, Norway, ii. 21, 22.
 Christie, Mr., vii. 493.
 Christmas Day, v. 219; thoughts upon, xii. 132.
 Christophe and Pétion, of St. Domingo, iv. 12.
 Chronicle, the, libellous article in, against R. M. Whitney, ix. 345.
 Church, Thomas, pensioner, ix. 260.
 Church and Hubbard, case of, i. 296, 297; v. 418.
 Church and State, separation of, in Holland, i. 172.
 Church of England, threatened by reform, viii. 269.
 Churches, Russian, music of, ii. 60, 70; baptismal services of, and English, 216, 305; rule of, for fixing Easter, 450, 451, 453. In Washington, iv. 425.
 Churchmen, English, iii. 260.
 Cicero, his works, translations of, by Olivet and Regnier Desmarais, ii. 454-456, 461, 462; iv. 362. The Epistles of, vii. 475. Quotation from, xii. 107. Melmoth's translation of, vii. 475. Philippics of, viii. 114-124, 127, 129, 133-135.
 Cilley, Jonathan, of Maine, in the House of Representatives, ix. 463, 466, 475.

- Conversation with, on the North-eastern Boundary bill, 469. Killed in a duel with W. T. Graves, 497.
- Cincinnati, petition of citizens in favor of the United States Bank, ix. 80. Journey to; reception, xi. 410-441; oration on laying the corner-stone of an observatory, 426; ceremonies and festivities, 426-430.
- Cincinnati Astronomical Society, invitation from, to deliver an oration, xi. 394.
- Cincinnati Repealers, correspondence in defence of slavery, x. 460. (See *Irish Repeal Association*.)
- Cincinnati, the Society of the, vii. 335, 338.
- Circassian Deputies at Peterhof fête, ii. 287.
- Circular note from the Secretary of the Treasury to the Collectors of the Customs, vi. 171. (See *Prizes*.)
- Citizens of the United States, claims of, on Spain, how to be adjusted, iv. 152; vi. 433.
- City Gazette, article in, on Congressional caucus, and project of electing both candidates from slave-holding States, v. 61. (See *Washington City Gazette*.)
- Civil authority, separation of, from the military, v. 369.
- Claiborne, J. F. H., in the House of Representatives, viii. 461; ix. 318. Election of, contested, 365, 388, 389, 470, 486. (See *Gholson*.)
- Claiborne, W. C. C., Governor of the Territory of Orleans, i. 315, 321.
- Clairfait, General, i. 94.
- Clapp, Asa, a sufferer by French spoliations, vi. 501.
- Clarence, Duke of, iii. 216, 324.
- Clark, Aaron, Mayor of New York, ix. 496.
- Clark, Asahel, disavows his connection with intrigues of Clinton party, iv. 63.
- Clark, James, of Kentucky, in the House of Representatives, vii. 386, 466.
- Clark, Robert, of Monroe, Michigan, letter asking the author's opinion upon proceedings attending admission of Michigan into the Union, ix. 341.
- Clark, Satterlee, Major, iv. 141; vii. 235; viii. 191, 192. Charges against Colonel Towson, vii. 230; demands his arrest, 230. Dismissed as a defaulter, 395, 407.
- Clark, Susan B., vii. 124, 132.
- Clark, William, of Pennsylvania, appointed Treasurer of the United States, vii. 441, 443, 529; viii. 25, 41, 51. Concerning the Chief Clerk, 68. Claim for compensation as Indian Agent, 97.
- Clark, Mr., conversation with, on Anti-Masonic nomination for Governor, ix. 11.
- Clarke, George, General, iv. 240, 330.
- Clarke, G. J. F., Spanish Consular Agent at St. Mary's, Florida, v. 196, 229. Letters of, to Colonel James Forbes, 196, 197, 229, 418, 420.
- Clarke, John, Governor of Georgia, v. 165, 166; vii. 52. Urges treaties with the Creeks and Cherokees, v. 18, 22. Enemy of Crawford, 21, 22, 211; pamphlet against him, 185, 211, 299. Letter on introduction of slaves into Georgia; Creek Agency, vi. 335, 336.
- Clarke, John C., in the House of Representatives, x. 519; xi. 325, 339.
- Clarke, Matthew St. Clair, Clerk of the House of Representatives, vi. 302; vii. 88, 305; viii. 431, 432; ix. 42; x. 49, 50, 470; xi. 33.
- Clarke, Robert, v. 207.
- Clarke, William, of Pennsylvania, in the House of Representatives, ix. 114, 390, 407.
- Clarke, Mr., communicates suspicions of connivance on British and American Boundary Commission, v. 457.
- Clarkson, General, iv. 4.
- Clarkson, Thomas, address to Lord Aberdeen in behalf of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, xi. 407.

- Clary, Prince, garden of, i. 230. Excursion with, 231.
- Classical studies, i. 169, 174. Important to divines, viii. 126, 243, 248.
- Classics, choice editions of, ii. 76.
- Clay, C. C., of Alabama, in the House of Representatives, viii. 467, 469, 509, 512, 531; ix. 50, 78, 113.
- Clay, Cassius M., xii. 77.
- Clay, Henry, of Kentucky, in Senate, i. 444. Commissioner at Ghent, ii. 583, 637, 649; iii. 4, 8, 14, 23, 31, 37, 48, 49, 118, 155, 158; iv. 10, 15, 212, 226, 240, 281, 287, 306; v. 106, 108, 109, 131, 268, 286, 311, 326, 495, 496; vi. 7, 40, 49, 114, 138, 217, 223, 258, 364, 440, 454, 467, 526, 528, 538, 542; vii. 59, 69, 71, 85, 110, 112, 171, 191, 194, 208, 216, 219, 232, 233, 238, 267, 291, 348, 354, 424, 525, 540, 543. Secretary of State, viii. 22, 31, 81, 84, 89, 99, 110, 166, 231, 232, 358, 468, 521; ix. 162, 163, 263, 320, 361; x. 302, 387; xi. 4, 409; xii. 16, 20, 45, 138. Appointed Commissioner to treat for peace with Great Britain, ii. 583, 637, 649. Negotiations at Ghent, iii. 3-144; objects to ceding the right of navigation of the Mississippi, 60, 62-65, 71-77; advocates continuance of the war, 101; urges rejection of British demands on the islands of Passamaquoddy Bay and the fisheries, 113, 115, 116. Departure for England, 189. Commissioner to treat for Commercial Convention with Great Britain, 201-249; the East India trade, advocates an article limiting, 211, 219, 226, 227, 229, 236; departure of, 249. In the House of Representatives, favors the South American insurgents; censures course of the Executive; moves for appropriation for Minister to; advocates recognition of, iv. 11, 15, 28, 30, 40, 61, 67; v. 111, 118, 264, 268, 494; vi. 26, 197, 224, 233. Relations of, with the author, iv. 61, 62, 64, 119, 131, 212; v. 90, 305, 325; vi. 49, 58, 116, 258, 260, 465, 469. Candidate for the Presidency, iv. 62. Opponent of the Monroe Administration, 63, 66, 67, 70, 77, 471; v. 52, 53, 118, 200; vi. 258, 260. Declines the Secretaryship of War, iv. 70, 73. Speaker of the House, 174; v. 202. Opposes Jackson on the Florida War; refutes his charges, iv. 224, 243; vi. 483; vii. 379, 380, 382, 392; viii. 33. Leader of Kentucky politics, iv. 228, 229; viii. 375. Champion of Southern interests, iv. 262. On the admission of Missouri to the Union, 526, 528; v. 277, 301, 307. Opposes the Florida Treaty with Spain, 25, 52, 53, 109, 285, 290. A candidate for the Vice-Presidency, 58, 121. Remarks on, as a politician, 59, 325, 326. Conversation with, on politics, 323-325; vi. 483; ix. 445. Claims outfit for negotiating the Commercial Convention of 3d July, 1815, v. 311, 323, 329. Commissioner of the Court in the suit of *Harris vs. Lewis*, 323. Insists upon retaining the right of navigation of the Mississippi at Ghent; letter relating to, and the author's reply, 356; vi. 116, 117, 263. His position in the controversy with J. Russell; instigates the attacks on the writer, 44, 49, 58, 447. Again candidate for the Presidency, 239, 241, 250, 273, 284, 315, 365, 443, 446, 464; vii. 4; viii. 86, 233, 236, 254, 267, 301, 358, 428, 437, 535; compromise with Calhoun, ix. 46, 236; x. 77, 116, 352. Quarrel with G. Kremer, vi. 484-509, 513, 515. Secretary of State, 505; viii. 103. Opposition to his appointment, vi. 506-511, 513, 515, 524, 525. Conversation with, 523, 524. His health fails, 533; vii. 52, 55, 115, 439, 519, 520, 541; viii. 7, 32. Advocates the Panama Congress, vi. 536, 542; vii. 107, 115. Death of his daughters, 46, 51. Urges claims on

- France; recommends reprisals, 55, 59-61. Concludes Treaty with Guatemala, 71. Notes of, urging suspension of expeditions against Cuba, 95, 96. Relations of, with P. S. Markley, 380. Letters of General La Fayette and others in defence of, 381. His reply to Chairman of the Retrenchment Committee, 450, 454. Interview with the Senators from Maine relating to appointment of agents on the Northeastern Boundary question, 460; correspondence on, 466, 471; interview with Mr. Vaughan on, 487; with Baron Krudener, 487; Stackelberg, 487. Letter of, to Mr. Blair, 461. Conversations with, on subject of the mission to England, 468, 483, 525, 543. Interview with Baron Stackelberg relating to the Norwegian regulation of tonnage duties, 495. On the Prussian Treaty, 515, 516, 517, 519. On the arbitration of the Northeastern Boundary question, 515. Correspondence of, with the Ministers of Great Britain and the Netherlands, 160, 173. On the Northeastern boundary, 267, 347, 351, 454, 478; selection of arbitrator, 428, 430, 440, 442. Louisiana Convention claim, 267. A candidate for the Vice-Presidency, 351, 352. Letter to Mr. Vaughan demanding delivery of Drummond's Island, viii. 29. Censures conduct of Postmaster-General, 32, 33. Note to W. Vaughan on impressment of seamen, 83. Receives a testimonial from the Emperor of Russia, 176. In the United States Senate, 428; xi. 119. On the tariff, viii. 443, 445, 466, 500, 524. Conversation with, on the Apportionment bill, 476. Visits Boston, ix. 25. Speeches and resolutions in the Senate, 57, 59, 60, 62, 68, 87, 155, 291, 369; x. 442, 493, 536; xi. 4, 119. Reply to Calhoun's attack, ix. 505, 506. Denounces Southern Nullification, 506. Letter on annexation of Texas, xii. 18. Nominated for the Presidency, 19, 21, 26.
- Clayton, A. S., of Georgia, in the House of Representatives, his speech on the Post-Office Investigation, viii. 340, 469, 471, 481, 487, 488, 509, 523, 528; ix. 54, 83, 107, 130, 148, 190, 212.
- Clayton, J. M., Senator, of Delaware, viii. 306, 334. Vindicates character of Mr. Bayard in the Senate, 187, 200. On removals from office, 191. Eloquent speech, 213. (See *President*.)
- Clearance of armed merchant-vessels, Act to regulate, i. 339, 340; debates on, 346, 347.
- Clemente, Lino de, General, iv. 223, 472. Arrested for complicity in the McGregor expedition; Governor of the island of Margarita, v. 50.
- Clements, Mr., iii. 208.
- Clergy, remarks on the, ix. 543.
- Clerk of the House, x. 330.
- Clerk hire, laws regulating, viii. 41. (See *Clerks*.)
- Clerks, iv. 9, 26. Employed in the Department of State, salaries of, v. 239. Number of, allowed by Congress, 240; vi. 530. Exempted from militia duty, 532. Memorial to Congress praying for increase of salary, x. 66, 67.
- Cleveland, reception and address at, xi. 417, 418.
- Clevenger, S. L. V., sculptor, takes bust of the author, ix. 467.
- Clifford, Nathan, of Maine, in the House of Representatives, x. 189, 273, 320, 330, 505, 506, 534; xi. 144, 147, 295. Speech on contested elections, 189-191.
- Clingman, T. L., of North Carolina, in the House of Representatives, xi. 477; xii. 129, 141, 142. Duel with Yancey, 148.
- Clintock's disclosures, v. 150-152.
- Clinton, De Witt, i. 265, 266, 297, 512;

- iv. 4, 62, 64, 198, 324, 331, 359-361, 471, 517; v. 37, 58, 320; vi. 187, 227, 292-294, 298, 302, 440, 443, 510, 512; vii. 148, 391, 413; viii. 174, 424. Governor of New York; message to the Legislature, v. 265, 266. Efforts to secure the Presidency, 298. Letter on the jurisdiction of Carleton Island, disputed by the Canadian authorities; threatens use of armed force, 392, 394, 403; letters concerning, 403, 404. On the electoral vote in New York, vi. 340, 408. Favors Andrew Jackson, 448, 470. Mission to Great Britain, 521. Hostile to the Administration, 531; vii. 146. Cautious policy of, 170, 171. Re-chosen Governor, 177, 181. Change of policy; makes overtures to the author, 184, 186, 203. Abandoned by his party, 230, 388. His coalition with Van Buren, 370. Change of public opinion in favor of, 383. Speech on the disunion project of 1804, viii. 118, 146.
- Clinton, George, Vice-President, i. 351, 373; v. 221; vi. 68; vii. 64, 438.
- Clinton, James G., of New York, in the House of Representatives, xi. 544, 545.
- Clowney, W. K., of South Carolina, in the House of Representatives, ix. 152; x. 100.
- Coal, petition for repeal of duty on, ix. 318, 321.
- Coast Survey, vii. 119, 506; x. 339, 485.
- Cobb, David, i. 251.
- Cobb, Howell, of Georgia, in the House of Representatives, v. 62, 236; vi. 255, 262, 340, 355, 476; xi. 465; xii. 32, 42, 151, 270. Resolutions of, against Jackson, 166. On the Indian Treaty, 166.
- Cobb, T. W., of Georgia, Senator, vii. 232, 271, 272. On the Georgia controversy, 92.
- Cobbett, William, iii. 431. His change of politics, 496.
- Cochran, —, ii. 133.
- Cochrane, Lord, proclamation of, encouraging negro revolt, iii. 26, 30, 43-45, 92, 559. Declaration of, 57, 258. In the House of Commons, 472, 534. Speech at a public meeting in Westminster Palace Yard, 488. Competency as a witness, Sir William Scott's judgment upon, 516, 525, 526.
- Cochuita, inhabitants of, proclaim their independence, xi. 368.
- Cockburn, Admiral, refuses to grant a cartel, iii. 43, 44; v. 159.
- Cocke, John, of Tennessee, in the House of Representatives, v. 326, 490, 519. Moves for committee to examine the Departments, 490. Investigation into the affairs of Colonel Lane and J. Monroe, vi. 287. Charge of embezzlement against, 288. Attack of, on J. Monroe, 340. Letter of, to W. Plumer, 342.
- Cocke, William, i. 364.
- Code of Levitical law, viii. 536.
- Codex Juris Gentium of Wencelius, viii. 18.
- Codman, John, Dr., viii. 365; ix. 163; xii. 108.
- Coffee, John, death of, ix. 318.
- Coffin, Isaac, Sir, an Admiral in the British service, vii. 146.
- Coffin, Peleg, i. 250.
- Cogswell, Pearson, commissioned Marshal of New Hampshire, vi. 306.
- Cohens *vs.* Virginia, mandamus in case of, v. 364.
- Coins, currency, and exchange, enquiries into, iv. 402. Russian, viii. 425. Bill for regulating silver, ix. 135.
- Coke, Richard, duel with H. A. Wise, ix. 200.
- Colburn, Joshua, viii. 392.
- Colburn, Zerah, the computer, iii. 164, 186, 559.
- Coles, Edward, vi. 349; ix. 80. Governor of Illinois, vii. 16.
- Coles, T., Collector at Providence, Rhode Island, vi. 21.

- Coles, Walter, of Virginia, in the House of Representatives, ix. 284; x. 411; xi. 16.
- Colgate, William, petitions for repeal of duty on starch, x. 97.
- Collamer, Jacob, of Vermont, in the House of Representatives, xi. 505; xii. 20.
- Collection Law of 2d March, 1799, iv. 345, 504; v. 389.
- Collector, at Liverpool, refuses entry to American vessels, iii. 347, 360. At Baltimore, letter from, to Mr. Crawford, iv. 348; order to, for restoration of French property piratically captured, 349. Of Kingston, Upper Canada, seizure of tobacco by, at Carleton Island, v. 394, 395, 446 (see *Carleton Island*). Of Savannah, 151; owner of a privateer, 151; guilty transactions of, 151, 152; false entries authorized by, 151.
- Collectors of Customs, xii. 38; instructions to, with regard to interdiction of Colonial trade, vii. 238, 240; ix. 136, 137. Of ports, vii. 163.
- Collier, Sir George, letter of, on the slave-trade, v. 447, 460.
- Collier, John A., of New York, in the House of Representatives; speech on the bank system of New York, viii. 493, 513.
- Collingwood, Lord, ii. 107.
- Collins, Ode of, i. 6; ix. 349.
- Colombe, M. de la, i. 32. On claim for Colonial produce, v. 310.
- Colombia, republic of, v. 49, 114, 139; vii. 10. On appointment of Minister to, vi. 24. On treaty of commerce with, 24, 27, 219, 382; vii. 14, 72. Spanish party gaining ground in, vi. 110. Acknowledgment of the independence of, 144. Treaty of, with Peru, 218; with Chili and Buenos Ayres, 219. Resists the Holy Alliance, 221. Bound by Treaty of Spain, 382. France offers terms of recognition; refused, 396, 399. Claims, vii. 24, 29. Sends Minister to Panama Congress, 97, note. On appointment of American Minister to, 223, 483, 496. Bolivar's pretensions, viii. 190. Disturbances, 461, 496. Dissolution of the, ix. 143. (See *Bolivar; Forsyth; Zea; Cuba.*)
- Colombian Privateering Ordinance, vi. 382. Authorizes fitting out of privateers by foreigners, 384, 385.
- Colombians, the, in possession of Carthagena, v. 187.
- Colonial trade, ii. 83. Production of articles for the, not confined to English Colonies, 83, 175. Bill in Senate, vii. 231, 232, 234. Historical review of, 254, 256. Regulations of, viii. 460; ix. 67. (See *British Colonies.*)
- Colonization, modern system of, condemned, vi. 104.
- Colonization Society, iv. 61. Object of; persons engaged in, apply for purchase of land by Government; refused, 292-294, 355. Opinion of, 354. Resolution of Virginia Legislature on, 354, 355. Favored by Jefferson, 355. Deputies from, 355. Efforts of, to obtain funds under Slave-Trade Act, 475. Colony of, in Africa, 476; vi. 140, 363; viii. 309; ix. 257, 437.
- Colorado, the river, v. 82.
- Colored freemen, selling of, for jail-fees, petition against, x. 249.
- Colored mariners, imprisonment of, x. 9.
- Colored persons, their reception as witnesses in courts of law, 308, 344, 376. Motion to prevent enlistment of, in the army, 333. (See *House*, etc.)
- Colored preacher, vii. 228.
- Colquitt, Walter T., of Georgia, in the House of Representatives, x. 197, 315; xi. 143, 240. Senator, xi. 459. As a preacher, x. 322.
- Coltman, —, implicated in conspiracy against Poindexter, ix. 226; suborns witnesses, 229. (See *Jackson, A.*)

- Colton, Calvin, author of *Life of Henry Clay*, xii. 169, 207.
- Colt's repeating fire-arm, exhibition of, x. 425.
- Columbia College. (See *Columbian Institute*.)
- Columbia, District of, petitions for abolition of slavery in, ix. 49. On recession of, to States, x. 93. (See *Slavery; House*, etc.)
- Columbia River, expedition to take possession of, iv. 93. Settlement at the mouth of the, v. 238, 260; ix. 535. Delivered up by the British, v. 247, 261. Measures for sending men and money to, vi. 239, 250, 428. Question of, not included in the Ashburton Treaty, xi. 219.
- Columbia Typographical Society, anniversary supper, xii. 141.
- Columbian College, embarrassments of; application for aid from the Smithsonian bequest, x. 89. (See *Chapin, Dr.*; *Columbian Institute*.)
- Columbian Institute, vi. 458; viii. 335; ix. 34. Addresses delivered to, by Dr. Watkins, vii. 80; by S. L. Southard, 393. Commencement at, 84, 214. Discourse on the character of J. Adams, delivered by Judge Cranch, 240. Devices for seal for, 443. Anniversary address by E. Everett, viii. 171. Extends invitation to the author, 253.
- Columbus, Ohio, visit to, xi. 422, 423.
- Columbus, the, a frigate, launch of, iv. 280.
- Colver, Mr., xi. 254.
- Colvin, John B., v. 130, 134, 392. Dismissal of, from Department of State; hostility of, to the author, vi. 94. Attacks the President in the Washington Gazette, 288.
- Comegys, —, bearer of electoral votes from Delaware, viii. 80.
- Comet and Encomium, the, vessels paid for by British Government, xi. 318. (See *Enterprise*.)
- Commandeur de Maisonneuve (of Malta), i. 204.
- Commerce, Treaty of, with England, i. 47, 48, 61, 162; Lord Loughborough's article on, 50; with Prussia, 197, 198, 199, 208, 218, 226, 227. In Holland, 86. Council of, 91. Depredations on American, 147, 151. Seizure of vessels laden with provisions, 152-162. How to maintain a just system of, ii. 52. Course pursued by England with relation to; by France, 51, 52, 65, 82. American, with Russia; increase of; injured by the Danes, 52, 53, 65-67, 136, 154, 155, 169, 221. Distressed state of, 82, 85, 209; iv. 349, 498. Injurious effects of the Continental system, ii. 84-87, 91, 97, 145, 176. English, 145-176. Policy of Europe towards the United States regarding, 107, 180. Direct, to be protected, 147. American, favored by Russia, 226, 227. With Denmark, 227. Oppressive measures of France against, 227. Continental system of, article on, in the *Moniteur*, 236, 237. Prohibited articles to be destroyed, 276. "The chain of human association," 336. Necessity of, 364. Articles of contraband, 437, 438. Injurious effect of the Convention and of regulations of the British Government; negotiations proposed, discussed, and declined by Great Britain, iii. 389, 391-394, 422-424. British Colonial, in the West Indies, 393, 492; prohibitions on, 495, 498, 503; v. 39-42. Petition for removal of British restrictions on, 463; effect of, on their own islands, vii. 429. British restrictions on, in Spain, iv. 49. Restrictions on, in French Colonies, 160. With Russia; with France, 492, 498. Laws regulating; Navigation Act; French tariff, v. 40-43, 152. Proposals for treaty of, with South American States, 115; vi. 218, 219, 498; vii. 14. Depreda-

- tions on Portuguese, v. 171. With the republic of Colombia, 188. French, injured by seizure of the Apollon and other vessels in the St. Mary's River, 296, 297. Ministers to obtain information regarding, 167. South American, 325. Treaty of, with France, 340, 342-347, 427. With China and India, 343; x. 186. System of, reviewed, v. 403, 404, 427. Foreign shipping employed in, 530. Treaty of, with Sweden, vi. 32, 219; vii. 428. With Denmark, vi. 514.
- With the island of Cuba, vii. 10. Right of interdicting, questionable, 174. Treaty of, with the Hanseatic cities, 348, 357, 399; viii. 22. With Turkey, vii. 463; viii. 6. Treaty of, with Prussia, vii. 495, 499, 516. Measures for protection of, in the East Indian seas, viii. 19. Treaty of, with Austria, 73; with Portugal, 153. Power of Congress to regulate, 308. (See *Trade; United States.*)
- Commerce, the, ii. 289. (See *The Hector.*)
- Commercial Advertiser, viii. 393.
- Commissaries, French and British, vi. 20.
- Commission for neutral navigation at Archangel, ii. 105, 144, 166, 169, 202, 206, 208, 215, 235, 391. Of 1784, for treaty of commerce with Great Britain, viii. 302. On French and Neapolitan claims, ix. 135. (See *Treaties.*)
- Commissions, iv. 95, 160, 235; v. 155, 190, 292, 308, 309, 456, 464. Privateering, sent by Government of Buenos Ayres, iv. 44, 45; v. 77. Joint, distinction between, and Courts of Admiralty, 151. On American claims on Spain, 152, 252.
- Commissioner of Pensions, salary of, x. 222, 278.
- Commissioners, in Holland, for visitation of letters, i. 76. Lords of Appeals in England, 135, 147, 150, 151, 159. To negotiate peace with England under Russian mediation, ii. 474, 478, 479, 481, 491; meetings and negotiations, 493-602; historical note, 501, 506, 510, 520; powers of, limited to mediation, 511, 543, 548; letter to Secretary of State announcing the rejection of the mediation by Great Britain, 548; discuss the propriety of treating directly with the British Government; letter of Mr. Baring urging this course, 548-551; delays, anxious to depart, 553. To negotiate the Treaty of Ghent; meet at Gollenburg, 590, 593, 622; v. 313, 497-512; remove to Ghent, ii. 640; at Ghent, 640-iii. 144; meetings of; preliminary work, ii. 656-658; discussions on the Indian and other boundaries; restoration of territory; navigation of the Mississippi; fisheries; war indemnities, iii. 3-125; entertainments given by, 30, 35, 43, 130; requisition of the Prince of Orange, 34-36; communication with Vienna; with France; with Sweden, 46-48; accept the British ultimatum, 51; congratulated on the conclusion of the treaty, 126-138; custody of papers relating to, disputes about, 129-144; communicate to the British Commissioners their powers to conclude a treaty of commerce, 129, 131, 132; negotiations, 190, 201-246; British require an equivalent for admission of American vessels to the East India trade, 211; offer a counter-projet, 221-231; discussions on the preamble and the alternative in signing, 237-246; Convention signed, 246 (see *Ghent Treaty; British Commissioners; Castlereagh*); example of the Spanish, in 1600, iii. 4. To Buenos Ayres, concerning the troubles at Amelia Island, iv. 15, 46, 112, 159, 300; ill-treatment of; disagree; their report, 85, 117, 156, 159, 165. British, at Ghent: instructions to; conferences with, iii. 4, 5, 7, 12, 17, 24, 79, 94,

- 104, 122, 126; overbearing tone of, 37, 51; charge of, against the United States, 41; visit Antwerp, 42; offer ultimatum on Indian pacification, 50; withdraw proposals, 70; note on seduction of negroes by British officers; demand explanation of charges, 92, 258; concessions of, 120; on payments in specie and paper, 123, 124. To negotiate a commercial treaty with Great Britain, iv. 79, 98, 116; instructions to the, 140, 141, 146 (see *Gallatin; Rush*). Of the Sinking Fund, meetings of, 244, 359, 394, 494, 518, 531; v. 263, 361; vi. 238, 497; vii. 114, 249, 420, 498; yearly report, iv. 518; vi. 347, 497; payment of Mississippi stock, vi. 532. On the Creek Indian Treaty, v. 187. (See *Indians*.) On the Georgia claim, 188, 189. Royal, appointed by Great Britain to report a uniform system of weights and measures, 190, 193. Under the Slave-Indemnity Convention, 159; vi. 119, 121, 124, 160, 399, 470, 511, 528, 530, 543; vii. 308; viii. 58, 63; they disagree, vi. 269, 270. Adjustment of the Florida claims, v. 286, 322, 326, 377. Of the Court, in the case of Leavitt Harris, 301. Appointed by Spain to run the boundary-line with Florida, 493. Northern boundary, vi. 37, 90; difficulties; proposals to refer to arbitration, 37, 41, 83, 139, 140, 146, 156. To Greece, 233. Florida land title, 404. To the Panama Congress, vii. 16, 75. United States, for boundary-line between Georgia and Florida, 79; of the State of Georgia, 179. Of the General Land Office, reports of, 195, 360; decision of, on surveys in Indiana, 263. Of the Navy Board, 342. For Delaware breakwater, viii. 28.
- Committee, Military, iv. 218. Remarks on reports of, 221, 222, 278.
- Committee of Commerce, iv. 492, 503.
- Committee of Enrolled Bills, vii. 222.
- Committee of External Relations, i. 184.
- Committee of Foreign Relations, iv. 210, 213, 478, 480, 523. Report of, on Cuba piracies and Porto Rico privateers, vi. 434.
- Committee of Investigation of the House of Representatives in the case of Edwards and Crawford, vi. 296-302, 336, 343. Members of, 297, 317, 360. Report of, 330, 339, 343, 351, 361, 389. Exonerates Crawford, 330, 331, 335. Avoids decision upon Edwards, 330, 331, 352, 355, 389, 392. Authorized to sit after close of session of Congress, 359. Proceedings of, 364, 386, 389, 391; governed by malice, 371. Examination of Noble, 384, 387.
- Committee of Manufactures; resolution for revival of tariff on imported merchandise, x. 326, 327.
- Committee of Public Safety of France at Amsterdam, i. 117.
- Committee on Public Expenditures, debate on abolition of, x. 270-272.
- Committee on State Expenditures, vii. 454.
- Committee, Revolutionary, at Gibraltar, v. 43.
- Committees, called for reports, x. 273.
- Company of Fishmongers, dinner with, iii. 368.
- Compromise Bill of 1833, ix. 385; x. 539.
- Comstock, Captain, vii. 127; ix. 29.
- Conant, Mr., an English magistrate, vii. 310.
- Conard, Mr., Marshal of Eastern Pennsylvania, vii. 120, 122. Interview with, on affair of E. Thomson, 122.
- Concession of principle encourages encroachment, v. 183.
- Concordia, the, capture of, ii. 37.
- Condit, Dr. Lewis, of New Jersey, in the House of Representatives, vii. 71; viii. 8, 140, 437, 444, 446, 451, 455, 462, 469, 515.

- Condorcet, M., i. 33.
 Condyl, Jeremiah, vii. 390.
 Confederacies, v. 68; viii. 343.
 Confederacy, origin and progress of; principles of, contrasted with those of the Declaration of Independence, x. 110.
 Confederates, the, of the Faubourgs St.-Antoine and St.-Marceau presented to the Emperor, iii. 195.
 Confederation Congress, x. 151, 152.
 Confession, form of, in Roman Catholic Church, 249.
 Confidential letters, author's, to Leavitt Harris, v. 294.
 Congress at Prague, ii. 480, 494, 503, 513; broken off, 516.
 Congress, the frigate, dispatched to Buenos Ayres, iv. 15. Ill treatment of, 85.
 Congress, United States, intriguing in, iv. 212, 227, 230. On power of, to sanction internal improvements, 217, 218. Practice of calling upon heads of departments for reports by, condemned, 217. Of 1785, records of the laws and resolutions of; laws concerning, 435. Report on the navigation of the Mississippi, 478. Struggle in, to control the Executive, 497; vi. 150. Right of, to prohibit slavery, v. 5. Implied powers granted to, 8. Power of, to cede territory, 53. On appointing members of, to Executive office, 62. Relations with foreign powers, 108. Clay's motion to appoint Ministers to South America, 111, 118. Close of the first session of Sixteenth, 118; opening of second session, 201; close of, 310, 314. Instructions of, for taking the census, 125 (see *Missouri Compromise*; *Census*). Increase in number of members, 240. On counting votes at the Presidential elections, 276, 277. Combination against the Monroe Administration, 315. On power of, to incorporate banks, 365. Electioneering in, 467; vi. 42. On the Greek question, 197. On power of, to authorize the Executive to acts of hostility, 231; xii. 51, 144. Party power in, vi. 263. Debates in, 282. Form of communication to, 460. (See *Tariff*; *Edwards*.) Messages, reports, and documents communicated to, vii. 72, 220, 221. In aid of education, 146. Georgia messages, 224, 226. Debates on the Appropriation bill, 229. Provision for signature to bills by the President, 230. Bill for granting aid to J. Monroe, 258, 334. Of 1783, 293. Opening of the Twenty-Third session, ix. 42; Twenty-Fourth, 214. Power vested in, by Ordinance of 1787, 216. Struggle of parties in, 220. First, debate on President's power of removal, 224. Power of, to change contracts, 237; to abolish slavery, 267, 271, 286. Act of, accepting the Smithsonian bequest, 268. Twenty-Fifth session, 344, 365; early convocation of, demanded, 356. Power of annexing States not delegated to, 378; xii. 51, 144. Close of session, ix. 412. Second session opens, 440. Power of annexing foreign countries not delegated to, x. 20. Laws of, regulating election of delegates from the Territories, 46. Preparation for new session of, 48. Opening of third session, 49. Power of, to remove the seat of government, 93. Opening of Twenty-Sixth, 142; close, 341. Opening of second session, 366. Close of Twenty-Sixth, 438. Twenty-Seventh, meeting of, xi. 32. Third session, 271. Election of members by general ticket, 442-444. (See *House*, etc.)
 Congress, United States, Acts of, v. 424; vi. 381; vii. 174, 183, 186, 216, 237; viii. 309. On abolishing tonnage duties, iii. 202, 206, 254. On excluding foreign seamen, 388. On prohibiting sale of armed vessels to South American insurgents, 478; prohibiting

- clearance of British vessels to the West Indies, 490. On appointing members to foreign missions, iv. 72; enforcing treaties, 208; authorizing possession of Florida, 277-281; piracy, 291, 299, 317; of August 4, 1790, 494. Incorporating United States Bank, 344. Relating to transported slaves, 436, 496. Authorizing the Treaty with Spain to be carried into effect, 459. Levying tonnage duty on French vessels, v. 119, 302. Census, 125. New, authorizing occupation of Florida, 286. Of 3d March, 1815, 427; vi. 167. Authorizing opening of ports to the British Colonies, 52. 15th May, 1820; 3d March, 1819, 64. On Florida wreckers, 369, 379. On signing, by the President during recess of Congress, 379-381; whether valid without signature, 381. Concerning intercourse with British Colonies, 407; grant to La Fayette, 456; on advanced payments, 530. Allowing interest to the State of Virginia; opinion of the Attorney-General upon, vii. 26. Forbidding surveys of Indian lands, 219, 236. Of incorporation for Panama Canal, 145. Regulating commerce with the British Colonies, 235. Providing for Revolutionary officers, viii. 15, 34, 39, 41, 68; for improvements in harbors, 27; for reduction of the army, 31; navy surgeons, 50, 66. To establish a Territorial Legislature, 170. Admitting Michigan, ix. 335, 341. Accepting the Smithsonian bequest, x. 23, 86.
- Congress, the, at Vienna, iii. 34, 46, 53, 192; viii. 257, 258.
- Congress, of Sovereigns at Aix-la-Chapelle, iv. 138, 216, 317; vi. 197; Portuguese memorial, iv. 316; protocols, 379, 384; on the treatment of Napoleon at St. Helena, 384. The old, v. 178, 437, 451; vii. 277, 301. American, at Panama, vi. 531, 536, 542; vii. 16, 75; choice of Commissioners, 16, 53, 76, 82, 93, 95, 223, 224; removed to Mexico, 156; to Tacubaya, 160, 223; failure of, 312. (See *House*, etc.; *Senate*; *Panama Mission*.) Continental, viii. 278. Of South Americans at Lima, xi. 367.
- Congress, Mexican, the frigate, iv. 75.
- Congressional Caucus, iv. 231, 242; v. 58, 60. (See *Caucusses*.)
- Congressional Documents, vi. 500.
- Congressional elections, viii. 539.
- Conjunction of Moon and Jupiter, ii. 604.
- Conkling, Alfred, appointed Judge, vii. 83. His opinion on the case of the United States against P. B. Porter, viii. 264.
- Connecticut, iv. 422. Elections in, vi. 490; ix. 234. Petitions from, ix. 96; xi. 451.
- Connecticut River, application for surveys of, vi. 517, 526.
- Connecticut, steamer, vii. 127.
- Connell, John, conversation with, on the claims of American merchants upon France; upon Denmark, vi. 160. Appointed to settle, viii. 168; xii. 129.
- Conner, H. W., of North Carolina, in the House of Representatives, ix. 385, 475, 515, 516.
- Conrad, Judge, lecture by, x. 177.
- Constancio, Francisco Solano, Chargé d'Affaires from Portugal, vi. 99, 101, 181.
- Constant, Benjamin, pamphlets of, 188, 196, 300. Suspected of writing the St. Helena manuscript, 509.
- Constantine, Grand Duchess of Russia, i. 231.
- Constantine, Grand Duke, ii. 60, 62, 77, 135, 266. At the Peterhof fête, 185, 302. Before Sedan, 527.
- Constantinople, i. 91. Mission to, iv. 72, 76; postponed, 77; outfit, x. 339; xi. 223.
- Constitution, steamboat, vii. 126.
- Constitution of England, innovation deprecated; influence of, on the

- country, iii. 535. Theory of, a balance between the several branches without the ascendancy of either, 537, 538.
- Constitution of the United States: confers the power to declare war on the legislative, iv. 32; power to make treaties, 151; v. 401; to acquire territory, iv. 293. Proposed by Alexander Hamilton, 383. Defects in, 457. Right to propose amendments to, 463. Sanctions a compromise with slavery, v. 4. Mode of negotiation with foreign powers, 108. On amenability of tribunals and judges, 182, 189. Mode of Presidential elections prescribed by, 276. On conditions of ratifying the treaty, 285. On appointments, 442. Article of, on the signature of the President, vi. 379. Amendment to, relative to election of President, vii. 54; author's views upon, 301. On defining the power of the President, 100. Articles of, on criminal trials, 236. Amendments to, relative to election of President; opinions upon, 54, 301; ix. 50, 208. Debates on, viii. 216; on constructions of by Congress, 216.
- Constitution, the frigate, vi. 358; vii. 277.
- Constitution, the, Louisa and Merino, slaves taken in, vii. 187. (See *Slaves*.)
- Constitution and plan of education for Girard College, by F. Lieber, ix. 79.
- Constitutional government, establishment of, congenial to British statesmen, v. 195. A compact, viii. 526.
- Constitutional provisos, ix. 262.
- Consul, at London, appropriation for salary, xi. 223. British, at New York, complaints of charges made by, vi. 37.
- Consular Convention proposed by Hyde de Neuville, iv. 393, 396, 420.
- Consular establishment, defects of, in Barbary, v. 163.
- Consular jurisdiction, v. 178.
- Consular privileges, vii. 349, 351, 361.
- Consul-General and Minister Resident, on union of the offices, iv. 18.
- Consuls, American, at Bordeaux, i. 136, 172; French, 181. At Colonial establishments, received as commercial agents, iv. 88; vi. 32. Of the United States, on admission of, into British free ports, iv. 122. Citizens received as, from foreign countries, iv. 206, 225. On extending diplomatic privileges to, 374. Russian, 374. Foreign, powers of, 420. On admission of, into the West India Colonies, 146, 295.
- Contempts, precedents in the doctrine of, ix. 144.
- Contested elections, in the House of Representatives, ix. 445; x. 45, 103, 142, 189, 223, 394; xi. 7, 443, 445, 447. Precedents of, x. 152, 170. (See *House*, etc.)
- Contostavlo, agent for sale of Greek frigates, vii. 124.
- Contraband of war, provisions, i. 152.
- Contracts, laws concerning, vi. 440; ix. 237.
- Convention, of 1803; of 1807, iii. 84. Louisiana, iii. 254; vii. 267. Of commerce with Great Britain, iii. 246; operation of, retrospective, 253; ratification of, received, 281; binding from date of signature, 305, 306; execution of, in America, 305, 391, 392; interpretation of, on indirect trade with India, 343, 346; articles supplementary to, 490. (See *Treaty*.) Commercial, of 3d July, 1815, iv. 14, 121; proposed renewal of, 92, 95, 181; signed, 198, 201, 216, 233; ratifications exchanged, 236. (See *Treaties*, etc.; *European Alliance*.) Of 1802, 143; v. 288; ratifications of, exchanged, iv. 195. Of 1818, with Great Britain, 146, 315, 316, 320, 322; v. 123, 160, 224, 245, 247, 261; vi. 158; for regulating belligerent rights, arguments for and against, 164; reflections on, 166. Of 1787; the

- journals of, 363, 364, 367, 369, 383, 385. Of the States, v. 13. Consular, instructions and negotiations on, 177, 178, 340-348, 350, 352, 354. Of 1788, 344. Commercial, with France, 511, 532, 539, 540; projet of, 541; negotiations relating to, vi. 15-27, 98; precedents for drawing up in both languages, 20; signing of, 29; article for refunding extra duties, 38. Slave-Indemnity, Anglo-Russian slave, 60, 68, 90, 148; terms of, 69; ratification of, exchanged, 120, 121, 123; panic in Congress concerning, 329; pernicious effects of limitation of, 329; agreement of British Government to pay the claimants, vii. 213-215; receives this ratified Convention, 242; publication of documents relating to, 402. (See *Commissioners*; *Addington*; *Senate*; *Canning*.) Slave-Trade, proposed by the author, vi. 148, 172, 506; negotiations and discussions concerning, 148, 452; an electioneering manoeuvre, 150, 337, 345, 350, 357, 361; concluded by R. Rush, received for ratification, 310; opposition to, 321, 322, 328, 330, 336, 338, 341, 356; bitterness of the Crawford party against, 348; passes the Senate with limitations, 348-350; on course to be pursued after ratification of, by Great Britain, 362, 439. Northwest Boundary: objections of the Russian-American Company to, 435; documents relating to secret instructions to Rush, 452; objections to; conversation with J. Lloyd; in Senate, 454; vii. 389; ratification of, vi. 463-465; proposals of British Government not to be accepted, vii. 226; concluded by A. Gallatin; ratified, 443. (See *Canning*; *Russia*; *Slave-Trade*; *North-West Coast*.) Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, 198. Northeastern Boundary, 226; referred to arbitration of a friendly power, 348, 443; opposed in Senate, 389, 408, 409; advise to ratify, 402. Commercial, with Great Britain, 6th August, 1827, 443; abrogation of, xii. 230, 231. (See *House*, etc.; *Oregon*.) For the promotion of internal improvements, viii. 52, 54. For regulating neutral navigation, 70. With Mexico, x. 291. Of 6th September, 1827, xi. 490. (See *Oregon Territory*.)
- Convention of manufacturers at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, vii. 325. Republican, at Halifax, Massachusetts, viii. 242. Jackson, at Worcester, Massachusetts, 402. Of banks, at New York, ix. 445. Of the Plymouth County Association, x. 32. (See *Plymouth*.)
- Conversation as an art, v. 165. On reserve in, 237.
- Convoy of six hundred sail enters the Baltic, ii. 191, 194, 197; fate of, 199.
- Convuld, B. J., letter of, threatening assassination, x. 81, 94.
- Conway, H. W., of Arkansas, delegate to the House of Representatives, challenges Senator Barton, vi. 395.
- Cook, Captain, iv. 25; v. 259.
- Cook, Daniel P., of Illinois, in the House of Representatives, iv. 9, 518; v. 88, 119; vi. 227, 241, 315, 396, 443, 476; vii. 103, 105, 187, 501, 528. Advises the author on appointments, v. 303, 304. Efforts to supplant, 304. Conversations upon politics, 311, 320. Certificate of election refused to, 311. Irregularity of his election, 311, 320. His infirm health; promise as a statesman, 320. His regard for the author, 320. Calls upon the Secretary of the Treasury for information on appointments, v. 482. On loans to insolvent banks, 483. On the vote of Illinois; Edwards's change of policy, 524, 525. Case of Edwards and Crawford, vi. 351, 364, 387, 388, 392. Candidate for Governor of Arkansas; overtures

- of Ingham and McDuffie, 476, 495, 512. Resists the change of system of land laws; distribution of lands, vii. 187. Secret agent at Havanna, money for, 238, 501, 520; viii. 18, 20.
- Cook, Dr., Chaplain, iii. 452; prosecuted for sedition, 485, 486.
- Cook, George, memorial of; trial of, iii. 327-329, 403.
- Cooke, Eleutheros, viii. 431.
- Cooke, Mr., iii. 309, 312.
- Cookman, George, Rev., Chaplain of the Senate, x. 227, 275, 316, 375; xi. 203. Sermons, 227, 258, 338, 434.
- Cooley, James, Chargé d'Affaires to Peru, vii. 166; death of, viii. 17.
- Cooper, James, of Pennsylvania, in the House of Representatives, x. 494; xi. 56, 141, 142, 168, 186, 197, 200, 223, 226-229, 232, 310.
- Cooper, J. Fenimore, medal, xii. 136, 138, 183, 192.
- Cooper, Mark A., of Georgia, v. 363; in the House of Representatives, x. 145, 195, 247, 416. A contesting member, 158, 237. Speech on abolition petitions, 195.
- Cooper, Samuel, Dr., ii. 23.
- Cooper, Thomas, letter of, vii. 34, 37. Charges against, of interfering against the Indian Treaty, 34. On the Smithsonian Fund, x. 57.
- Cooper, William, Registrar of Probate, vii. 133.
- Copenhagen, i. 12; ii. 32, 34. University of, 34. Bombardment of, by the English, 36. Commerce of, 36, 38. Face of the country around, 34.
- Copley, John Singleton, i. 54, 148.
- Copley, Mr. S., artist, iii. 218, 544.
- Coppinger, —, Governor of East Florida, v. 230, 468. Conspiracy between, and Captain Edou and Spanish Vice-Consul, to defraud the revenue, 274. (See *Florida*.)
- Copyrights, revision of law of, viii. 361.
- Core Sound, x. 3. (See *Great Lakes*.)
- Corn Laws, repeal of the, xii. 248.
- Cornelissen, Mr., iii. 44, 58, 145.
- Cornell, Mrs., petition of, presented by, for pardon of her son, v. 167.
- Cornell, W. M., Rev., applies for recommendation; his strictures upon the morals of Quincy towns-people, ix. 245, 254-257; x. 127; xi. 254.
- Cornwallis, Lord, i. 50. Capture of, viii. 286, 294.
- Corp, Samuel, i. 296.
- Correa de Serra, the Portuguese Minister, iv. 12, 22, 23, 81, 163, 173, 326, 426, 427; v. 154. Interviews with, iv. 23, 57, 60, 85-87, 308, 326, 327; v. 170, 171. Complains of depredations of the Amelia Island privateers; urges the conviction of accomplices in Baltimore, iv. 60, 85, 133-135, 143, 163, 164, 308; v. 171, 180. Proposes a concerted system for suppression of privateering, 171, 176, 177, 180. Departure for Brazil, 172. His visit to Jefferson, 176.
- Correo del Orinoco, v. 115. (See *Artigas*; *De Neuville*; *Onis*; *Privateers*.)
- Correspondence, secret, mode of conveying, vii. 92.
- Correspondence with the Mexican Government; a pamphlet published by the Mexican Minister, xi. 292, 340.
- Corsica and Genoa, i. 173.
- Cortes, cuts off his retreat, ii. 16, 72.
- Cortes, Spanish, the, v. 352. Convoked by Ferdinand VII., 83. On the occupation of Florida, 99. On compromise with South America, 120. Favorably disposed towards the United States, 133. Advises ratification of Treaty, 225; dissatisfaction of, with; proposes adjustment of land grants, 268. Disapproves recognition of provinces by the United States, 489.
- Corwin, Thomas, of Ohio, in the House of Representatives, ix. 54, 138; x. 219, 272, 321, 388. Address to the writer at Dayton, 424.

- Cos, Mr., attached to the Mexican Legation, ix. 420.
- Cossacks, the, iii. 150.
- Cotton, John, ix. 176. (See *Harvard University*.)
- Cotton, production of, in the United States, ii. 83, 175. Price of, vi. 173.
- Cottrell, Sir Clement, i. 144, 162.
- Coulter, Richard, of Pennsylvania, in the House of Representatives, viii. 467; ix. 102.
- Council, Governor's, of Massachusetts, i. 252. Emperor's, ii. 97. Ecclesiastical, 291, 294. Cabinet, on Russian mediation, 542.
- Counter Navigation Bill. (See *Navigation*.)
- Court of Appeals, i. 147, 151.
- Court of Enquiry, in case of D. Porter, vii. 18. Calls for documents, 5. Rejects evidence of the Spanish Chargé d'Affaires, 18. (See *Porter*.) At West Point, 265, 271. Rules for convening, 271; for appointing members, 363.
- Court of Exchequer, want of a, in American institutions, viii. 480.
- Court, of France, removes to Lille, iii. 174. English, forms of, 213.
- Court of Impeachment, i. 283, 285. Form of summons, 287. Disqualifications for acting in, 297. Opens in case of Judge Pickering, 298. Debate on petition of Jacob S. Pickering, 299, 300, 301-304. Letter of Timothy Pickering to author, 304; reply to, 304, 305. Protest against proceedings of, 305-307. Forms of question, 307-309. Irregularity of proceedings, 309. Power of, 322, 357.
- Court of King's Bench, monuments in, iii. 451, 452.
- Court, Supreme, of Massachusetts, iv. 422, 423. Of the United States, i. 294-297, 444, 459, 515.
- Courtenay, E. H., Lieutenant, vii. 480.
- Courts, Common Law, in Westminster Hall, iii. 533. Discipline of, 533, 563.
- Courts, District, appointment of judges for, iv. 436. Circuit, laws relating to holding of, vi. 174.
- Courts, French; tribunal de première instance, iii. 153, 154; of Cassation, installation of, speeches and administration of oath, 158, 159; of Assizes, trial at, how conducted, 161; of Accounts, installation of, 165.
- Courts Martial, jurisdiction and powers of, iv. 154, 427, 430, 434; vi. 429; vii. 19, 265. Whether subject to military orders, iv. 153; on a second trial, 141, 142, 153; speech of Judge Storrow on, 142, 153; opinions of Attorney-General, 142. Sentences of dismissal, vii. 161. (See *Arbutnot*; *Hall*, etc.)
- Courts, Mixed, for judging slave-traders, iv. 150, 151; vi. 35; constitutional authority for, iv. 151; distinction between, and joint commissions, 151.
- Courts, United States, jurisdiction of, i. 348; iv. 58. Additional circuit to the, i. 444.
- Cousin's System of Philosophy, viii. 218.
- Covington, Kentucky, visit to, xi. 427.
- Cowan, Lieutenant, trial of, vii. 358.
- Cowell, B., letter to, ix. 16.
- Cowen, Benjamin S., of Ohio, in the House of Representatives, xi. 182.
- Cowperthwait, W. cashier of the Bank of the United States, ix. 93; x. 72, 117.
- Cox, Mary L., a Quaker preacher, ix. 367.
- Coxe, Charles C., Consul at Tunis, iv. 283.
- Coxe, R. S., vi. 138. Judge-Advocate, vii. 44, 45, 46, 350, 373. Fourth of July oration delivered by, 302. Relations with J. C. Calhoun, x. 366.
- Coxe, Tench, author of publications of Society for the Promotion of Domestic Industry; sophistical character of, iv. 370; v. 134.

- Coxe, W. S., Mayor of Georgetown, viii. 45. Presents memorial of Southern claimants under the Slave-Indemnity Convention, 62.
- Crabb, George W., of Alabama, in the House of Representatives, x. 160, 195, 224, 319. On the New Jersey elections, 225, 234.
- Crabbe, the poet, comparison between Goldsmith and; and Johnson, ii. 584.
- Cradles, Russian, ii. 112.
- Crafts, Thomas, i. 44.
- Craig, Robert, of Virginia, in the House of Representatives, viii. 461; x. 13, 145, 167.
- Cramer, John, of New York, in the House of Representatives, ix. 291.
- Cramer, Mr., consulted in judgment on sugars; injury to business consequent upon, ii. 263. (See *Adams; Camperhausen; Sugar*, etc.)
- Cranch, C. Pearce, preaches transcendentalism, x. 345.
- Cranch, Edward P., graduates at Columbia College, vii. 215.
- Cranch, John, son of Judge William Cranch, vii. 215. Portrait of the writer painted by, xii. 32.
- Cranch, William, Chief Judge of the Superior Court, District of Columbia, v. 485; vii. 294, 303, 307; viii. 61, 109, 153, 335; ix. 36, 423.
- Cranch, William, son of Judge Cranch, viii. 153.
- Cranch's Reports, i. 265; v. 378, 381, 419.
- Crandall, —, imprisoned for circulating abolition pamphlets, ix. 256.
- Crane, Dr., sermon on charity by, iii. 260.
- Crane, J. B., Major, suggestions of, for conferring brevet rank on officers of the army, vii. 360.
- Crane, Captain W. M., of the frigate United States, popularity of, iv. 368. Mediterranean squadron, viii. 6, 60. Instructions to, relative to the Nesselrode Circular, 68. Negotiations with the Turks, 146; failure of, 151. Instructions to, 255, 261. Agent of Turkish negotiations, xi. 67. (See *Offley; Ottoman Porte*.)
- Cranston, Henry Y., of Rhode Island, in the House of Representatives, xi. 527; xii. 10.
- Cranston, Mr., as Navy Agent, vii. 256. Candidate for post-office at Newport, Rhode Island, 282. Attack upon D. J. Pearce, ix. 46.
- Crary, Isaac E., of Michigan, in the House of Representatives, ix. 550; x. 10, 16, 19, 80, 85, 104, 218, 344, 337.
- Cravens, John H., of Indiana, in the House of Representatives, xi. 55.
- Crawford and Balch, Commissioners of inquiry into conduct of Florida War, ix. 395.
- Crawford, Joseph, United States District Judge for the District of Alabama; decision of, on the jurisdiction over the Indian lands, vii. 294.
- Crawford, Mr., British Commissioner on Prisons, ix. 204.
- Crawford, T. H., of Pennsylvania, in the House of Representatives, viii. 431, 489.
- Crawford, W. H., iii. 7, 43, 70, 151, 158, 172, 174, 181, 182; iv. 11, 27, 30, 36, 60, 67, 76, 104, 142, 170, 194, 204, 207, 251, 263, 266, 316, 361, 390, 395, 404, 406, 412, 413, 427, 428, 430, 445, 449, 463, 512; v. 28, 40, 46, 64, 74, 120, 121, 126, 129, 175, 309, 326, 332, 375, 380, 387, 391, 425, 485, 492, 523; vi. 8, 9, 15, 34, 56, 57, 97, 106, 137, 141, 143, 148, 173, 345, 476, 479, 497, 560; vii. 4, 308, 390; viii. 174, 249, 332; ix. 263. Presents Clay's proposal for acknowledgment of the Buenos Ayres Government, iv. 28. Differs from the author, 36. On affairs in the Netherlands, 61. Candidate for the Presidency, 62; rivalry of, 64. Scheme for preventing South American privateers, 68, 112. Conduct of, 77. Jackson con-

troversy; Seminole War; advocates war to the knife; restoration of Pensacola, 87, 109, 214. Correspondence on, viii. 296, 311, 325. On impressment, 148. Advocates sending a Minister to Buenos Ayres, 205. His inveteracy against Jackson, 214, 215, 238, 240, 522. Seeks to counteract the business of the Administration, 214. Character of, 240, 241. Conspires against G. Clarke, 240. Canvassing for the Presidency; letter of, to Clay, 240, 242, 306, 497. Intrigues against the writer, 297, 450, 452, 521. Letters to Glenn and McCulloh, 318. Conferences with, 320, 321, 344, 375, 401. Urges taking possession of Florida, 449, 450. Promotes efforts of the Colonization Society, 476. Conduct of, concerning Forsyth, 521. (See *Sinking Fund; Bank of the United States.*) On State Rights and the Missouri Compromise, v. 5, 7. His purpose to introduce slavery into free States, 9. His currency report, 37. Treaty with Spain, 83, 84, 315. Opposition to, 89. Efforts of, to obtain candidacy for President, 89, 90, 298. Conduct of, in affair of the piracies, 154, 155. Intrigues of, 166, 297, 299, 496; vii. 494. Connives at the frauds of the Collector at Savannah, v. 170. Governor Clarke's attack on, 185, 211, 383 (see *Clarke*). Accused of being engaged in smuggling slaves, 185, 211. His unbridled ambition, 185. Attack upon Jackson instigated by, 211, 315, 327. Duels fought by, 211. Coalition of partisans of, and of De Witt Clinton, and of Mr. Clay, against the Secretary of War, 237. Opposed to the French Tonnage Act of 15th May, 1820, 287, 344, 349. On the Florida Treaty, 290. Prospects of, for the Presidency; losing ground, 299, 326, 469, 478. And Clinton, 304. Attack on the War Depart-

ment stimulated by, 315. His inefficiency in the Treasury, 316. His war in disguise against the Administration, 327, 497. On the Georgia claims, 341. On Treaty with France; favors discriminating duties, 344, 349, 529, 530, 531. His responsibility for the seizure of the Apollon, 377, 418. Misrepresentations of, in deposition in case of Harris *versus* Lewis, 383, 529. His confidence with Harris, 385, 387. Discussion of estimates for the ensuing year, 408, 410. Opposes communicating the Apollon correspondence to Congress, 421, 424. Remarks of, on De Neuville's insinuations of partiality, 425. On restoration of Newfoundland vessel, 429. His electioneering practices at public expense, 482, 484. Censures Monroe's message on reduction of the army, 486, 488. On authority of the President to fill army vacancies, 486, 488, 514. And Calhoun mining and countermining, 525. Illness of, 535, 537. His efforts to secure partisans, vi. 3, 43. Advocates the Georgia claims, 10. His influence on the Convention with France, 27. Attacked by the Washington Republican, 61, 62. His electioneering schemes, 63, 236, 237, 291, 309. On sending missions to the South American republics, 110, 111. On the acquisition of Cuba, 112. The Slave-Trade Convention, 148, 149, 165, 345, 362. On the Convention for regulating belligerent rights, 165. His note to the Collector of Customs, 172. Convention of, with the Cunningham correspondence, 176. Congressional caucus in favor of, 191. Prospects of, for the Presidency, 246, 250, 258, 261, 273, 274, 292, 340, 443, 447, 493. Health of, 246, 265, 270, 345, 355, 356, 369, 399, 428, 435, 438, 492. Conduct of, on the Georgia delegation affair, 258. Disapproves paper of the delegation, 414. Relations with the

- author, change of, 264, 269; with Clay, 264, 269. Advocates claim of Virginia for interest, 276, 278. Quarrel with N. Edwards; the aggressor, 296, 370. Committee of investigation relating to; report to the House, 296, 297, 305. Dealings with the Western banks, 306, 309. Charge of perjury, 331, 370. Letter of Governor Clarke, 335. Report to Congress on the charges of Governor Clarke, of Georgia; withholds documents implicating D. B. Mitchell, 335, 336. Hostility to the President, 340. Conceding the right of search, 362. His change of opinions, 362, 427. Letters of, on the Georgia controversy, vii. 52. Vice-President of the Colonization Society, vi. 363. Stephenson's letter, 375, 376. Eulogizing of, 384. Hostility to the Administration, 387, 390, 395, 439, 486. Incapacitated, 387, 388, 395. Assertion of, in case of L. Harris, 388. Distrust of, 388. Federal organization in support of, 391. State of the Treasury during illness of, investigated, 394, 395, 400. Nominated for the Presidency, 397. Convalescence, 400, 401, 402. Tour of Pennsylvania and New York, 402, 408. Partisans of, opposition of, to the author, 412. Coalition with Jackson and Calhoun, 478, 485, 501. Defeat of, 501. Declines reappointment to the Treasury, 508. Resigns, 520; x. 300. Sale of his plate to Government, vi. 526, 527. (See *Edwards; Cabinet; Congress; Committee.*) Judge of Supreme Court in Georgia, vii. 391. Correspondence with R. Rush, 391, 394. Nominated for the Vice-Presidency, 388, 390, 394. Reply to Calhoun's pamphlet, with certificate of Captain J. Ross, viii. 320. On the French claims, ix. 261.
- Creighton, Captain, his correspondence at Naples, vi. 453, 454; vii. 526.
- Creole, brig, slave-trader; mutiny and imprisonment of the slaves, xi. 44.
- Creole case, xi. 219.
- Cresson, Elliott, vii. 384. Delegate from the Pennsylvania Colonization Society, viii. 286. Interview with Jackson; with the author, 309. Applies for public vessel to cruise on the coast of Liberia, 309.
- Crevier, commentary on Cicero, vii. 476.
- Crimen falsi, definitions of, iii. 525, 526.
- Cripps and Maclay, Messrs., importing merchants, protest against passage of Revenue bill, x. 329.
- Crittenden, J. J., of Kentucky, vii. 86, 524; viii. 78, 112. Candidate for Governor, vii. 388. Attorney-General, x. 421, 441, 444, 544.
- Crocker, Rev. Mr., viii. 409.
- Crockett, David (erroneously stated as a representative from North Carolina), member of the House from Tennessee, vii. 361; ix. 39, 392.
- Crockett, John W., of Tennessee, in the House of Representatives, x. 163, 312.
- Croghan, Colonel, recommended as Inspector-General of the Army, vii. 83; nomination of, disapproved, 96.
- Croker, Mr., iii. 261; an enemy of America, 471, 527.
- Cromwell, Oliver, x. 343.
- Cronberg, Castle of, ii. 31.
- Cronstadt, ii. 45.
- Crosby, W. B., case of, iii. 491, 513, 514, 518.
- Cross, use of the symbol of the, xi. 373.
- Cross, Edward, of Arkansas, in the House of Representatives, x. 267; xi. 125, 168. On petitions, x. 267.
- Cross, Robert, ix. 358.
- Croswell, Rev., viii. 401.
- Crowell, J., Agent of the Creek Indians, vi. 528, 547; vii. 68, 73, 226, 295; viii. 78, 91. Charged with instigating the murder of a chief, vii. 3. Suspended from agency, 6, 11, 32. Letters of, 11, 21; sent to Congress, 496. Charges against, 87, 227; refuted,

426. Failure of his negotiations, 294. Accounts of, objected to, 458.
- Crown, Moses, ix. 49. (See *Slavery*.)
- Crowninshield, B. W., Secretary of the Navy, iv. 15, 20, 25, 28, 29, 34, 39, 310. Opposition of, to the author, 131. On withdrawing troops from Amelia Island, 36. Resigns office of Secretary of the Navy, 132. In the House of Representatives from Massachusetts, vi. 225, 235, 266, 274, 327, 360, 363, 463; vii. 141, 529; viii. 93, 276. Correspondence, 296.
- Crowninshield, Jacob, Secretary of the Navy, i. 365.
- Crozat's charter, iv. 220.
- Cruft, Edward, vii. 129.
- Cuba, v. 486; vii. 9. Order of the King of Spain to the Governor and Captain-General of, for delivery of the Floridas, v. 271, 321. Captain-General of, receives head-money for negroes illegally imported, x. 499. On British occupation of, xi. 351, 354. Designs for seizure of, by United States, 353. Importation of slaves checked by Great Britain, 353. On getting possession of, vi. 112, 177. British Government negotiating for, 112, 138. On transference of, to France, 188, 189. On independence of, 189. On blockading, 230. Piracy of, 433, 489. Critical condition of, 542, 544. Mexican expedition against, 547. Expedition of Santa Anna against, vii. 9, 10. Relations of, with United States, 10; with South America, 9, 10. Threatened with invasion, 88. Confidential mission to, viii. 20. Menaced by Mexico and Colombia, 20. Project of G. Canning, 20. (See *Mexico*; *Spain*.)
- Cullom, Alvan, of Tennessee, in the House of Representatives, xii. 17.
- Cumberland, Duchess of, iii. 406, 407, 492, 493.
- Cumberland, Duke of, grant of Parliament to, iii. 231, 235, 405, 493.
- Cumberland, R. I., sends memorial to Congress, ix. 118.
- Cumberland River, ix. 157.
- Cumberland Road, vi. 540, 542; viii. 230; ix. 112, 150; x. 214. Appropriations for, v. 516; vi. 103, 451.
- Cumming, Colonel, duel of, with McDuffie, of South Carolina, vi. 76.
- Cummins, Colonel, charged with conniving at escape of the murderers of W. Morgan in Arkansas, vii. 512.
- Cunningham, Ephraim May, pamphlet of correspondence between W. Cunningham and John Adams, published by, vi. 176, 346.
- Cunningham, Wm., his letter to Mr. Crawford, slandering the author and his father, vi. 158, 176; viii. 181.
- Currency, circulation and exchange in the United States, perilous condition of, iv. 325, 495, 498.
- Curtis, Charles P., x. 348.
- Curtis, Edward, in the House of Representatives, x. 285, 286, 392. Collector of Customs at New York, 449.
- Curtis, Sir William, iii. 335.
- Curtoys, M., iii. 235.
- Cushing, Caleb, of Massachusetts, in the House of Representatives, viii. 130, 539; ix. 70, 282, 284, 380, 392, 406, 453, 459, 529, 537, 539, 545; x. 14, 16, 27, 60, 66, 82, 85, 96, 144, 287, 291, 297, 298, 325, 412, 414, 487, 500, 506, 542; xi. 28, 110, 133, 141, 146, 170, 173, 191, 226, 228, 233, 241, 243, 262, 281, 303, 327, 333, 366. Letter to D. Webster, ix. 103, 104. Visit to, 357. His father, 359. Conversation with, 455, 469. Jealousy of, 503. Speech on territorial rights on the Northwest coast, 535. On the Pre-emption Land bill, x. 18. Protests against the gag-resolution, 73. Speech on the Treasury Note bill, 235, 238. Relations with Webster, 443. Consents a compromise on the tariff with Webster and Preston, 443, 445. Conversation with, 458. Opposed to the Harri-

- son Cabinet, xi. 20. Chairman of the Committee of Foreign Relations; requested to resign, 35-37. Report on Colonial trade, 144. Speech on the New York Custom-House, 151. Conversation with, on the China mission, xii. 170, 226. Speech, xi. 159. Defends right of the Executive to withhold papers from the House, 168, 195, 198, 199. On the tariff, 184. Report on the Van Ness claims, 209. Speech against the reduction of the army, 227. Reception at Newburyport, 256. Letters against the writer, 256. Speech on the Bankrupt Law repeal, 283, 298. Conversation with, on anti-slavery, 319. Nomination for Secretary of the Treasury rejected, 335. Minister to China, 374, 388. Return, xii. 139. Treaty negotiated by, 152.
- Cushing, Mrs., widow of Judge Cushing, vii. 136.
- Cushman, Joshua, of Massachusetts and Maine, in the House of Representatives, v. 314; vi. 488; ix. 374, 532; x. 9, 12, 63, 72, 82.
- Custine, General, i. 64.
- Cutis, G. W. P., vii. 48.
- Customs, laws of, relating to passengers, iii. 444, 445, 476. Receipts from, v. 408. And land offices, vi. 511, 514; vii. 73. Officers of, re-nominated, vi. 520; vii. 81.
- Custom-house bonds, ix. 356.
- Custom-house officers, vi. 547; x. 287, 339.
- Cuthbert, John A., of Georgia, in the House of Representatives, defends the Georgia marshal, vi. 87.
- Cutter, Ammi, i. 305.
- Cutting, J. B., i. 188; vii. 112; viii. 15.
- Cutts, Mr., owner of the ship *Inter-course*, ii. 105.
- Cutts, Charles, Secretary of the Senate, v. 285, 312; vi. 155, 527.
- Cutts, Richard, Second Comptroller, i. 464; vii. 407, 458; viii. 116.
- Cyane, United States frigate, v. 174, 181, 229; vii. 296.
- Czarskozeło, palace of, ii. 507; curiosities of, 507, 508.
- Czartorisky, Adam, Prince, at the head of the Provisional Government at Warsaw, viii. 308. (See *Poland*.)
- Czernicheff, Count, sent on missions to Napoleon, ii. 93, 245, 247, 359, 360, 370, 423; viii. 204.

D.

- Daandels, General, i. 59.
- Da Costa, Mr., vi. 31.
- Da Cruz, deputy from the insurgents at Pernambuco, iv. 85.
- Daelders, Palm, Madame, her conversations, i. 69, 81, 84.
- Dalhousie, Lord, Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia, iv. 90. Governor-General of Canada, v. 400; vi. 13.
- Dallas, A. J., Captain, ix. 514.
- Dallas, Alexander, i. 142; ii. 487, 500, 507, 570; iii. 14. Secretary of the Treasury, 70, 404.
- Dallas, G. M., vi. 42, 77, 234, 241. On appointing to Mexican mission, 243, 246, 485. His speech on the trial of *Harris vs. Lewis*, vii. 222. Interest of, in the *Franklin Gazette*, 533. Vice-President, xii. 167. (See *McLean*; *Bradley*, etc.)
- Dalrymple, Mr., i. 14.
- Damas, Baron de, Minister of Foreign Affairs in France, vi. 449.
- Dameille, Mr., his plan for civilizing the Indians, vii. 119.
- Dana, Francis, mission to St. Petersburg, i. 10, 12.
- Dana, S. W., of Connecticut, Senator, iv. 515; v. 98, 231, 232, 238-240.
- Dana, Samuel, of Massachusetts, vi. 463.
- Dana, Dr., of Vermont, xii. 76.
- Dances, Polish, ii. 63.
- Danes, the, injuring the American trade; their poverty, 169, 170.

- Daniel, Henry, of Kentucky, in the House of Representatives, viii. 505, 530.
- Daniel, John R. J., of North Carolina, in the House of Representatives, xii. 13, 152.
- Daniels, Captain, trial of, for piracy, v. 64; acquittal of, iv. 372.
- Danish Government, claim against, i. 422; viii. 168. Issues order for seizure of American merchandise in the ports of Holstein, ii. 81. (See *Denmark; Romanzoff.*)
- Danish ports, in the island of Zealand, blockaded; closed to American vessels; in the East Indies; in the West Indies, ii. 25-29, 195, 198; iv. 196.
- Danton, the conspirator, i. 33, 93.
- Dardin, David, bill in Congress for relief of representatives of, viii. 459, 461.
- Dargan, J. E., a cadet, sentenced to be shot, viii. 85.
- Darlington, William, Dr., of Pennsylvania, in the House of Representatives, v. 207.
- Darnley, Lord, iii. 360, 361, 362, 412, 414.
- Dartmoor Prison, iii. 203. American seamen imprisoned in, vi. 154.
- Daschkoff, André de, Russian Minister to the United States, ii. 49; iii. 471; iv. 203, 211, 231, 285. Outrage upon his house, ii. 135, 136. Negotiations for opening of trade with the Northwest coast, 151, 178. Offers the Emperor's mediation, 471, 473, 547.
- Dashiel, T. B., viii. 68, 69.
- D'Aspremont, Mr., v. 280.
- Dauphin, the, rejoicings at birth of, i. 15, 17, 19.
- Dauphin Island, appropriations for fortifications on, v. 331, 332, 490, 542. On fulfilling contract for, 332, 333; vi. 227.
- Dauphin's edition of Cicero, x. 111.
- Daurus, Charles, trial of, in Paris, iii. 161, 162.
- Daveis, C. S., of Maine, Agent from the State on the Northeastern Boundary question, vii. 440; viii. 163; ix. 529. Bearer of dispatches to the King of the Netherlands; conversation with, on the Northeastern Boundary negotiations, 163; x. 13, 21.
- Davies, Dr., his encomium on the author's report on Weights and Measures; work of, on the Metric System, v. 291, note.
- Davies, John, xi. 300.
- Davies, William, District Judge of Georgia, opinion of, on case of the Antelope, x. 424.
- Davila, H. C., History of Civil Wars of France, i. 25.
- Davis, C. A., viii. 417.
- Davis, Garret, of Kentucky, in the House of Representatives, x. 272, 406, 506; xi. 143, 167, 240, 298, 504, 510, 532; xii. 30, 34, 38, 39, 46, 47, 48, 234, 235, 270.
- Davis, George, Surveyor-General, vii. 220, 430; viii. 35.
- Davis, Gideon, ix. 422. (See *Allen, Dorcas.*)
- Davis, Hugh, vii. 76.
- Davis, L. P., ix. 26, 253.
- Davis, John, Judge, i. 248; v. 397; ix. 163, 309. Conversation with, xii. 103.
- Davis, John, of Augusta, Maine, vii. 260.
- Davis, John, of Massachusetts, in the House of Representatives, viii. 432, 441, 444, 487, 523, 525, 527, 539; ix. 57, 63, 263. Nominated for Governor of Massachusetts, 19, 20. Conversation concerning, 64, 75. Elected Governor, 74. Senator, 206. Conversation with, x. 253. Governor; message on the Northeastern boundary, 408. Talked of for Vice-President, xi. 262.
- Davis, J. B., viii. 233, 238. Letter relating to the Cunningham correspondence, viii. 181. Letter to, ix. 16, 17, 21, 24.

- Davis, John, of Pennsylvania, in the House of Representatives, x. 149, 390.
- Davis, John W., of Indiana, in the House of Representatives, xi. 477; xii. 4, 20, 167. Resolution on abolition petitions, ix. 335.
- Davis, Matthew L., viii. 255, 337. Conversation with, on politics, 332, 333. Writer of letters signed "Spy at Washington," ix. 56, 442. His Life of Aaron Burr, 429, 442. Summoned before the bar of the House, 493, 494.
- Davis, Nathaniel M., of Plymouth, President of the Plymouth County Association for the Improvement of Common Schools, x. 32. Address to the author at Weymouth, Massachusetts, xi. 252.
- Davis, R. D., of New York, in the House of Representatives, xi. 457. Speech, 465.
- Davis, Thomas, a mail contractor, applies for guard to Mexico, vii. 502.
- Davis, Warren R., of South Carolina, in the House of Representatives, viii. 496; ix. 54. Moves resolutions on powers of the Executive, 127. Repents his opposition to the author's Administration, 135. Death of, 202, 203.
- Davison, —, tortured by the King of Hayti, iii. 481.
- Davoust, Louis Nicholas, Prince of Eckmühl, defeat of, ii. 422.
- Davy, Albert, Consul at Kingston-upon-Hull, x. 263.
- Davy, Sir Humphry, iii. 217.
- Dawes, T., i. 249.
- Dawson, William, the British ship, vii. 306.
- Dawson, W. C., of Georgia, in the House of Representatives, ix. 334, 384, 470, 498, 549; x. 163, 175, 389, 417, 541, 542; xi. 174, 282.
- Day, Jeremiah, President of Yale College, petition from, for repeal of laws tending to separate families, ix. 468.
- Day, Lewis, a slave, applies for relief, x. 30.
- Day, Mr., President of Middlebury College, Vermont, viii. 406.
- Dayan, Charles, of New York, in the House of Representatives, viii. 438, 451.
- Dayton, Ohio, at, xi. 423, 424.
- Dayton, Jonathan, in Senate, i. 265, 266. For abolishing office of Vice-President, 274, 287, 291, 292, 309, 311, 336, 347, 350, 362; iv. 220.
- Dayton, William L., Senator, xi. 518.
- Dayton, —, Chief Clerk of Department of State, x. 22.
- Deabbate, the Sardinian Consul, negotiations of, for regulating duties on Sardinian and American vessels, vi. 183, 184.
- Deaf and dumb pupils, exhibition of, vii. 434-437. Asylum, donation of land for, 473.
- Deal, i. 40.
- Dean, Ezra, of Ohio, in the House of Representatives, x. 476, 494, 524; xi. 57; xii. 28, 53, 144.
- Deane, Jesse, vi. 418, 421; vii. 245.
- Deane, Silas, i. 8; ii. 133. Contest with the Lees, i. 104-106. Cipher letter intercepted, 105. Lord Sheffield's pamphlet, 107. Address of, to the people of America, 108. In the pay of British Government, 108. Last days of, 107. Reflections on, 107. Controversies of, with Arthur Lee, vii. 245.
- Deane, —, Assistant Agent on the Northeastern Boundary Commission, viii. 32.
- Dearborn, Henry A. S., General, Secretary at War, i. 339; iv. 6; v. 287; vi. 176, 266, 308, 416; vii. 146; viii. 240, 400, 444. In Congress, 461, 500, 514, 524, 539; ix. 7. Nomination of, as Minister to Portugal, v. 515; acceptance of, 534; dispatches, vi. 402.

- Deas, W. A., Secretary of Legation, Chargé d'Affaires, at London, i. 50. Exchanges ratifications of the Jay Treaty, 121, 122, 132, 133. Complaints of his conduct, 122, 140, 145, 146, 152, 160, 163; v. 235. At Lord Grenville's office, i. 148.
- Death, argument of Cicero on contempt of, 234.
- De Barros, bearer of the Florida Treaty, arrival of, at Wilmington, Delaware, v. 267.
- De Beaumont and Tocqueville, viii. 463; ix. 204.
- De Bonneville, Lieutenant, vii. 49.
- De Bresson, Mr., of the French Legation, v. 280, 352, 360; vi. 30, 441, 442, 450.
- Debt, bill for abolishing imprisonment for, xi. 464.
- Debtors, delinquent, case of, iv. 83. Not to be held for bail, xi. 180.
- Debts, confiscation of, i. 49. Petition for abolishing imprisonment for, viii. 426, 427. Payment of the public, 447. (See *Public Debt*.)
- Decatur, Commodore, v. 393. Captures Algerine frigate the *Mazoura*, iii. 250, 251. Mortally wounded in a duel with Commodore James Barron, v. 31. Virtues of, 32. Funeral of, 36.
- Decatur, Susan, widow of the preceding, bill in Congress for relief of, ix. 134.
- De Cazes, Minister of the Interior of France, iv. 298.
- De Chalut, Abbé, i. 14.
- Declaration of the 13th March, iii. 192; later, 195.
- Declaration of Independence, written by Jefferson, iv. 492. Principles of, fatal to slavery, 492, 493. Surviving signers of, v. 23. Particulars regarding the signing of, viii. 274. Copy of, in Jefferson memoirs, 281. Original draft, 281. Remarks on, 281-283. Petition for expunging from Journal of the old Congress, ix. 508.
- Declaration of Paris in 1856, vi. 164.
- Dedem, Mr., Dutch Minister at Constantinople, i. 89, 91.
- Dedem, Mr., son of the above, travels of, in Greece, i. 90, 104.
- Dedham, vii. 138. Author delivers an address at, xi. 410.
- Deep Creek, ix. 151.
- Defence of the Constitutions, quotation from, vii. 134.
- Deffand, Madame du, letters of, viii. 156, 157.
- De Ford, Mr., ix. 357.
- De Forrest, iv. 203, 210, 223, 472. Applies for recognition as Consul-General from the South American States; refused; interviews with; with the President, 88-90, 190-192, 206, 226; v. 491, 492. A citizen of the United States, iv. 206, 224, 225.
- De Graff, J. J., of New York, in the House of Representatives, vii. 517; viii. 103; x. 85.
- Degrad, P. P. F., vii. 171; ix. 7, 15.
- Delafield, John, viii. 418, 422.
- Delafield, Joseph, appointed agent under the sixth and seventh articles of the Ghent Treaty; conditions of appointment, v. 227, 228, 235, 313; vii. 157; viii. 37, 42, 43, 46. (See *Porter; Barclay*.)
- Delapré, M., ii. 193.
- Delaware line-of-battle ship, the, entertainment to the President of the United States and Houses of Congress on board of, x. 531.
- Delaware River, appropriation for breakwater at the mouth of, viii. 7, 27. Survey for, 58 (see *Commissioners*). Contracts for, 83.
- Delaware Watchman, iv. 119.
- Delegates from Territories, conditions of admission to the House of Representatives, x. 45.
- Delgado, Don Isidro, Mexican Vice-Consul at Boston, vii. 261.
- Dellet, James, of Alabama, in the House of Representatives, x. 275, 277; xi. 517; xii. 26.

- Delmas, General, i. 116.
- Democracy, viii. 270, 433. In Germany, i. 179. Not favorable to long-continued popularity, v. 112. Relations of, with slavery, ix. 251, 255. Opposed to the abolition of slavery, 255. In the ascendant, 345.
- Democratic party, alliance with Southern slavery, xi. 273. Unite to retain the gag-rule in Congress, 505, 519.
- Democratic press, vi. 61, 244; vii. 532.
- Democrats, i. 142. Convention of, at Baltimore, xii. 33, 35, 38.
- Demosthenes, orations of, ii. 330, 331, 342.
- De Mun, Mr., Secretary of the French embassy to Brazil, iv. 302; v. 280. Claims, iv. 258. Letter from, on dissatisfaction with the Spanish Treaty, 400. Arrival of, 453.
- Denison, J. E., Speaker of the House of Commons, Viscount Ossington, vi. 510.
- Denmark, scenery of, ii. 34, 37, 38. King of, 33, 81; candidate for election to Crown Prince of Sweden, 158. Government of, seizes American property in ports of Holstein, 81, 90, 97; exacted by France, 83, 84; intervention of the Emperor, 82, 84, 87, 88, 100, 101. Measures of, towards England, 82, 86; towards Spain, 84; America, 90, 157, 167. Influence of France on, 83, 84; new alliance with, 484. Toll levied by, on vessels, 127. Makes proposals of peace, 447, 471. Recalls privateers, 464. Negotiations with Russia, 485, 486. Commercial Convention with, vii. 52; ratifications exchanged at Copenhagen, 163. Negotiations for indemnity on prizes taken into the port of Bergen in 1779, ix. 472. Delivers up foreign criminals, v. 358.
- Dennie, Joseph, editor of the Portfolio, i. 240; ix. 239.
- Denny, H., of Pennsylvania, xii. 111. In the House of Representatives, viii. 483; ix. 54, 82, 86, 114, 190, 206, 325, 329.
- Denny, Israel, v. 63. Hung at Baltimore for piracy, 146.
- Denny, Major, vii. 181.
- Dentu, i. 241.
- Department of State, iv. 297; v. 537. Disorder in, iv. 98, 100, 174, 364. Abuses in pecuniary affairs of the, 352. Accounts of the, 364, 366, 369; v. 314. Author introduces method into the affairs of the, iv. 98, 100; v. 152, 161, 168. Collection of State laws at the, 168-170. Library of, 168. Increased expenditures of, 239, 240. Foreign and home correspondence of, 239. Second term, 317. Authority of, to make drafts on the Treasury, vi. 143.
- Department of War, orders of, how issued, iv. 29.
- Deposit banks, circular inviting consultation on resumption of specie payment, ix. 363.
- Derbigny, Mr., i. 321.
- Derby, Richard, Captain, applicant for the office of Navy Agent at Boston, vii. 67.
- Dermot McMorrogh, poem by the author, ix. 24.
- De Rigny, Admiral, ix. 209. (See *Livingston, E.*)
- De Russey, R. E., Captain, viii. 540.
- De Ruyter, i. 86.
- Deschingen, Count Schenk de Cassel, ii. 62. (See *Schenk.*)
- Deserters, iv. 252. From the Spanish army, v. 241.
- Desertion, punishment for, vii. 29.
- Desha, Joseph, of Kentucky, in the House of Representatives, iv. 39.
- Desize, Mr., First President of the Court of Cassation, iii. 159.
- Dessolles, Marquis, Minister of Foreign Affairs of France, iv. 298, 316, 448.
- D'Este, Captain, his expedition to New Orleans, iii. 414, 485.
- De Tocqueville and De Beaumont,

- Messrs., Commissioners of the French Government, viii. 425.
- Détréhan, Mr., i. 321.
- Detroit River, v. 456. On fortification of islands in, 456, 502, 520. (See *Boundaries*.)
- Deutz, Fiscal in Holland, i. 119.
- De Vaughn, Jonathan, vii. 271. Reprieve solicited for, 295. Sentence of death passed on, 295.
- Devereux, General, commands troops in Venezuela, iv. 440, 503.
- Dew, Professor, review of the debate on slave-emancipation, ix. 23.
- De Witt, Charles G., of New York, in the House of Representatives, viii. 266.
- De Witts, the, i. 86.
- De Wolfe, James, iv. 45. Senator from Rhode Island, vi. 270, 327; viii. 417. Fears the seizure of Cuba by the British, v. 486.
- Dexter, Franklin, his Fourth of July oration, iv. 408, 412; viii. 384, 469. United States District Attorney, x. 468.
- Dey of Algiers. (See *Algiers*; *Lord Exmouth*.)
- Dias, Mr., claims of, against the Florida Treaty Commissioners and against France, vi. 459, 461.
- Dick, John, District Judge of the United States in Louisiana, vi. 42.
- Dickens, Asbury, vi. 9, 357, 387, 389, 438; vii. 75, 120; viii. 41, 138, 253, 335; xi. 32. The supposed author of articles signed "The Near Observer," v. 6, 66. Remarks of, on mode of raising money for the Georgia disturbances, vii. 11, 13. His services at the Treasury, 80. Secretary to the Columbian Institute, vii. 443.
- Dickens, Charles, xi. 107. Dinner to, 109.
- Dickerson, Mahlon, of New Jersey, vi. 226, 348, 400; viii. 79, 177. Nominated as Minister to Russia, ix. 140. Senator; Secretary of the Navy, 491, 543. (See *Secretary of the Navy*.)
- Dickerson, Philemon, of New Jersey, in the House of Representatives, ix. 54, 116, 135, 190. Governor, 315. One of the contesting New Jersey members, x. 147, 151, 158, 237.
- Dickinson, David W., of Tennessee, in the House of Representatives, ix. 150; xi. 509.
- Dickinson, John, letter of, on St. Domingo, i. 346.
- Dickinson, John D., of New York, in the House of Representatives, viii. 274, 280. Conversation with, on election of a Speaker, v. 431, 437, 451; x. 461.
- Dickson, David, of Mississippi, in the House of Representatives, death of, ix. 318.
- Dickson, John, of New York, in the House of Representatives, ix. 39, 114, 197, 206.
- Dickson, the Mexican adventurer, ix. 420.
- Diderot, Denys, sarcasm of, ii. 69.
- Didier and D'Arcy, iv. 370.
- Diebitsch, General, viii. 164, 204.
- Digest of Patents, x. 543.
- Dinner, to Mr. Hammond by the merchants of London, i. 161. By the French Ambassadors, ii. 296, 311; iii. 260, 261. By the Lord Mayor, 300-302, 409, 484, 485. To the Company of Fishmongers, 302-305. Easter Monday, 331-338. At Somerset House, 341, 342. With Prince of Saxe-Coburg, 342, 348-351. At Fishmongers' Hall, 366-368. At the Freemasons' Hall, 369-371. At the Royal Academy, 516, 517, 540, 541. At Tammany Hall, iv. 4. In Boston, 6. Diplomatic, 295, 311; v. 125, 127, 204, 307, 455, 458, 460; vi. 408. To the Judiciary, iv. 322. Fourth of July, 398. On the anniversary of the Emperor of Russia's birth, 491; v. 219, 459; vi. 453.

- Subscription, to Mr. Clay, v. 330. To Captain Hull at Boston, vi. 169. The Edgefield, 244. Given to C. F. Mercer by the inhabitants of Georgetown, viii. 44. To H. Clay, 106, 110. The Jefferson, 222, 228. To J. R. Poinsett, 226. At Guildhall on Lord Mayor's day, 256. At Washington; President and Cabinet decline to attend, 397, 398, 451. At Faneuil Hall, 416. To General La Fayette, 424; vii. 42. By members of Congress, vi. 456, 457. To John Randolph, vii. 239. To the writer at Baltimore, 338. Anniversary, at the Columbian Institute, 392, 393. To Bainbridge, viii. 354. To G. C. Verplanck, 361. Φ B K Society, 410. On the centennial birthday of Washington, 476. To Commodore Chauncey, ix. 30. Of Jackson Republicans, 197. To J. R. Poindexter, at Philadelphia, 229. Federal party, 493. By the French Minister to Prince de Joinville, 543. On the fiftieth anniversary of Washington's inauguration, x. 118. At Springfield, 133. At Faneuil Hall, 137. To Caleb Cushing, 352. Fourth of July, by President Tyler, 496. Temperance, at Quincy, xi. 254. At Faneuil Hall, 385. New York Historical Society, xii. 108. Neponset Bridge, annual, 202.
- Dinsmore, Silas, Deputy Surveyor, vii. 220. Incurs the displeasure of General Jackson, 478. Affair of the Indian passport, 478, 482, 496. His life; secret denunciation of, by Jackson, viii. 61.
- Diplomatic appropriations, proposed reduction of, vi. 248, 253.
- Diplomatic confidences, iv. 377.
- Diplomatic missions, fallacy of the maxim that the greatest talents are requisite for, iv. 339. Reduction of, xi. 109, 110, 111, 121, 122-134.
- Direct Tax Act, vii. 441.
- Disaffection, v. 315.
- Discourse upon the Declaration of Independence, delivered at Quincy, Massachusetts, viii. 367, 369, 370, 374, 376, 497; printed, 380, 388; copyright of, violated, 393, 398.
- Dispatches, of Prussian Ministers; to whom addressed, i. 179. Lost, of General Jackson, iv. 126.
- District Attorney, appointment of, in New Hampshire, v. 206.
- District banks, ix. 540; x. 326, 339. (See *House*.)
- District of Columbia, difficulty of legislation for, i. 422, 424, 444; viii. 170.
- Disunion project, the, of 1804, viii. 104, 115, 117-119. Correspondence relating to, 118, 132, 141, 145. (See *Hartford Convention*; *Boston Confederates*; *Tracy*; *Hillhouse*.)
- Divine retribution, viii. 154.
- Divinity of Christ not clearly revealed by the New Testament, vii. 229, 273.
- Dix, J. A., Senator, v. 12; vi. 292.
- Dixon, Nathan Fellows, of Rhode Island, Senator, death of, xi. 80.
- Doane, Captain, of the revenue cutter the Marion; troubles with the Collector at Key West, vii. 519, 522.
- Doane, G. W., Rev., viii. 401.
- Dobbs, Arthur, iii. 297, 309.
- Dobell, Mr., ii. 577.
- Dobson's Encyclopædia, v. 185.
- Doddridge, Philip, of Virginia, in the House of Representatives, statement of, concerning Chief-Justice Marshall, viii. 94.
- Dodge, Augustus C., delegate from Iowa Territory, in the House of Representatives, xi. 214; xii. 122.
- Dodge, Henry, delegate from Wisconsin Territory, in the House of Representatives, xi. 32, 154, 544.
- Dodson's Reports, v. 388.
- Dolabella, the Roman Consul, Cicero's address to, viii. 114. (See *Philippics*.)
- Dolgorouki, Prince, ii. 214. Minister at Naples, 247. Duel of, with the French Minister, Baron de Durand, 341, 348-351.

- Donelson, Andrew J., vii. 274; viii. 97, 109.
- Donnat, Colonel, ii. 142.
- Donoughmore, Earl of, iii. 382.
- Dorchester, Lord, i. 38.
- Dorr, Thomas W., spurious Governor of Rhode Island, flight of, xi. 160. (See *Rhode Island*.)
- Dorsey, Mr., ii. 136.
- Dorsey, C., of Maryland, in the House of Representatives, vii. 510, 519, 529; viii. 168. Speeches of, vii. 230, 466. Letter of, concerning amendments to the Constitution on election, 301. On the retrenchment resolutions, 421.
- Dorsey, Roderic, Sergeant-at-Arms of the House of Representatives, x. 172.
- Doty, James D., delegate from Territory of Wisconsin, in the House of Representatives; seat contested, x. 45, 49, 73, 85. Governor, charges against, xi. 123, 154.
- Dougherty, Thomas, Clerk of the House of Representatives, v. 524.
- Douglas, Sir Howard, Governor of New Brunswick, vii. 356.
- Douglas, Stephen A., of Illinois, in the House of Representatives, xi. 478, 510; xii. 11, 43, 131, 139, 141, 150, 154, 159.
- Downie, David, trial of, for treason, i. 53.
- Downing, Charles, delegate from Florida, in the House of Representatives, ix. 475; x. 9, 10, 417.
- Downing, Jack, Major, a fictitious character; letters from the President's house, ix. 39; review of, 185.
- Downman, Mr., allegation of, in case of slaves taken from him, iii. 293.
- Doyle, Percy W., Attaché to the British Legation, vii. 46.
- Dragoman, appropriation for, at Constantinople, 480. (See *Turkish Legation*.)
- Drawing, the study of, to be encouraged, vii. 122.
- Drayton, Colonel, petition of, iii. 310.
- Drayton, W., of South Carolina, in the House of Representatives, vii. 225. Opposes the Administration, 366, 390; viii. 436, 469, 477, 487, 524, 537. Head of the Union party in South Carolina, ix. 182. Declines office of Secretary of War offered by Jackson, 182.
- Dresden, visit to, i. 229-239. Picture-gallery, 230, 233-235; jewels, etc., 234. Japanese palace, 235-238. Rüstammer, 238. Besieged, ii. 526.
- Dromgoole, George C., of Virginia, in the House of Representatives, x. 6, 16, 59, 87, 92, 149, 160, 199, 234, 263, 294, 337, 452, 493; xi. 476, 487, 504, 512, 519, 532, 540; xii. 17, 19, 30, 31, 119, 143, 152. Attempt to suppress Cushing's protest against the Patton gag-resolution; defeated, x. 73. Ruse to exclude the New Jersey members from taking the oath, 166.
- Drummond's Island, vi. 191. Awarded to the United States by Commissioners under the sixth article of the Treaty of Ghent, viii. 29.
- Drunkenness, negative testimony in trials for, vii. 373.
- Drury, Luke, Collector at Bristol, Rhode Island, vii. 319; manner of his appointment, 319.
- Dryden's Alexander's Feast, ix. 349.
- Duane, William, i. 264. Editor of the *Aurora*, iv. 507, 514, 519, 526, 527; v. 45; vi. 17. Publishes letters of Governor Hutchinson, iii. 512. His career and political influence; a defaulter, v. 112, 117.
- Duane, William J., Secretary of the Treasury, refuses to remove deposits from United States Bank; dismissal of, ix. 17, 48, 59. "Narrative, etc., concerning the Removal of the Deposits," x. 115.
- Dubourg, Bishop, of Louisiana, letters of, in favor of G. P. Todson, vii. 192.

- Duchesse de Berri, La, French frigate, iv. 135.
- Dudleian lecture on the Miracles of Scripture, by W. E. Channing, vii. 176.
- Dudley, Lord, British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, vii. 310; viii. 60.
- Duelling, remarks on the practice of, v. 32, 36. Movements to prohibit, ix. 500, 503; x. 51, 82.
- Duer, D., President of Columbia College, x. 118.
- Duer, John, recommended as District Attorney in New York, vii. 368, 389, 391, 396, 425.
- Duggan, Dr., xi. 268.
- Du Hamel, on Plantations, viii. 255. (*See Du Monceau.*)
- Duke of Brunswick, i. 80.
- Duke of York, i. 80.
- Dumas, C. W. F., i. 65, 68, 84, 85, 101.
- Dumonceau, General, i. 89, 112, 118.
- Du Monceau Du Hamel, H. L., treatises of, on the Cultivation of Trees, vii. 261, 284, 287, 288, 290. (*See Du Hamel.*)
- Dumouriez, General, i. 64, 79, 173. Life and character of, iii. 261, 262. Discourses of affairs in France; massacre of Protestants at Nismes; Orleans family, etc., 262-265. On the United States, 271. The Allies and France, treaty of peace; letter of the Duke of Wellington, reply to, 272, 273. Gives information of the Duke of Orleans, 298. Accused of political intrigue, 436. St. Helena manuscript; memoirs of, 508-510, 511.
- Duncan, Alexander, of Ohio, in the House of Representatives, ix. 493, 524, 548; x. 23, 27, 80, 87, 151, 205, 323, 407; xi. 472, 477, 527; xii. 12, 27, 46, 121, 124, 154, 157. Speeches, x. 97, 187, 244, 245, 404, 406.
- Duncan, Joseph, of Illinois, in the House of Representatives, vii. 368; viii. 523.
- Dundas, Captain, of the Stately, ii. 26.
- Dunglison, Professor, articles by, on the Smithsonian bequest, x. 261.
- Dunlap, Andrew, appointed U. S. District Attorney in Massachusetts, viii. 111.
- Dunlap, Robert P., Governor of Maine, correspondence with Governor Schley on surrendering persons for slave-stealing, ix. 386.
- Dunn, George H., of Indiana, in the House of Representatives, vi. 364; ix. 380, 400.
- "Duplicate Letters, the Fisheries, and the Mississippi," the author's pamphlet on right to the fisheries, x. 17.
- Duplicity among public men, vi. 499; vii. 70.
- Duponceau, P. S., letter of, on proposal of Sanchez for independence of Havana, vi. 69-74, 112.
- Dupuy, J., i. 241.
- Durand, Baron de, French Minister at Naples, ii. 341, 348-351. (*See Dolorouki.*)
- Durant, portrait of the author by, ix. 219.
- Durbin, J. P., Rev., Chaplain to the Senate, sermon on Washington, viii. 479.
- Durfee, murder of, xi. 26, 27.
- Durham, Lord, Governor-General of the northern British Provinces, returns to England, x. 46, 47. Sends insurgents to Bermuda; act disavowed by the British Government, 55. (*See Canada; Nelson, W.*)
- Duroc, Grand Marshal of the Palace, iii. 154.
- Duryea, Charles H., Lieutenant in the United States Navy, dismissed, x. 51.
- Dutch Loan, ix. 282.
- Dutch, the, their embassy at Constantinople, i. 91, 92.
- Duties, equalization of, with Great Britain, iii. 202, 206, 225, 252, 254, 314, 444. Extra, levied on merchandise in American vessels at Liverpool, 402, 421, 425. On iron, 403; iv. 24.

- Reduction of, on French importations, iii. 58, 59, 160; v. 340-346, 350. On the repeal of discriminating, iv. 61, 62, 116, 196, 197, 204; v. 489, 513; vi. 183; vii. 79, 82, 392. On cottons, iii. 160, 306; v. 426; vi. 310; vii. 82. French system of, exclusive, iv. 160; tariff, 505; v. 40. Retaliatory, iv. 505; v. 40, 119, 123, 173, 177; remission of, demanded, 302; by France, 179. Paid at Elsinour Sound, iv. 196, 197. System of equalizing, with France, v. 123, 195, 287, 348, 350, 352-354, 487, 530-533; vi. 15-19. Acts of Congress relating to, iii. 202; iv. 84; v. 119, 123, 287, 295, 404, 427; vi. 167, 183. Premium on American importations into France, v. 426, 487. Discriminating, on British vessels, vi. 82; Dutch, 172; vii. 161. On American vessels at Havanna, vi. 458. Plan to abolish credits for payment of, 461. Tonnage, in Russia, 500. Levied on French vessels, vii. 241, 243. Increased, on importations to the West Indies, viii. 265. (See *Commerce; Conventions; Tariff.*) Measures for regulation of, 438, 444, 445, 446, 460, 467, 514, 523, 532; x. 288. Prospective remission of, viii. 446, 451. Minimum and ad valorem, 456, 494, 499.
- Duval, Gabriel, Judge, iv. 319; v. 65, 322; viii. 84.
- Duval, W. P., Governor of Florida, vii. 341, 407; viii. 173, 177.
- Dwight, H. W., Colonel, of Massachusetts, in the House of Representatives, vi. 294, 313, 489; vii. 229, 373, 484; viii. 417.
- Dwight, Henry E., viii. 422.
- Dwight, Mr., a missionary from Constantinople, his account of the missionary work among Turks, Armenians, and Jews, x. 90, 91.
- Dyer, Edward, slave auctioneer, ix. 417, 421. (See *Allen, Dorcas.*)
- E.**
- Early, Peter, of Georgia, in the House of Representatives, i. 310, 355.
- Early rising, vii. 243.
- Earth, investigations on extent of circumference of the, ii. 343.
- Earthquake, shock of an, vii. 471.
- East India Company, ii. 200, 446; iii. 539.
- Eastburn, J. H., of Boston, Massachusetts, City Printer, viii. 402, 403.
- Easter, ix. 117.
- Easter eve, religious ceremony at Imperial Chapel; procession; sacred relics, kissing of, and embracing of priests, Court, and people, ii. 252, 253. Reading of the gospel to the four winds of heaven, 253.
- Easter Sunday, celebration of, ii. 120, 121; festivities of, 121-123, 254.
- Eastman, Ira A., of New Hampshire, in the House of Representatives, x. 247, 500.
- Eaton, J. H., of Tennessee, Senator, v. 243, 254, 260, 491; vi. 307. Secretary of War, viii. 99, 109, 128, 320, 356, 388, 477. Connected with the scandalous transactions of Purser Timberlake, 165, 178, 184, 202, 222. Reply to Calhoun's pamphlet, 350. Resigns, 357, 372. Challenges Ingham, 371.
- Eaton, Robert, viii. 80.
- Eaton, William, Convention of, with Hamet Caramalli, i. 429-432, 465.
- Ebeling, library of, iv. 21.
- Ecclesiastical Councils, ix. 239, 240.
- Eccleston, Mr., Vice-President of St. Mary's College, address of, to the author, vii. 337.
- Ecky, —, agent for claims on Sweden, iv. 424.
- Eclipses of the sun, viii. 313; ix. 281. Of the moon, xii. 110.
- Eddy, Samuel, of Rhode Island, in the House of Representatives, v. 232; vi. 463, 510, 521.

- Edes, Henry, Rev., viii. 409.
- Edgar, Rev. Mr., of Nashville, Tennessee, xi. 180.
- Edinburgh Review, viii. 191.
- Editors of newspapers, v. 173. Appointment of, to office, viii. 188.
- Edmond, the, a French vessel, entered at Amelia Island, v. 336.
- Edmonston, James, petition of, in behalf of the workmen on the public buildings, x. 71.
- Edou, captain of the Apollon, v. 274; vi. 140. Declaration of, v. 352 (see *Apollon*; *Coppinger*). Sues the Collector at St. Mary's, 376, 391.
- Edwards, Dr., i. 136. Conversation with, 149.
- Edwards, H. W., Senator from Connecticut, vi. 474. Electioneers for Calhoun and Jackson, 490.
- Edwards, John, solicits pardon for a mutinous slave, vii. 202.
- Edwards, John, of Missouri, in the House of Representatives, xi. 213.
- Edwards, John, of Pennsylvania, in the House of Representatives; speech against the Treasury Bill, x. 309.
- Edwards, Justin, Rev., xi. 491; xii. 113.
- Edwards, Ninian, Senator from Illinois, iv. 487, 491; v. 52; vi. 234, 236. Conversation with, on Clay's projects; the Florida Treaty, v. 52-56; on politics, 121, 326, 482. Appointments, 208, 223, 291. Governor, vii. 105, 476, 523; viii. 88. Intrigues to remove Gales and Seaton as Government printers, vi. 227. Mission to Mexico, 227, 234, 241, 249, 389, 394. Controversy of, with Crawford, 296, 309, 330, 339, 367, 369, 370, 376, 388. Author of the A. B. papers, 296, 371; denies, 374, 384. Memorial to Congress in defence, 297, 301, 306, 371, 375, 387; discussions and opinions on, 312, 330, 395. Resignation of, 298, 304, 395, 369, 370, 389, 392, 394. Report of committee on, 330, 352, 355, 361, 389. Removal of, from the Mexican mission; opposed by the author, 361, 366, 389, 390, 392, 394. Return of, to Washington, 364, 369. Illness of, 372, 375. Eulogy of Crawford, 384, 393; denial of, 388. Reply to Crawford, 385, 389. (See *Investigating Committee*; *Crawford*; *Cabinet*; *Webster*.)
- Edwards, Ogden, vi. 250; vii. 389, 396.
- Edwards, W. N., of North Carolina, in the House of Representatives, vi. 512.
- Egmont, Count, house of, iii. 146.
- Egypt, the Bashaw of, declares himself independent of the Turks, vi. 324.
- Eight Years' Residence in Washington, a book by Dr. Mayo, ix. 429.
- Einsiedel, Count, Saxon Minister at St. Petersburg, ii. 62, 70, 75; x. 47.
- Elbel, General, i. 76.
- Eldon, Lord Chancellor, iii. 434, 440, 533; vi. 324.
- Electioneering morals, vii. 410.
- Elections, viii. 233. Consequence of refraining from participation in, ix. 22. Theory of popular, unsatisfactory to the people, x. 468. State, xii. 85-87. Congressional, 97.
- Elector of Saxony, i. 234, 236, 238.
- Electoral bill, the, vi. 250.
- Electoral College at Melun, iii. 189, 194.
- Electoral colleges, vii. 301; ix. 317. Frauds in, 314.
- Electoral votes, vi. 438, 439.
- Electors of President, how chosen, vii. 469.
- Electro-magnetic telegraph, xii. 35.
- Elgar, Commissioner of Public Buildings, vi. 541; vii. 5, 7, 20, 260; viii. 27, 81. Reports of, on expenditures upon public buildings, 200, 393.
- Elgin, Lord, i. 211.
- Elliott, S. A., x. 467.
- Eliza, the, ii. 235, 256.
- Elizabeth, Princess of Baden, Empress of Russia, amiability of, 55, 56, 57. Court receptions, fêtes, etc., of, 62, 75,

- 98, 125, 135, 162, 163, 202, 203, 212, 218, 285, 286, 324, 443, 481, 595.
- Elizabeth, Princess of England, iii. 323.
- Elizabeth City, application for a marine hospital at, vii. 413.
- Elkins, Mr., witness in case of N. Edwards, vi. 389.
- Elkison, a colored British subject, imprisoned under an act of South Carolina, vi. 175.
- Ellah, Mr., of Elsinour, entertaining the writer and his family, ii. 31, 32.
- Ellenborough, Lord, iii. 221, 533, 562. Browbeats the lawyers, 563. Decision of, vii. 351.
- Ellery, Mr., of Boston, his charge against Lord Cochrane, iv. 443.
- Ellicott, Andrew, of West Point, appointed Government Astronomer, iv. 375. Journal of, vii. 409. Instructions given by President Washington to, for running the Georgia boundary-line, 421.
- Elliot, Captain, of the Cyane, vii. 296.
- Elliot, Commodore, x. 95; xii. 136, 138.
- Elliot, Charles, letter to President Houston on Texas, xii. 66.
- Elliot, Hugh, British Minister at Dresden, i. 233, 234. Robbery of A. Lee's papers, 242, 313; iii. 474.
- Elliot, John, a Senator from Georgia, iv. 173; v. 455; vi. 262, 485, 486, 513; ix. 320.
- Elliot, Jonathan, v. 539; viii. 96, 98. Editor of the Washington City Gazette, vi. 56. Makes overtures to the author, 56. His collection of debates on the Constitution; view of constructions of the Constitution, viii. 216.
- Elliot, Samuel, of Vermont, writings of, on the Constitution, xi. 140.
- Elliot, William, Member of the House of Commons, iii. 523.
- Elliot, William, correspondence of, with Blagrove, v. 405. Rejects the gratuity, 405.
- Elliot, W., viii. 37.
- Ellis, Cheselden, of New York, in the House of Representatives, xii. 50, 55, 152.
- Ellis, George E., Rev., xii. 108.
- Ellis, Isaac, petition of, for post-office at South Dedham, xi. 277.
- Ellis, Powhatan, Senator from Mississippi, vii. 397. Minister to Mexico, ix. 420.
- Ellis, Vespasian, ix. 533.
- Ellisen, Russian Chargé d'Affaires, v. 498; vi. 120, 121, 123.
- Ellmaker, Amos, candidate for the Vice-Presidency, viii. 524.
- Ellsworth, Henry L., Commissioner of Pensions, xii. 15. Commissioner of the Patent Office, report, 188.
- Ellsworth, W. W., of Connecticut, in the House of Representatives, viii. 435, 444, 483, 509, 517; ix. 44, 46, 122.
- Elmer, L. Q. C., of New Jersey, in the House of Representatives, on general-ticket elections, xi. 469, 504, 527; xii. 25, 27, 30, 46, 137, 174.
- Elmore, F. H., of South Carolina, in the House of Representatives, ix. 398, 539; x. 29.
- Elsinour Sound duties, ii. 28, 147. Roads, 31, 37.
- Elton, Captain, of the Spark, vi. 91.
- Ely, Ezra Styles, a Presbyterian clergyman, correspondence with A. Jackson on the Eastern controversy, viii. 178, 184.
- Emancipator, the, articles in, xi. 292.
- Embargo, recommended by President Jefferson, i. 491; debates on, in Senate, 492, 500-535; v. 399. Of 1807, 407. Of 1808, viii. 122.
- Embassy, Russian, to Japan, ii. 76. English, to Russia, 399, 495 (see *British Government*).
- Emerson, Benjamin, petition to dissolve the Union, vi. 70.
- Emerson, Joseph, Rev., xi. 384, 408.
- Emerson, Ralph Waldo, starts the new doctrine of transcendentalism, x. 345.
- Emigrants, French, in America, i. 102.

- Emigration, restrictions on, iii. 296, 297.
- Emlin, Mr., iii. 14.
- Emmet, Mr., vi. 507.
- Emmett, Mr., argument of, in case of W. T. Crosby, iii. 514.
- Emmons, Richard, his epic poem on the war with Great Britain, vi. 102.
- Emperor, of Austria, i. 80; of Russia; of France. (See *Austria; Russia; France.*)
- Emperor of Morocco, x. 305.
- Empress-mother, of Russia, ii. 56-61 75. Ball given by, 81. At receptions, balls, fêtes, etc., 96, 98, 135, 162, 163, 188, 202, 203, 212, 218, 285, 286, 324, 443, 481, 537, 562. Patroness of Alexandrofsk manufactory, 111; of the Institute of St. Catherine, 228. On the murder of Paul I., her husband, 127; visits his tomb, 248. Her announcement of the Emperor's victory at Dresden, 525, 568, 595, 596.
- Encomium, the. (See *Enterprise, the.*)
- Enemies, viii. 195.
- Engestrom, Count, Minister of Foreign Affairs at Stockholm, ii. 634; iv. 424; v. 18. Letter of, to the Baron Stackelberg, vi. 32.
- Enghien, Duc d', capture and execution of, ii. 164, 165. Official notes of French and Russian Governments on, 165.
- England, maritime pretensions of, ii. 51, 52, 65, 67, 101, 109. Commercial relations of, with European nations, 82-87, 90-92, 97, 101, 102, 106. Her colonial produce, 83. To be coerced into peace, 82-84. (See *Denmark; Romanzoff; Adams.*) Commercial prosperity of, promoted by the Continental system, 84-87, 91, 97, 145, 176. Feeling of, against Sweden, 169. Her monopoly of trade, 183, 184. (See *Adams; Spanish Colonies*, etc.) Co-operation of, with the Junta, 184. Commercial distress in, 209, 237; iii. 386, 447, 448, 460. Threatens war with United States (see *Adams; United States*, etc.), ii. 267. French Ambassador's account of, 298, 299. Sends powder and saltpetre to Russia, 299. Negotiations with, 302, 307. Regency appointed, 211. Rumors of negotiations with France, 337. Change of ministry in, 384. Successes of, in Spain, 404. Opposes Russia's proffers of mediation, 474. (See *Alexander I.; United States*, etc.) No danger of revolution in, iii. 506. On mediation with the Spanish Colonies, iv. 79. Death of the Queen, iv. 212. Practice of, relating to delivery of foreign criminals, v. 358. King of, 412, 416.
- English, defeated in Portugal, ii. 20. At war with Denmark, 20.
- English Annual Register, viii. 182.
- English history, on composing summary of, for the year 1830, viii. 292.
- English Quarterly Review, articles on America; on Russia, viii. 181. On European Turkey, 181, 193. On S. Parr, 194.
- English regency, ii. 211, 215.
- English writers, viii. 191.
- English, G. B., proposals made to, by the Capitan Pasha, for treaty with Turkey, vi. 320. Urges negotiations, 414. Secretary and Interpreter to Commodore Rodgers, 442, 445, 447, 458. Bearer of dispatches to Commodore Crane, viii. 60, 62. His appointment revoked, 62.
- Enrolled bills, vii. 397, 444, 541.
- Enterprise, the, claims for indemnity for liberated slaves of, xi. 342. Correspondence between Stevenson and Lord Palmerston, 342.
- Entertainment, at the Mansion House on Easter Monday, iii. 331-339. On Lord Mayor's day, 448-452. At Carlton House, 366, 390. At Richmond, 428-430. To officers of State, iv. 34. To delegates to the Harrisburg Convention, x. 159. (See *Balls; Dinner*, etc.)

- Epidemic in Philadelphia, etc., i. 210.
- Episcopalian clergymen, cool, didactic style of, v. 231. In the Southern States, 231.
- Epistolary correspondence, property of, viii. 187.
- Eppes, J. W., of Virginia, in the House of Representatives, i. 281. Senator, iv. 278, 294.
- Equal rights, v. 353.
- Equinoctial, ii. 24.
- Equivalents required by different nations, iii. 224, 225.
- Erie, visit to; reception and addresses, x. 417.
- Erie, Lake, survey of, x. 3. Storm on, xi. 415.
- Erie, United States sloop of war, viii. 90.
- Ernoux, M., Aide-de-Camp of the Prince de Joinville, ix. 543.
- Erskine, D. M., British Minister to the United States, i. 446, 480, 487.
- Erskine, T., Lord, retort of, i. 26; iii. 303, 304, 334. Predicts the fall of Bonaparte, 207. Speech of, on the Orders in Council, 337, 368, 414, 431. Conference of, with the Lord Chancellor, 435. His epigrams, 440. Popularity of, 440. Political romance written by, 478. Labors of, on the French Judicial Code, 479, 555.
- Erving, G. W., vi. 139, 160, 195. Mission to Denmark, ii. 272. At Paris, iii. 169, 186. Mission to Spain, iv. 15, 16, 21, 26, 29, 40, 70, 81, 104, 106, 168, 173, 183, 193, 197, 201, 212, 213, 216, 287. Conversation with, vi. 75. Alleged treaty by, viii. 464. Controversy with; call for correspondence and instructions, xii. 42, 54, 63, 64, 74, 77, 82, 83, 84, 88, 93, 123, 146. Jackson's correspondence on, 101. (See *Ingersoll, C. F.*; *Winthrop, R. C.*; *Gouverneur, S. L.*)
- Esperanza, the, a Spanish vessel taken with slaves, v. 229, 306.
- Espy, J. F., the meteorologist, xi. 65.
- Conversation with; system of simultaneous observations, 52, 506.
- Essex, Earl of, iii. 324.
- Essling, battle of, ii. 93.
- Este, Judge, xi. 429.
- Esterhazy, Prince, iii. 299, 320, 323, 351, 371, 511. Interview with, 551, 554.
- Esthonian language, ii. 624.
- Estifano, Captain, iv. 153.
- Estimates, v. 312.
- Etiquette, in Holland, i. 59. At Berlin, 207, 215. At the Russian Court, ii. 464, 465. In republics, 530. At the British Court, iii. 319, 371. Settled at the Vienna Congress, 416; iv. 379. Questions of, 35, 45, 188, 192, 194, 296, 383, 397, 479, 480, 509; vi. 408, 441, 513; vii. 97. Letters and remarks on, iv. 482, 483, 486, 487, 493, 511; v. 15, 22.
- Eugene, Prince, life of, ii. 143.
- Eugénie, the, v. 229, 230, 282, 360. Captain of, protest by, 230. Satisfaction for, demanded, 413, 415.
- Euler, M., i. 109.
- Eulogy on J. Madison delivered in Boston, ix. 308, 340. Notices of, 314, 320.
- Europe, colonial systems of, ii. 217. Cabinets of, 551. State of, v. 179; viii. 268, 273. (See *Great Britain*; *European Alliance*.)
- European Alliance, v. 115, 141, 182, 183. Policy of, relating to the troubles between Russia and Turkey, vi. 99. Great Britain withdraws from, 152. Congress of, on South American affairs, 178, 179. (See *Holy Alliance*.)
- European allies, measures concerted by, for mediation between Spain and her colonies, iv. 49, 156. Transactions of, with Spain and South America, 137. Terms of mediation, 137. Refusal of, to employ force against the colonies; meeting of Sovereigns at Aix-la-Chapelle, 138. Colonies protest against interference of, 138. (See *De Neuville*.)

- European monarchs, their sceptres turning to ashes, their crowns falling from their heads, v. 194.
- Eustaphieff, Mr., Russian Consul at Boston, an author, iv. 374.
- Eustis, Abraham, Colonel, vi. 539. Applies for office of Adjutant-General, 515.
- Eustis, William, elected to the Massachusetts Senate, i. 256. Conversations with, 541, 542. Minister abroad, iv. 74; v. 205, 287, 311, 452, 470, 490; vi. 3, 115, 176, 233, 260, 417. Governor of Massachusetts; conversation with, on internal improvements, 418. His bitterness against H. G. Otis, 418.
- Evans, Estwick, vi. 482, 488.
- Evans, George, of Maine, in the House of Representatives, viii. 444, 466, 469, 471, 489, 523; ix. 131, 192, 194, 197, 212, 388, 452, 482, 489, 491; x. 27, 60, 171, 273, 288, 315, 337, 339, 400, 419, 434. Senator, xi. 4, 155; xii. 161.
- Evans, Hugh, negotiates for transportation of mails by railway, ix. 320.
- Eve, Joseph, Chargé d'Affaires in Texas, xi. 360.
- Evelyn's Sylva, viii. 254.
- Everett, Alexander, ii. 3; iii. 275; iv. 53, 64; viii. 384, 386, 387, 395; ix. 14, 16, 20, 157, 161, 162, 308. Attached to the Legation on the Russian mission, ii. 3, 21, 22, 73, 74. Visits Copenhagen, 32. Presented at the Russian Court, 75, 96, 214. Chargé d'Affaires in the Netherlands, iv. 116, 117, 369. Dispatches, v. 129, 338. Instructions to, vi. 172. Paper on the Presidential elections, 449. Mission to Spain, 477, 484, 520, 523. Dispatches from, vii. 473, 488. Proprietor of the North American Review, viii. 205. Articles written by, 218. Conversation with, 231, 378. Overseer of Harvard University, ix. 163. Remarks on administration of President Quincy, 165. Views of, on prosecution of the students, 167, 174. Defection of, to the Jackson party, 361. Bill for relief of, in Congress, xii. 151.
- Everett, Dr., private Secretary of President Monroe, vi. 267, 359.
- Everett, Edward, vii. 94, 95, 102, 113, 195, 323, 367, 399, 466, 508, 520; viii. 8, 79, 85, 107, 205, 238, 254, 263, 439, 535; ix. 6, 11, 19, 20, 199, 247; x. 118; xi. 6, 110, 132, 327. Splendid sermon preached by, iv. 525. His talents and great promise, 525. Compared with Massillon, 525. Proposed as agent to the Greeks, vi. 173, 227. On the Panama mission, vii. 102. Oration delivered by, at Cambridge, on occasion of the deaths of Adams and Jefferson, 135, 138. Eulogy on the same, at Charlestown, 139. Chairman of Committee on Georgia Messages, 226, 233; of Committee of Foreign Relations, 377. President of the Φ B K Society, viii. 383, 390-395. Address to the New York Institute, 428. On the discussions in the House concerning the author's accounts, 414; speech on, 419. (See *Adams, J. Q.*) Address to the New York Institute, 428. In Congress, 436, 473, 477, 496, 513, 522; re-elected, 539. On reduction of duties proposed by H. Clay, 445. Conversation with, on the letter of H. G. Otis, viii. 79. Address to the Columbian Institute, 171. Address to President Jackson, ix. 4. Conversations with, on politics, 39, 103. In Congress, 81, 83, 122, 152, 209, 212, 293. Nominated for Governor, 216, 242. Governor of Massachusetts, 305, 308, 313. Eloquence of his orations; high standard of, 305. Article written by, on Nullification, 309. Letters of J. Madison to, 309. Address to the Massachusetts Mechanics' Charitable Association, 432. Minister to China, xi. 335, 337, 369.

- Everett, Horace, in Congress; speech on the tariff, viii. 521, 527; ix. 83, 277, 278, 382, 452, 458, 473, 550; x. 9, 27, 60, 100, 266, 269, 285, 330, 516, 540; xi. 147, 170, 175, 178, 200, 212, 220, 228, 229, 235, 242, 275, 327, 330. Speech, 9. Signs the Ohio Manifesto, 200.
- Ewart, Joseph, iii. 473, 474.
- Ewing, —, recommended for District Attorney in Mississippi, vii. 386.
- Ewing, John, of Indiana, in the House of Representatives, ix. 117, 152, 155, 190. Letter to the House on assault of Lieutenant Lane, 211. On Greek agent, 230. On National Bank, 387.
- Ewing, Thomas, of Ohio, Senator, viii. 263. Secretary of the Treasury, x. 421, 445; xi. 13. Conversation with, x. 453. Letter to, on the Smithsonian Fund, 464, 473. Plan for a National Bank, 493.
- "Examination and Review of a Pamphlet printed by M. E. Gorostiza," a pamphlet issued anonymously from the Department of State, ix. 511.
- Examinations, school, ii. 228, 231, 245-247. (See *Institute; Jesuit School*.)
- Exchange, new, at St. Petersburg, ii. 171.
- Exchange, rate of, vi. 108.
- Exchange, the schooner, v. 378, 381. Case of, a precedent to be followed, 381, 389.
- Executive, the, power of, over judicial tribunals, iv. 16. Project of Clay to control, through the House of Representatives, 28; vi. 233. Practice of conferring with Heads of Departments, iv. 31. Competence of, to acknowledge a new Government, 71, 206; to authorize hostilities, 108, 450; danger in disclaiming, 115; to prevent privateering, 134; to sell public property, v. 45, 46; to deliver foreign criminals, 358, 387; captured vessels, 378, 380, 389, 391; to remove duties, vi. 97. On communicating with Congress, iv. 166, 394. Power of, to institute missions, vii. 96; to appoint ministers, 96. In hostility with the Senate, 100, 118. Importance of confidence between the Senate and, 117. Authority of, to prevent breaches of neutrality, 290. Interference of, with the execution of the laws, 377. In league with State authority, viii. 262, 492. Measures to restrict the powers of, in the Senate, ix. 127, 218. Use of the word, 225. Power of, to withhold documents from Congress, xi. 168, 195, 198-201, 349. (See *Congress; Constitution*.)
- Executive Committee, statement of, on public expenditures, etc., x. 270.
- Executive Department, a new, proposed, vii. 62, 63, 83, 84. (See *Home Department*.) Organization of, 108.
- Executive documents, x. 256.
- Executive officers, on reducing salaries of, ix. 512.
- Executive offices, new, viewing the sites for, iv. 92, 93.
- Existence, incomprehensibility of, vii. 459.
- Exkull, Baron, ii. 609, 616, 617.
- Exmouth, Lord, mission to the Barbary States, iii. 354-456; vi. 109. Instructed to negotiate a peace with Naples and Sardinia; protest regarding the American treaty with Algiers, iii. 354-357, 401. Letter to the Admiralty; concludes treaties, 369. Difficulties with the Dey of Algiers; returns to England; renews negotiations, 380, 400-402, 426-428, 442, 455, 456. (See *Alexander, the Emperor; Algiers; Tunis; Lieven*.)
- Expatriation, doctrine of, v. 492. Right of, vi. 381, 385.
- Expedition, the Lallemands', to Galveston, iv. 64, 84. McGregor's, to Amelia Island, 19, 84. (See *Lallemand; McGregor; Amelia Island; Onis*.)

Expenses, the author's individual and domestic, v. 239.
 Exploring expedition, management of, transferred to the War Department, ix. 491.
 Express powers, v. 8, 364, 365, 401.
 Extemporaneous speaking, x. 33; xi. 364.
 Extra-judicial oaths, ix. 72, 75, 104.
 Extra Globe, an electioneering paper, x. 296.
 Eyre, Lord Chief Justice, i. 135.
 Eyre, Manuel, director of the Bank of the United States, viii. 502.

F.

- Fac-similes of signature, use of, by officers of State, vi. 395, 399.
 Factions in Congress, v. 515, 525, 539.
 Factory, chapel of British, at St. Petersburg, ii. 73.
 Fagel, the greffier, i. 59.
 Fagel, the brothers, arrest of, i. 73.
 Fagel, General, iii. 151, 236, 261, 299, 307, 379.
 Fagnani, Count, ii. 224.
 Failures, in New York, New Orleans, etc., ix. 356.
 Fairfax Court-House, vii. 40.
 Fairfield, John, of Maine, in the House of Representatives, ix. 380, 491, 497, 504; x. 13; resigns, 78. Governor of Maine, 78.
 Faith, not to be kept with heretics, principle of, applied to slave-holders, x. 129. Lecture on, 451.
 Falconer, Thomas, author of work on the Mississippi and the Northwestern Boundary, xii. 196.
 Falkland Islands, iii. 108.
 Falkland, Lord, Governor of Nova Scotia, x. 354.
 Fame, the, on trial in United States Courts, v. 446.
 Farmer, Mr., of Concord, New Hampshire, notes of, to Belknap's History, viii. 188.
 Farnsworth, viii. 366.
 Farrar, John, Professor at Harvard University, ix. 304.
 Farren, Miss, v. 267.
 Fasting, remarks on, ii. 452.
 Father-General of the Jesuits, conversation with, ii. 269, 270.
 Fauchet, M., Minister of France to America, i. 36, 97, 118. Recall, 36. Remarks on Mirabeau, 37; on revolution in Holland, 37; on William Pitt, 37, 142.
 Fauquier, Francis, Governor of Virginia, viii. 271.
 Fauquier County, Virginia, Democratic meeting present resolutions against a National Bank, to Congress, x. 527.
 Favorite, the, brings ratification of the Treaty of Ghent, iii. 174.
 Fay, Mr., false affidavit accusing Poindexter of conspiracy, ix. 229. (See *Poindexter*.)
 Fay, S. P. P., Judge, ix. 175, 303.
 Fazakerly, Mr., iii. 207.
 Federal, the, a privateer, takes property from United States vessel and is seized by Captain Turner in harbor of St. Bartholomew's; complaint of authorities, viii. 90. (See *Turner*.)
 Federal Gazette, viii. 216.
 Federalists, i. 142; the predominating party in Massachusetts, have a grudge against the author, v. 298, 299.
 Fees for public papers, iii. 309.
 Felder, J. M., of South Carolina, in the House of Representatives, ix. 155.
 Fellows, Nathaniel, i. 250.
 Female Academy at Georgetown, distribution of prizes by the author, viii. 71.
 Fendall, P. R., viii. 8, 30, 115, 213, 350; ix. 226, 456. His history of the Administration, viii. 92, 114, 130. His Political Index, 97. Consulted by the author on his reply to the Appeal of the Confederates, 97, 114, 115, 130, 136, 147. Removed from office, 147. Talent as a writer, 147. Conversation with, 165, 222, 273.

- Fenner, John P., vii. 341.
 Fenwick, James, i. 136.
 Fenwick, William, of Richmond, solicits mercy for the convicted pirates, v. 148-150.
 Ferdinand, Prince, i. 207, 209, 210, 212, 214, 220, 227.
 Ferdinand the Seventh, of Spain, ii. 184. (See *Spain*; *Cortes*.)
 Ferguson, John D., convicted of piracy, v. 63. Executed at Baltimore, 146.
 Frauds of, practiced with the Nordberg, 151.
 Fergusson, General, iii. 207.
 Ferrer, Ramon, murdered at sea, x. 135.
 Ferris, Charles G., of New York, in the House of Representatives, ix. 205; x. 329; xi. 8, 9, 147.
 Ferrol, in Spain, i. 11.
 Ferronais, Comte de la, Envoy from Louis the Eighteenth to Russia, ii. 453. Minister of Foreign Affairs, vii. 488.
 Fessenden, W. P., of Maine, in the House of Representatives, x. 499, 529; xi. 57, 166, 171, 283, 298, 381.
 Feuchtwanger, memorial of, to Congress, ix. 447.
 Fictitious capital, v. 128.
 Field, Harvey. (See *French, B. V.*)
 Fifield, Mrs., dirge written by, on the death of John Adams, vii. 140.
 Figanière, Portuguese Chargé d'Affaires, xii. 52.
 Figueroa, Pardo de, General, ii. 62. (See *Pardo*.)
 Fillebrown, Thomas, x. 249.
 Fillmore, Millard, of New York, in the House of Representatives, ix. 79, 103, 114, 195, 201, 456, 466, 539; x. 220, 224, 234, 252, 254, 412, 498, 502, 517; xi. 8, 10, 33, 34, 38, 155, 161, 191, 220, 221, 234, 240, 242, 299.
 Filmer, Sir Robert, works of, on Government; refutation of, by Locke, ix. 226, 227; by Sidney, 228.
 Financial disorder, effect of, iv. 370.
 Finch, W. B., Lieutenant, iv. 304. Captain, vii. 115.
 Findlay, James, of Ohio, in the House of Representatives, on the tariff, viii. 438, 451, 454.
 Findlay, T., of Baltimore, v. 113; vi. 407.
 Findlay, William, Senator from Pennsylvania, vi. 287. Proposed for office of Fourth Auditor, 248; vii. 209, 210.
 Fines, militia, on remission of, iv. 47.
 Finkenstein, Comte de, interviews with, v. 204, 206, 207, 216, 218, 226.
 Finland, the granite of, ii. 190.
 Fire, v. 262.
 Fire-arms, new invention in, iii. 446.
 Fish, Hamilton, in the House of Representatives, xii. 32.
 Fisher, Charles, of North Carolina, in the House of Representatives, v. 327; x. 195, 224, 225. Conversation with, 311. (See *Mitchell, C. F.*)
 Fisher, Dr., bequest of, to Harvard University, viii. 546.
 Fisher, M. M., candidate for Congress from Massachusetts, xii. 92.
 Fisheries, the, iv. 34, 52, 62, 95, 122; v. 356; vi. 23, 542; vii. 17. Negotiations concerning, iii. 6, 7, 60-63, 116, 120, 127, 268, 269, 329, 346, 518, 519; v. 356. Difficulties in defining limits of, iv. 62, 96. Rights to, maintained, 96. French, vi. 151, 161, 511. Pamphlet on, 17, 22; x. 17.
 Fishermen, complaints of the, on the Northeastern coast, vii. 17.
 Fishing vessels, American, warned off by British armed vessel, iii. 266.
 Fiske, President, viii. 421, 422.
 Fitch and Fulton, rival claims of, iv. 129.
 Fitch, A., iv. 34.
 Fitch, Stephen, interview with, on complaints of the New York Indians, vii. 465.
 Fitch, T., represents the wrongs of the Seneca Indians, vii. 388.
 Fitzgerald, Mr., declines mission to United States, vi. 500.

- Fitzhugh, Mr., of Virginia, vi. 507.
- Fitz William, Earl, iii. 207.
- Flag, the, the protection of a vessel from boarding, v. 381, 389, 390.
- Fleet, French, Toulon, ii. 107.
- Fleischmann, Charles Lewis, memorial of, proposing the establishment of an agricultural institution from the Smithsonian bequest, x. 86, 94.
- Fletcher and Peck, case of, i. 543, 544, 546.
- Fletcher, Isaac, of Vermont, in the House of Representatives, ix. 522.
- Fletcher, Noah, ix. 55, 63.
- Fletcher, Richard, of Massachusetts, in the House of Representatives, ix. 391, 537; x. 27, 60, 85. Speech in Faneuil Hall exposing the subserviency of the Committee of Ways and Means to the Executive, 449. Explanation before the House, 449, 450, 503. Attack of six members of the Committee of Ways and Means, 449, 450, 455. Boston Atlas attacks him, 455.
- Fletcher, Mr., manufactories of gold and silver plate, etc., viii. 541.
- Fleury, Joly de, iii. 153.
- Flores, Casa, Spanish Minister at Rio Janeiro, iv. 87.
- Florida, iii. 41. Appropriation for annexing, i. 386. Included in the cession of Louisiana, 402; ii. 261. Cession of, iii. 550. Treaty with Spain for purchase of, iv. 37, 42; v. 16-288; xii. 78. McGregor's expedition, iv. 40. Bill authorizing taking possession, 65, 66, 170, 175, 207, 213, 432, 449, 454, 456, 502. On cession of, 79, 84, 106, 248, 249. Jackson's operations in, 87. Laws on the seizure and possession of, by a foreign power, 89. On the evacuation of, 91. Company for the sale of lands in, 115. Remarks on the acquisition of, 238, 239, 259, 275. Land grants; deceptions concerning, v. 17, 34, 69, 81, 86, 94, 95, 228, 270, 271; negotiations for settlement of, 60, 81-86, 94-98. Interposition of Russia and France, 24, 28-31, 33, 35, 39, 55. Efforts of Clay to thwart, 25, 53, 67. Causes of failure, 84. Disposition of the Senate towards, 65, 88, 126, 271, 284. Ratification of, delayed by Spain; new demands; ratification, 75, 105, 126, 228, 288. Spanish Governor, 196, 229, 230, 359. Governor and Council of, renominated, vi. 520. Claims for indemnity under the Treaty, vii. 74. Sale of lands, 227. Settlement of boundary with Georgia. (See *Georgia*.) War, x. 256; xi. 162. Bill for relief of West, 299, 301. Territorial bonds, 333. (See *Spain; Onis; Vicks; Seminole War; House; Jackson, Andrew; Callava; Coppingier*.)
- Flour, vi. 108.
- Flournoy, General, Commissioner for negotiating a treaty of cession with the Creeks, v. 187. Misrepresents the claim of the Georgia Commissioners, 188. The enemy of Clarke, 188.
- Floyd, John, Dr., of Virginia, in the House of Representatives, v. 237, 238, 276-278, 497, 504, 505, 510, 519; vi. 58, 65, 297, 299, 360; vii. 226, 414, 431. Project of a settlement on the Columbia River, v. 238, 250; vi. 58, 239, 249, 428. Controversy with General Scott, v. 510, 517. On the Edwards-Crawford committee, vi. 297, 391; favors Crawford, 364, 385. Bill for establishing the Oregon Territory, viii. 85. Governor of Virginia; message to the State Legislature calling for a Convention, 506. Candidate for the Presidency, 524.
- Floyd, John G., of New York, in the House of Representatives, x. 487, 499, 541; xi. 4, 57, 58, 143, 144.
- Flügel, Dr., Consul at Leipsic, xi. 156, 243.

- Follansbee, Joseph, doorkeeper of the House of Representatives, x. 173, 476.
- Follen, Dr., ix. 347. Installation of, as Professor at Harvard University, viii. 410.
- Foot, Samuel A., of Connecticut, in the House of Representatives, vi. 490. Conversation with, vii. 428. Senator, 433, 510; viii. 113, 186, 190; ix. 79, 96, 126, 135.
- Foot, Solomon, of Vermont, in the House of Representatives, xii. 44.
- Foot, John, stone-cutter, employed on public buildings, appeals to the author for protection of rights from Government, x. 529.
- Forbes, James, member of the mock Legislature of the Floridas, iv. 74. His account of the proceedings at Amelia Island, 75, 76. Scheme to defeat the tonnage law, v. 196. Proposed as Commissioner for the delivery of the Floridas, 322.
- Forbes, J. M., recommended as agent to Buenos Ayres or Chili, iv. 443. Instructions to, v. 129, 157, 163. Chargé d'Affaires at Buenos Ayres, vi. 520; vii. 451. Note to the Brazilian Minister of Foreign Affairs on the affair of the Ruth, 452. Dispatches from, viii. 57. Instructions to, 78.
- Forbes, Lord, iii. 207.
- Force, Peter, editor of the National Journal, vi. 50, 54, 65; vii. 274. Purchases the Washington Republican, vi. 400. Nashville Committee report, vii. 479, 480. Mayor of Washington; his collection of historical documents, ix. 378. Petition for bounty on mulberry-trees, 508.
- Forces, French and Russian, immense number of, sent to frontiers, ii. 363.
- Foreign criminals, on rendition of; practice of, varies among nations, v. 357, 358, 387. Acts of Parliament on, 364. Statute of the United States upon, 364.
- Foreign governments, on recovering claims from, vi. 383.
- Foreign manufactures, competition of, v. 128.
- Foreign ministers, on the custom of giving presents to, iii. 328, 527-529, 539; iv. 14. On uniting the office with that of consuls, 18. Intercourse with the Executive, 16, 22, 188; v. 244, 245, 249, 250, 254, 258. Personal effects and articles imported by, exempt from duty, 401. On visiting, vii. 109. Servants of, 223; exempted from arrest, 310. On offer of land to, in Washington City, 260. Exemption of, from law, 350.
- Foreign missions, on appointing members of Congress to, vi. 477; vii. 278. Outfits for, 323, 329.
- Foreign vessels, on the principle of delivering up, v. 378.
- Foreigners, in Russia, their ignorance of the country, ii. 345. Petition Congress to make America an asylum for oppressed fugitives, vi. 224.
- Forest trees, cultivation of, vii. 121, 261, 262, 284, 291, 323, 352, 486; viii. 51, 172, 254.
- Forester, J. B., of Tennessee, in the House of Representatives, ix. 283.
- Forman, Captain, iv. 4.
- Fornance, Joseph, of Pennsylvania, in the House of Representatives, x. 476, 483; xi. 182, 233.
- Forrest, Richard, v. 152, 191, 284.
- Forrest, Thomas, Colonel, of Pennsylvania, in the House of Representatives, v. 204.
- Forsyth, Dr. S. D., agent from Venezuela, v. 48. Intrigues of, 49-52. Letter of recommendations for, 49, 51, 57, 62.
- Forsyth, John, of Georgia, vi. 264, 422; viii. 333. In the House of Representatives, iv. 31, 65, 66; vi. 299, 340, 364; vii. 89, 112. Senator, 173, 183. Mission to Spain, 187, 190, 194, 262, 263; v. 131, 270, 320,

- 493; instructions and dispatches relating to, iv. 286, 288, 289, 290, 291, 404, 406, 407, 411, 412, 447, 503; v. 24, 76, 102, 106, 127, 129, 228, 451; vi. 60, 68, 99; proposal to employ, as agent abroad of the United States Bank; not sanctioned, iv. 345; letter of the Duke of San Fernando, 448, 466; conduct of, disapproved, 505, 518, 519, 521; v. 127; desires to return, 127; returns, vi. 141. Bitterness of, against General Jackson, iv. 240, 241, 245. Recommended for the mission to France, vi. 187. Letter of the Georgia delegation written by, 262. On Jackson's prospects for the Presidency, 308. Electioneering for Webster, 352. Candidate for the Vice-Presidency in connection with H. Clay, 372. Governor of Georgia, vii. 362, 371, 386. Proclamation of, 464. Opposes the Cherokee Indian Constitution, 422, 442, 444. Letter of, communicating account of murder by the Creeks, 448. Correspondence relating to the Jackson controversy, viii. 324. Secretary of State, ix. 219, 261. On the Ohio Boundary dispute, 228. On the proceedings of N. P. Trist at Havanna, 255. Correspondence on the French spoliation claims, 274. Conference with the Mexican Minister, 278. Conversation with, on Mexican affairs, 419, 430, 438. Annexation of Texas, 420. Enmity to the writer, 462; x. 362, 379. Letter to N. P. Trist, 451. (*See Davis, C. S.; Trist, N. P.*)
- Forsyth, —, of North Carolina, granted a midshipman's warrant, vii. 168.
- Fort Detroit taken by the British, ii. 418.
- Fort Erie, repulse of the British at, iii. 45.
- Fort, Moses, Collector at Beaufort, South Carolina, dismissed, vii. 8.
- Fort Wayne, removal of Indian agency at, vii. 512.
- Fortescue, De Laudibus Legum Angliæ, ix. 228.
- Fortress Monroe. (*See Old Point Comfort.*)
- Fortunes, telling of, ii. 212.
- Forward, Walter, of Pennsylvania, in the House of Representatives, vi. 3, 43; vii. 397; xii. 6. Secretary of the Treasury, xi. 19, 247. Conversation with, 98, 247.
- Foster, Augustus J., the British Minister, ii. 361. Letter of, to the Secretary of State, 402.
- Foster, A. W., his invention for obtaining rotary by rectilinear motion, iv. 351.
- Foster, Edward, the brig, v. 98. Arrival of, 102.
- Foster, E. H., of Tennessee, Senator, xii. 145, 153.
- Foster, H. A., of New York, in the House of Representatives, speech in support of Claiborne and Gholson, ix. 473-477; x. 26, 87, 98.
- Foster, Henry D., of Pennsylvania, in the House of Representatives, xii. 156.
- Foster, T. F., of Georgia, in the House of Representatives, viii. 483, 509, 530; ix. 39, 84, 110, 193, 250; xi. 173.
- Foster, William, Lieutenant, trial of, vii. 384.
- Foster, William, letter to, published, ix. 361, 363.
- Fouché, Minister of Police in Paris, ii. 165. Prime Minister of France, iii. 263, 272.
- Foundling children, ii. 111, 112.
- Foundling hospitals, ii. 111, 537.
- Fourcroy, M., i. 90.
- Fourth of July, the, celebration of, i. 548; vii. 31, 119, 120, 300; viii. 375; x. 328, 495; xi. 389.
- Fowler, Rev., sermons of, ix. 340, 434, 493.
- Fowler, Samuel, of New Jersey, in the House of Representatives, ix. 321, 329.

- Fox, Charles James, i. 133; iii. 187.
- Fox, Henry S., the British Minister, vi. 54; x. 317. Denies communicating the Gorostiza pamphlet to Mr. Forsyth, ix. 471. On the rumored invasion of Canada, x. 44. Correspondence concerning the troubles at Havana, 255. Instructions concerning the Amistad captives, 399. Conversation and correspondence with, 400, 401, 408.
- Fox, Thomas B., Rev., ix. 358.
- Foxardo, the affair of D. Porter at, vii. 18. (See *Porter, D.*; *Porto Rico*.)
- Foy, Mr., President's gardener, viii. 7.
- France, iv. 187, 192, 199. Court of, i. 8. State of cultivation, 102. Treaty with England, 180. Successes in Italy, 225. Negotiations with, 268, 271. Emperor of, 491 (see *Napoleon*). Coerces Denmark, ii. 83, 84, 90, 106. Influence of, over commerce, 66, 85, 91, 97, 166, 177. Conduct of, towards America, 67, 102, 106, 107, 156, 157, 161, 167, 168, 170, 174-177; more conciliatory, 336, 361. Prejudice against colonial trade, 175. Erroneous ideas concerning American products, 175. Financial condition of, 237, 238. And Russia, coolness between, 245; prospect of war, 254, 295, 338, 342, 363, 365, 370, 374; war, 382. Talks of annexing Spain, 247; sends forces to, 290, 291. Harshness to foreign nations, 367. Offers alliance to Sweden, 384. Sensation produced by victory in Spain, 503. Provisional Government, 612. Under the Bourbons, iii. 178-181. Napoleon's supplementary constitution, 186, 190. War imminent, 190, 196. Proceedings of the Vienna Congress reported, 192. Opinions on the wars of; on liberal views in, 478, 479. Struggle between royalists and monarchists, 480. Louis the Eighteenth reviews the troops, 172; his flight from Paris; proclamation, 173, 174. Claims special privileges in Louisiana ports, iv. 127, 160, 170; v. 124, 177, 282, 335. (See *De Neuville*.) Restrictive system of duties in colonies, iv. 160. Declarations of, against the United States, 169. Position of, in dispute with Spain, 169, 200. Opposed to commercial policy of England, 200. Terms of treaty with Spain for cession of Louisiana, 220. Relations with, unsatisfactory, 498. Declines commercial negotiations, 498, 505. (See *De Neuville*; *United States*; *French Government*.) And Russia, interpose with Spain, v. 55. Vessels of, and of the United States, 123. On equalizing duties with, 123. Privileges claimed by, in ports of Louisiana, 124, 177, 262, 295. Proposals to treat with, 124. And Buenos Ayres, negotiation between, 157. Relations with, 176. Points of discussion with, 177. Retaliatory ordinances of, 179, 295; retrospective, 302. On the right of search, 184. King of, letter on the birth of the Duke of Bordeaux, 215. Rejects British proposals for suppression of the slave-trade, 216. Commercial negotiations with, suspended, 262; transferred to Washington, 273, 310; failure of, attributed to the author, 461. Unjust demands of, on American commerce, 344. Treaty of 1778, 345, 427. Refuses to deliver up foreign criminals, 358. And the abolition of the slave-trade, 391, 398. Affair of the Apollon, 417-420. Position of, towards Turkey, 450. (See *De Neuville*; *Commercial Treaty*; *Apollon*; *Duties*; *Louisiana*; *American Citizens*.) War with Spain, vi. 137, 146, 171. Maritime questions concerned in, 161. On appointing Minister to, 167. Intriguing in Mexico, 207. Explanations of, with Great Britain on interposition between South American colonies and Spain, 252. Negotiations of, with Brazil, 317. Offers

- recognition, conditionally, of Colombia, 396. Claims of American citizens, 433; vii. 55, 279; ix. 137, 195-209, 218-221, 260; xi. 42. New ministry in; speech of the King, vii. 488; viii. 257. Revolution, 253, 256, 269, 359. Prior right of, to Texas over Spain, xii. 145.
- Francis, Convers, Rev., viii. 365; ix. 176.
- Francis, Emperor of Austria, ii. 527.
- Franklin, the line-of-battle ship, vi. 357.
- Franklin, petition signed, suggesting use for Smithsonian Fund, x. 86.
- Franklin, Dr. Benjamin, i. 8, 14, 15, 84; ii. 133; iii. 372, 409, 559; v. 349, 427; vii. 245; viii. 270, 293, 295. Writes his own memoirs, iii. 512. Proposition for prayers, and speech, in the Federal Convention of 1787, ix. 351.
- Franklin, Jesse, i. 303, 320, 334.
- Franklin, Walter S., Clerk of the House of Representatives, ix. 42, 55, 365. Death of, x. 49.
- Franklin, William Temple, i. 22; iii. 409, 559; iv. 175. His father a refugee, iii. 409. Memoirs of Dr. B. Franklin, 512.
- Franklin Gazette, vi. 18, 42, 244. Opposition of, to the author, 245; vii. 533.
- Franklin Institute, vii. 50.
- Frazer, Lieutenant, case of, iv. 84.
- Frazier, Nathan, i. 39.
- Frederic, Prince of Holland, i. 66.
- Frederic the Great, of Prussia, i. 111. Palace of, Sans Souci, 222. Monument of, 222. Libraries, 223. Anecdotes of, 223. Works of, 240, 242, 244. Retreat of, from the battle of Mollwitz, viii. 286.
- Frederic Henry Louis, Prince, brother of Frederic the Second, i. 210, 220.
- Frederic William Second, King of Prussia, illness of, i. 201, 204, 205. His death, 206. Funeral solemnities of, 212, 222.
- Frederic William Third, King of Prussia, accession of, i. 206; ceremonies attending, 220. Character of, 209.
- Frederick, Prince of Wales, iii. 368.
- Free Bridge Act, vii. 251.
- Free institutions, struggle of, against absolute power, v. 195.
- Free Port Acts, iii. 490.
- Free ships make free goods, i. 198, 273; vi. 161, 171, 381, 384, 385; vii. 515. Punishment for burning, i. 280, 287.
- Free-thinking, tendencies of, viii. 271; x. 261.
- Freedom of the press, suppression of the, x. 114.
- Freeling, Mr., iii. 260.
- Freeman, Dr., iv. 6, 157.
- Freeman, James Constant, Auditor of the Treasury, renews recommendation of Judah Lord, v. 150.
- Freeman, Russell, vi. 438, 439. Recommended as Collector of New Bedford, 463; ix. 446.
- Freire, Mr., iii. 308, 309.
- Freitas, —, Secretary to Don Miguel's Legation, viii. 174.
- Frelinghuysen, T., viii. 79; Senator, xii. 111. Candidate for the Vice-Presidency, 22.
- French, the, defeat the Austrians, ii. 20. As navigators, v. 123.
- French Ambassador at the Russian Court, ii. 71, 72, 75, 92, 94, 96, 149, 166, 240, 341. Conversation with, on confiscation of American property by the Danish Government, 97. On the detention of American vessels; accuses them of carrying English goods, 175, 221, 224, 225, 280-307. Splendid ball given by, 130. Lives in state, 141. Recalled, 244, 245, 248, 262. Arrival of a new, 262, 266. Conversation with; opinion of conduct of Russia at Tilsit, 358, 359; on prospects of war, 365-367, 370, 381. Asks for passports, 377. On the peace with Turkey, 378. (See *Vicence*, *Duc de*; *Lauriston*.)

- French army, in Holland, i. 60, 65, 94, 97, 98. Success of, in Italy, 225. In Spain, reinforced, ii. 282. Enters Russia, 382; dangerous position of, 393; in possession of Moscow, 404; famishing; ruin of, imminent, 417, 420, 422; destruction of, 422, 424, 447; evacuation of Courland by, 435; retreat to Dresden, 473; defeat of, 526, 544. (See *Moscow*; *Benning-sen*; *Russia*, etc.)
- French and American ton, values of, v. 530, 531.
- French authorities in the West Indies, v. 447.
- French Convention, i. 30. Committees of, 84. Decree of, 97.
- French cruisers on the African coast, v. 391.
- French Directory, relations of, with America, i. 206, 218.
- French Government, decree of, i. 224. Remonstrates with Spanish Government on refusal to ratify the Florida Treaty, iv. 453. Claims of American citizens upon, v. 310. Hostility towards the United States, 426. (See *France*; *Duties*, etc.)
- French Guiana, v. 448.
- French Journal de Saint-Petersbourg, viii. 182, 193, 202.
- French Legislative Chambers, debates on the right of visitation and of search, xi. 341, 344.
- French ministry, changes in, iv. 298, 303; v. 425. (See *France*.)
- French Representatives in Holland, i. 61, 89. Their friendly disposition towards America, 67, 95. Deference paid by the Dutch to, 96. Property of Dutch Government seized by, 109.
- French Revolution, i. 24; ii. 109. Effect of, on Treaty of 1778, i. 27. Fall of its leaders, 33, 80, 45. Course of, in Holland, 64; a farce of equality, 96. Anecdotes of, 138, 173.
- French school of painting, iii. 146-148.
- French seamen, desertion of; proposals for delivering up, iv. 316-320. Order for seizure of, in South American privateers, 393. Scarcity of, v. 124. (See *Seamen*.)
- French spoiliations within Spanish jurisdiction; claims of United States citizens for indemnities for, iv. 84, 106, 146, 152, 161, 169, 248, 251; x. 9. Limitation of, 152, 252-270. (See *France*; *American Citizens*.)
- French squadron, 393. Furnishes aid to the Prince of Brazil, vi. 311, 319.
- French, Benjamin B., x. 381.
- French, Benjamin V., and Harvey Field, deputies from Anti-Masonic Convention to announce author's renomination as Representative, ix. 310.
- French, Judge, consulted regarding disposition of the Smithsonian Fund, xii. 27.
- French, J. W., Rev., Chaplain of the House, x. 476.
- French, Richard, of Kentucky, in the House of Representatives, xi. 455, 509.
- Frenchmen, drawn as militiamen, iv. 59. (See *Militia*.)
- Frend, William, iii. 452.
- Fresnel, inventor of new light-house light, xii. 187.
- Freudenreich, Mr., iii. 214, 215.
- Frias, Duke of, Spanish Ambassador in London, v. 225.
- Friederichsthal, Chevalier, Attaché to the Austrian Legation, x. 269. Conversation with; description of the condition of the islands of St. Domingo, Jamaica, and Cuba, 280, 282.
- Friendship, the duty of, ix. 105.
- Frigate, Java, sale of, vi. 147. New one for the return of General La Fayette to France, to be named the Brandywine, vii. 27, 30; launch of, 30.
- Frigates, number of, disposable, 194.
- Frohberg, Count, ii. 383, 388.
- Fromentin, Judge, iv. 37; v. 436. Issues writ of habeas corpus for the discharge of Callava; summoned by

- General Jackson for interference, v. 359. Letters of, to the author, 368, 450, 484. Letter to, 375, 379. Papers received from; inflammatory appeals to popularity, 406, 413, 456. On re-nomination of, 441, 450. (See *Jackson*; *Wirt*; *Cabinet*.)
- Frothingham, N. L., Rev., viii. 238, 365; ix. 168, 184, 240; x. 465, 466; xi. 373; xii. 103, 106.
- Fry, Jacob, of Pennsylvania, in the House of Representatives, ix. 322; x. 65.
- Frye, N., Chief Clerk to Paymaster-General, iv. 369, 408; viii. 141, 357; ix. 251, 417.
- Fugitive slaves, fraudulent payments to owners of, xii. 162. Abduction of, in Boston; meeting at Faneuil Hall to consider, 272-275.
- Fuller, H. H., viii. 384, 399.
- Fuller, John E., petitions for expelling duellists from Congress, ix. 503.
- Fuller, Philo C., of New York, in the House of Representatives, ix. 114.
- Fuller, Timothy, of Massachusetts, in the House of Representatives, v. 88, 207, 237, 284, 519; vi. 14, 228, 460, 463; viii. 363, 368. Conversation with, on the Presidential election, v. 89-91, 461, 468, 469. Injurious reports against the writer, urges the vindication from, 461, 468, 469. On the Russell attack, 509, 510, 517. Moves a call of the House for Russell's letter, etc., 518; debate on, 528. Letter of, vi. 62. His amendment to Webster's resolution on the Greek appropriation, 233. Conversation with, on the Massachusetts claim; on Forsyth's motion for reducing diplomatic appropriations, 253; on the elections, 291. Electioneering intrigues against, 302. Charges published in the New York Patriot, 302, 314; reply to, 315. Delivers oration before the Anti-Masons, viii. 378.
- Fulton, Robert, i. 472, 480; iii. 341; iv. 341. Seeks to introduce his steam-boats into Russia, ii. 413, 419, 504, 515. Applies for patent for, 413. Appeal for, viii. 172; ix. 492, 494; xi. 323; xii. 129.
- Fulton, Robert, the steamship, v. 197. Offered for sale to the Government, 198.
- Fulton, William S., Secretary of the Territory of Arkansas, ix. 430. Senator, x. 29, 32. (See *Jackson, A.*)
- Fulton, Mr., State Surveyor, of Georgia, letter of, to Governor Troup, vii. 136.
- Funding systems, ii. 278, 279; vi. 277.
- Funds for internal improvements, viii. 30, 31, 32.
- Funeral of a Russian merchant, description of, ii. 79, 80.
- Furloughs, vii. 245.
- Fürst, Mr., the medallist, vi. 492; vii. 203, 414.
- Fuss, Mr., ii. 110, 115.
- Fust, John, Bible printed by, i. 244.

G.

- Gadsden, James, Captain, Aide-de-Camp of General Jackson, iv. 125, 126. Colonel, nomination of, rejected by the Senate, v. 488, 517.
- Gagarin, Prince, ii. 75.
- Gagarin, Princess, ii. 126.
- Gage, Francis, builder of iron steamers, x. 96.
- Gage, Thomas, British Commander in America, i. 5.
- Gaillard, John, of South Carolina, Senator, v. 201, 263; vi. 223, 348, 438, 454, 497, 527; vii. 57, 105.
- Gaines, Edmund P., General, iii. 45; v. 367; vi. 511. Ordered to reduce the Seminole Indians, iv. 31. Brigadier-General, v. 321. Receives medal from President Monroe, vi. 512; vii. 8, 23, 68, 209, 226. Ordered to the Creek Territory, Georgia, 6. Instructions to, 11, 12, 29, 36. Dispatches from, 33, 37. Proceedings of, at a

- council with the Creek Indians, 58, 79, 87. Dispute with General Scott, 23, 449, 474. Correspondence relating to, viii. 90, 91. Letter of, 506. Interview with, on appointment to office of Major-General, 506. (See *Creeks; Cabinet; Scott.*) Instructions to, on Mexican affairs, communicated to Congress, ix. 278.
- Galabert, iv. 47. Intrigues of, 48, 84.
- Galbraith, John, of Pennsylvania, in the House of Representatives, ix. 138, 326, 338. Proposes restrictions on chartering banks, 338.
- Gale, Dr. T., tenant of the Pea-Patch fortification, seeks redress of New Jersey for dispossession, vii. 59.
- Gales and Seaton, editors of the *National Intelligencer*, iv. 116; v. 76, 155, 260, 272, 284, 525, 528; vi. 33, 119, 120, 228; vii. 165, 186; viii. 437, 525, 537; ix. 70, 211, 218, 351; x. 478.
- Gales, Joseph, vi. 398, 402, 516. Mayor of Washington, viii. 45, 49, 55.
- Galitzin, Prince, i. 84; ii. 240, 528, 529; x. 260.
- Gallatin, Albert, Commissioner to treat for peace with Great Britain, ii. 474, 478, 479, 486, 487; iii. 4, 14, 20, 23, 37, 41, 42, 55, 60, 63, 88, 98, 118, 123, 133-144, 165; iv. 35; v. 357; vi. 60; vii. 16, 330; viii. 26, 417, 418, 422. On the powers to treat; American successes in Canada, ii. 491, 492. On Secretaries of Legation, 493, 498, 499. Against accepting the proposition of Count Romanzoff to defray the expenses of the mission, 506. Dispatches to Count Lieven, and criticisms thereon, 516-518. Appointment of, not confirmed by Senate, 519, 535; assigns motive for, 556. Note of, to Count Romanzoff, 538, 540. Decides to return, 540, 547. Shifts responsibility upon Bayard, 549. Conference with Count Romanzoff, 553. Plan of, to visit Eng-
- land, 561. Preparations for departure, 562, 567. Letter to Count Romanzoff, 569, 573, 576, 590. Reappointment of, 634, 640. In London, 648; Paris, 656. Empowered to negotiate a loan in Holland, iii. 43. Goes to Antwerp, 53. Appointed Minister to France, 182, 189, 208, 226, 495; iv. 73, 504; v. 112, 129, 132, 153, 333, 354, 392, 399; vi. 16, 139, 167, 181, 193. Negotiations for treaty of commerce with Great Britain, iii. 201, 203, 205, 208, 236, 240, 242-247; iv. 73, 97, 233, 369, 407, 447. Dispatches from, v. 59, 74, 179, 197, 262, 423. Letter relating to the Florida Treaty; powers of General Vivés, 97, 106-108, 110, 111. Recommends levying tonnage duty on French vessels, 119, 123, 173, 295. Empowered to conclude treaty of commerce with France, 124. Instructions to, 177, 178, 179, 274. Dispatches to, 230. Claim of Archibald Gracie represented by, 310. Extraordinary conduct of, in affair of the *Apollon*, 376, 392, 418, 425. Return to America, vi. 159, 162. On the American claims upon France, 163, 207. Advocates aid to the Greeks, 173. Remarks of, on the position of the Government towards Russia and the Holy Alliance, 215. Beaumarchais claim negotiations, 238. Special mission to Great Britain, 280. Nominated for the Vice-Presidency, 280. Declines appointment to Panama Congress, vii. 53, 54. Mission to Great Britain, 121. Instructions to, on the Northeastern Boundary question, 144, 222, 226, 427. On the interdiction of colonial trade, 164, 166, 173. Dispatches from, 157, 164, 178, 222, 259, 300, 309, 348. Convention concluded by, on the Slave Indemnity question, 213. Instructions to, on the Northwestern Boundary question, 226. Colonial trade prohibition, 243, 254, 257. Resumption of conferences with

- the British Commissioners, 309. His coachman arrested; question reserved for his Government, 309. Conventions concluded by, 439. Agent on the Northeastern Boundary Commission, 460; viii. 32, 85-87, 147, 160. Letter, 163. Memorial on the tariff, 475. President of the New York Historical Society, xii. 108.
- Gallatin, —, son of Albert, ii. 487, 507.
- Gallaudet, T. H., Rev., founder of the schools for the deaf and dumb, vii. 435. Sermon by, 437.
- Galveston, Texas, iv. 15, 84, 91, 97. Mission to, 91, 97. (See *Amelia Island; Texas*.)
- Gambier, Admiral, Lord, British Commissioner at Ghent, ii. 638; iii. 4, 5, 15, 36, 53, 58, 69, 79, 94-97, 108, 109, 116, 126, 131, 132, 134, 251. The adverse party in Lord Cochrane's trial, 526. Death of, ix. 3.
- Gamble, Roger L., of Georgia, in the House of Representatives, x. 522, 534; xi. 7, 57, 200.
- Ganay, Comte de, vi. 452.
- Gardnier, B., of New York, in the House of Representatives, duel with G. W. Campbell, i. 517.
- Gardiner and Pittston, Maine, memorial to Congress, ix. 131.
- Gardiner, Colonel, xi. 523.
- Gardner, Charles K., vi. 314, 315; viii. 25.
- Garland, Hugh A., elected Clerk of the House of Representatives, x. 50, 375, 380. Action of, in case of New Jersey contested elections, 142, 143, 144. Re-elected, 172. Contracts for stationery, 409, 419, 420. (See *House*, etc.; *Langtree*.)
- Garland, James, of Virginia, in the House of Representatives, ix. 337, 343, 389, 399; x. 413.
- Garland, Rice, of Louisiana, in the House of Representatives, ix. 328, 380, 383, 400, 413, 516, 526; x. 13, 18, 80, 87, 175, 183, 198, 234, 337. Speeches against Independent Treasury bill, 22, 105. (See *Bynum*.)
- Garnett, R. S., of Virginia, in the House of Representatives, vi. 226, 472; vii. 246.
- Garnsey, Daniel G., of New York, in the House of Representatives, vii. 416, 453.
- Garrick, David, v. 267.
- Garrison, William Lloyd, petitions for removal of the seat of government, x. 93, 345.
- Garthwaite, Jeremiah C., viii. 108.
- Gas-lights introduced into the streets of London, iii. 277.
- Gascoigne, Mr., inventor of carronades or gasconades, ii. 113.
- Gassett, Henry, ix. 6, 14.
- Gaston, William, of North Carolina, vii. 547; viii. 4.
- Gaussin, Mr., iii. 152.
- Gay, John, viii. 362.
- Gazette of the United States, viii. 216.
- Geddes, John, recommended to office of Collector of Charleston, South Carolina, viii. 390.
- Geddes, Thomas S., x. 379.
- Gedney, Lieutenant of the U.S. brig Washington, captures Spanish vessel with slaves, x. 132-135; right to capture questioned, 383 (see *Amistad*); claims salvage, 436.
- General Convention of the Episcopal Church, revised book of Psalms by, x. 304.
- General Post-Office, falls into disorder; imputations of fraud in, viii. 338, 340; committee of enquiry on, 340. Destroyed by fire, ix. 326.
- General Santander, the privateer, crew of American citizens, captures United States vessels, vi. 377, 380. Discussions on taking, 381, 383, 386.
- General Urrea, a Mexican armed brig, captured by United States sloop of war, ix. 464.
- Genet, M., Envoy from the French Re-

- public, i. 27, 36, 97, 118, 376; ii. 214, 215; iv. 358; v. 102; ix. 160, 482.
- Genlis, Madame de, pensioned by Napoleon, ii. 292.
- Genoa annexed to Sardinia, iii. 355.
- Gentry, M. P., of Tennessee, in the House of Representatives, x. 195, 292; xi. 194.
- Gentz, A., i. 244.
- George the Third, letters of, to Lord North, i. 108, note. Illness of, ii. 211; iii. 349. Death of, v. 22, 67. His reign, 23.
- George, Prince of Oldenburg, ii. 162. Proposed as successor to the throne of Sweden, 177, 188, 285. Residence of, 623.
- George, Mademoiselle, actress, iii. 552.
- Georgetown-dam bill in Congress, i. 328-340.
- Georgetown Manufacturing Company, ix. 280.
- Georgetown, petition of citizens of, to be receded to the State of Maryland, x. 93.
- Georgia, political parties in, v. 89, 211. Resolutions of the Legislature on the prosecution of Mitchell, the slave-smuggler, 186. Claims of citizens for Creek Indian depredations, 341, 535, 537; vi. 10-13; vii. 545; viii. 47, 54, 78, 82, 91; depredations renewed, vi. 547; vii. 3-6, 8, 11, 12, 219. Military force sent to, 4, 8, 11. Special agent sent to, 11. Survey suspended, 12, 29, 33; arrest of surveyors, 219, 237. Compact with, for extinguishment of Indian land titles; resistance of the Cherokees; letter of the Georgia delegation, vi. 255, 258, 262, 373; vii. 102, 136. Elections in, vi. 476, 487. Governor of, applies for Boundary Commissioners, 536. Government of, in conflict with the General Government; the Governor defies the authority of the Supreme Court, vii. 231; viii. 261, 262, 343. Statute of, declared unconstitutional; the Executive leagued with, 486, 487, 492. Survey between Florida and, discontinued, vii. 273, 409. Memorial of the Surveyor-General, 371. Documents relating to, sent to Congress, 407, 409, 428, 430. State jurisdiction extended over the Indian lands, viii. 343. Resolutions of Legislature, opposing amendment to the Constitution, xii. 13.
- Georgia land claimants, i. 343-345. Opposition to bill by General Jackson, 381; by Bradley, Baldwin, etc., 389.
- Georgia militia claims, ix. 150.
- Gérard, C. A., first Minister of France to the United States, portrait of, by Peale, vii. 50.
- Germany has not its fair share of influence, iii. 505, 506.
- Gerry, Elbridge, i. 21, 250, 468; v. 221.
- Gerry, Elbridge, son of the preceding, Surveyor, removal of, viii. 164.
- Gervais, Mr., ii. 142.
- Gessner, S., author of *The Death of Abel*, i. 217.
- Geuthreyer, Baron, i. 87.
- Ghent, ii. 652. Visit of Emperor of Russia to, 653-655. Prizes given to city officers, etc., 660, 661; v. 129. Departure, 145, 215. Reminiscences of, ix. 3.
- Ghent, Treaty of, v. 129, 355. Commissions under, 44, 139, 160, 461. (See *Commissioners, Peace*.)
- Gholson, James H., of Virginia, in the House of Representatives, speech on the Virginia Resolutions, ix. 107.
- Gholson, Samuel H., of Mississippi, his election to the House of Representatives contested, ix. 365, 445, 471, 483, 487. In the House of Representatives, 379, 384, 389.
- Gholson, Samuel J., Judge, charges against, x. 491. Attack of Claiborne and, against the author, 491.
- Gibbon, Edward, the historian, v. 112; viii. 162, 451. Remarks on his writings, 163.

- Gibraltar, v. 187.
- Gibson, John B., Chief Justice of Pennsylvania, viii. 174.
- Gibson, —, Delegate to the Baltimore Whig Convention, xii. 19.
- Giddings, J. R., of Ohio, in the House of Representatives, x. 89, 205, 296, 416; xi. 101, 103, 113, 115, 149, 178, 293, 484, 500; xii. 12, 31, 133, 231, 236, 245. Speeches, xi. 153, 168, 318. Interview with, 153. On fugitive slaves, xii. 162.
- Giddings, Salmon, Rev., vi. 325.
- Gideon and Way, public printers, vi. 228.
- Gilbert, W. A., of New York, in the House of Representatives, ix. 202.
- Gilchrist, claim of, vi. 463.
- Giles, W. B., in Senate, i. 314. Enmity of, to Judge Chase, 318. Efforts of, to screen Burr from trial, 320. Theory of impeachment, 321-325. Urges the trial of Judge Chase, 328, 353, 362, 363. Opinions of, 342-344, 347, 372, 444, 447. Debates in Senate, 444, 445, 450, 458-462; penal laws, 504-521; habeas corpus, 515-529; John Smith, 527, 528. Mr. Bayard's opinion of, 449. On the Administration and the Federals, 509, 511. Electioneering, 512-514. Governor of Virginia, vii. 104, 472; ix. 263. Writings of, against and in defence of the author, vii. 104. Treason bill of 1808, viii. 121.
- Gilliss, Lieutenant, visit to his Observatory, x. 314.
- Gilman, Nicholas, i. 528, 532.
- Gilman, S. K., of Hallowell, Maine, appointed Collector at Penobscot, vii. 261.
- Gilman, Dr., reminiscences of New England, xii. 275.
- Gilmer, George R., of Georgia, in the House of Representatives, ix. 50, 94, 201, 208, 212; x. 300.
- Gilmer, Thomas W., of Virginia, Governor, x. 401, 456. In the House of Representatives, 493, 501, 511, 515, 540; xi. 12, 60, 77, 182, 220, 221, 234, 240, 243, 330, 464, 472, 480. Attack upon J. M. Botts, 12. Resolution of censure on the writer offered by, 70. Speeches, 83, 123, 198. Secretary of the Navy, 512. Killed by the bursting of a gun on board the war-steamer Princeton, 523. (See *Goggin*.) Funeral of, 525. Remarks upon, 532.
- Gilmor, Robert, letter of, ix. 360, 435; x. 363, 364.
- Gilpin, Henry D., Attorney-General, x. 261. Conversation with, 362. Argues the case of the *Amistad* negroes, 428, 429, 437. (See *Amistad*.)
- Giorgione, his paintings of the Death of Adonis and of Christopher Columbus, ii. 71.
- Girard College, viii. 542.
- Girard, Stephen, bequest of, to the city of Philadelphia, xi. 500; contested in the Supreme Court, 500, 507, 510.
- Girardin's History of Virginia, viii. 286, 291.
- Girouard tried for murder, iii. 161, 162.
- Gisborne, Dr. T., ii. 420-422.
- Giusta, Michael Anthony, viii. 102, 108.
- Glascok, Thomas, of Georgia, in the House of Representatives, ix. 266, 271, 283, 285, 286, 287, 327, 390, 393, 477, 517.
- Gleig's History of the Bible, x. 76.
- Glendy, Dr., vii. 182.
- Glenn, E., the District Attorney at Baltimore, engaged in trial of privateers; instructed to suppress the piracies; letter concerning; flaws in his bills of indictment, iv. 164, 308, 318, 319, 348, 408; v. 154.
- Glenn, John, house destroyed by mob, ix. 252.
- Glentworth, Mr., Surveyor of the Port of Philadelphia, vii. 154.
- Globe, the, newspaper, viii. 301, 317. Articles on the Jackson controversy, 324, 331. War with the Telegraph,

- 357, 477; ix. 36, 128, 201, 280; x. 183, 195, 198, 203, 473; xii. 19, 146.
- Gloria, Donna Maria de, of Portugal, ix. 36, 106. (See *Portugal*.)
- Gloucester, Duke of, iii. 207, 323, 371, 385, 406.
- Gloucester, Princess Sophia of, iii. 323.
- Glukoff, Martin, ii. 78.
- Gneisenau, General, iii. 264.
- Gnesen, Archbishop of, i. 223.
- Godfrey, Martha, story of, vii. 415.
- Goggin, William L., of Virginia, in the House of Representatives, xi. 143. Contests the election of T. W. Gilmer, 445, 495.
- Goguet's Origin of Laws, Arts, and Sciences, x. 124.
- Goldsborough, L. M., Chief of the Navy Commissioners, viii. 141.
- Goldsmith's Earth and Animated Nature, vii. 348.
- Golofkin, General, i. 59.
- Golowkin, Count, i. 231.
- Gomer, the British brig, vii. 280.
- Gomez, Mr., Secretary of the Colombian Minister, vi. 142; vii. 50.
- Gonzalez, Mr., Chargé d'Affaires from Guatemala, vii. 478.
- Good faith not to be made an affair of barter, v. 95, 96.
- Good Friday in Paris, i. 14; services; religious pantomime, ii. 119, 250.
- Goode, Patrick G., of Ohio, in the House of Representatives, x. 277; xi. 202.
- Goode, W. O., of Virginia, in the House of Representatives, xi. 8, 185.
- Goods, American, seizure of, ii. 81-88. (See *John Quincy Adams*; *Romanzoff*; *Denmark*, etc.)
- Goodhue, Samuel, a soldier of the Revolution, conversation with, x. 128, 129.
- Gooding, John, prosecuted for violation of statutes against the slave-trade, vii. 305. Petitions in behalf of, 372, 377.
- Goodman, Social History of Great Britain, written by, xii. 172.
- Goodrich, S. G., ix. 361.
- Goodwyn, Peterson, of Virginia, in the House of Representatives, x. 257.
- Gordon, Mr., the British Minister at Rio Janeiro, vii. 289.
- Gordon, George William, Consul at Rio Janeiro, correspondence on the slave-trade, xii. 256.
- Gordon, Samuel, of New York, in the House of Representatives, ix. 157; x. 498, 526, 528, 541; xi. 141, 242, 325.
- Gordon's History of the American Revolution, viii. 382.
- Gore, Christopher, ix. 131, 234.
- Gorham, B., of Massachusetts, in the House of Representatives, ix. 53, 138, 152, 212.
- Gorostiza, the Mexican Minister, publishes correspondence, ix. 420, 438. Pamphlet not sent by the British Minister; not published, 471; review of, 511. Pamphlet, xi. 360. (See *Forsyth*; *Examination*, etc.)
- Gortschakoff, Prince, Russian Minister at War, ii. 544.
- Gottenburg, convoy of six hundred vessels at, ii. 191. (See *Convoy*.)
- Goulburn, Henry, member of British Commission, ii. 638; iii. 4, 5, 11, 14, 17, 20, 36, 80, 556. Interview with, 24-30. Bitterness of, against the United States, 25, 30. Views of, concerning Canada, 25, 29. On boundaries, 84, 86. On American vessels seized in English ports, 87-89. Violence of, 105, 108, 116, 123-126, 132, 137, 138. Appointed Commissioner to treat on commerce, 208-212, 247, 248; vi. 38. Letter to C. Hughes on the Russian mediation, v. 407.
- Gould, B. A., viii. 397, 408; x. 467.
- Gould, Judge, son-in-law of Uriah Tracy; letters to, on Tracy's share in the Hartford Convention, viii. 141.
- Gourief, M., Minister of Finance at St. Petersburg, ii. 74, 96. Appeal to, in favor of American vessels, 160, 161, 166, 256. On importation of pro-

- hibited articles, 276-278. On the British Ministry; paper money, when oppressive, 278. On prospect of war in America, 384.
- Gouvernet, M. de, i. 82.
- Gouverneur, Samuel Lawrence, of New York, iv. 405, 467; v. 15, 289, 490; vi. 438; viii. 249, 377, 385, 404; xi. 172; xii. 108. Conversations with, on controversy with A. Jackson, xii. 109, 130, 132, 143, 147.
- Government, discussions on, i. 88. Theory of human rights, 88. All, have their opposition, 143. Interference of, in judicial causes, 147, 151. On recognizing foreign, vi. 329. Of a Liberator, viii. 211. Abuses of, ix. 105. Separation of executive from legislative powers, 225, 226. Legitimate, founded on compact, 347.
- Governor of Massachusetts, election of, i. 250, 252.
- Governors of States, on their power to deliver up fugitive criminals, v. 401.
- Gracie, Archibald, desires interposition of the Government with France for seizure of cargo at Antwerp in 1808, v. 310.
- Graham, Captain, passage to England, i. 127-131.
- Graham, George, iv. 13, 15, 20, 25, 97, 266; v. 189; vi. 57; vii. 136, 137, 263, 270. Mission to the Trinity River; negotiations with Lallemand and Lafite, iv. 175. On the Choctaw School Fund, vii. 4. Complaints of, 198. Gives information of proceedings of the Governor of Florida, 227. Commissioner of the General Land Office, viii. 25, 35, 72.
- Graham, James, of North Carolina, in the House of Representatives, seat vacated by decision of the House; re-elected, x. 9, 471; xi. 220, 315, 445.
- Graham, John, Minister to Brazil, iv. 21, 143, 159, 187, 190, 339, 341, 342, 344, 352, 353, 388; v. 130; viii. 18. Agent in the Burr plot, vii. 535.
- Graham, Mr., presents forged passport, ii. 61, 65.
- Graham, —, of Frederick, viii. 220.
- Grahame, History of the Rise of the United States, viii. 220.
- Grampus, the, vi. 441. Bill for relief of survivors of, xi. 497, 501.
- Grand, P. P. F. de, conversation with, on politics, iv. 130, 131.
- Granger, Francis, of New York, ix. 114, 280, 281, 329; x. 195, 434; xi. 63, 398. Candidate for Governor, viii. 261, 326. Proposed for the Presidency, ix. 170. Postmaster-General, v. 481; x. 421; resigns, xi. 16. In the House of Representatives, 32, 161, 191, 241, 316, 319, 327.
- Granger, Gideon, i. 343; v. 266.
- Grant, Abraham, of New York, in the House of Representatives, x. 5.
- Grant, General, Governor of the Bahama Islands, vi. 295.
- Grattan, Mr., iii. 522, 524.
- Graves, a Cherokee chief, vii. 542.
- Graves, Lord, iii. 216.
- Graves, William J., of Kentucky, in the House of Representatives, kills J. Cilley, of Maine, in a duel, ix. 497; xi. 101. Petition for expulsion of, from the House, ix. 502; x. 145, 159, 222, 246, 314, 333.
- Gray, Francis C., attached to the Russian Legation, ii. 3, 21, 22, 32, 134, 147, 214, 284; vii. 129; viii. 408, 539; ix. 266.
- Gray, Hiram, of New York, in the House of Representatives, ix. 382; x. 98.
- Gray, Thomas, Dr., viii. 369; ix. 303.
- Gray, William, iv. 6, 492.
- Gray, —, candidate for District Judge in Missouri, v. 223.
- Gray's Parliamentary Debates, ix. 262.
- Gray's Works, viii. 415. Matthias's edition of, ix. 348. His odes; Dr. Johnson's criticisms on, 349.
- Grayson, William, Colonel, claim of heirs, xii. 248.

- Great Britain, Treaty of Limits negotiated by Mr. King, i. 267; debates on, in Senate, 269-285, 341, 458; President Jefferson's opinion, 466; failure of, 469; delivery of papers relating to, 523. Non-intercourse with, ii. 33. Terms of negotiation proposed by, iii. 5, 6, 18. Indian boundary and pacification with Indians a *sine qua non*, 6, 8, 18, 19, 30. Relations of article to law of nations, 22. Delays of, to grant passports, 61. Claims the islands in Passamaquoddy Bay, 80, 94. 49th parallel of latitude the boundary-line, 94, 95. Prisoners of war, 233. On restoration of slaves captured during the war, 255-259. Declares her intention not to interrupt fisheries, 266, 267. In possession of Malta, 355. Efforts of, for abolition of slavery in the Barbary States, 355, 357-360, 427. Declines to join a general confederacy against the Barbary States, 418, 419. Outrages against, in Algiers, 401. Conditions of peace offered by, 426. Misunderstanding of, with Russia; cause of, 474. Treaty of commerce with, 218-248; negotiations for, renewed, 282. (See *Commerce*.) Contest with Spain for the Columbia River territory, iv. 25. Offers mediation between Spain and the United States, 48, 49, 52, 65. Liberal system towards the South American provinces, 49, 50; proposals relating to recognition of, 91, 205, 207; vi. 180, 189; vii. 14. Denies complicity with the McGregor expedition, iv. 91. Baltimore piracies, 317. Her colonial system, v. 40, 41; vi. 104. On construction of the article of the Treaty of Ghent relating to slaves, v. 158. Treaties with the Netherlands and Portugal, 182, 232. Proposals for the suppression of the slave-trade, 182, 217. Contends for the liberties of Europe, 195. Settlement of Northwest Coast negotiations with Russia, interest in, vi. 101. Neutral in war between France and Spain, 146. Policy of, 152, 153. Congratulates the writer on his accession to the Presidency, 534. Negotiations with, on the Northeastern Boundary question, vii. 143, 157. On the Northwestern boundary, 160. (See *British Government; Boundaries; Commissions; South America*.) Policy of, towards Russia, viii. 164, 176. Influence of, on the Jackson Administration, 169. Refuses to sanction Bolivar's pretensions in Colombia, 190. Threatening aspect of affairs in, 266. Change of commercial policy; ministry of Sir Robert Peel restored, xii. 248. (See *British Government; United States*.)
- Greece, v. 449. On sending an agent to, vi. 173. State of, tributary to the Turks, viii. 167, 175, 184. Mediation in affairs of, 167, 168, 203, 204. Address of the President, 203. (See *Turkey; Ottoman Porte; Krudener*.)
- Greek frigates, vii. 124.
- Greeks, vi. 102, 110, 172, 429. Comparison with the Hebrews, ii. 333, 334. On aiding, vi. 173, 197, 324. Retaliation by the Turks, 414. War between the Turks and, 358. Insurrection, vii. 61, 463. (See *Lurcottis*.)
- Greele, Mr., ix. 304.
- Green, Duff, vii. 274, 370; viii. 510, 511, 525, 535; x. 195. Appointed printer to the Senate, 370. Letter to General Porter concerning publications of C. S. Todd and T. H. Shelby, viii. 64. Public printer, 317, 511, 514. His history of the Jackson Administration, 356, 357. Neapolitan mission, x. 448. Undersheriff's execution, 448.
- Goode, Patrick G., of Ohio, in the House of Representatives, x. 219.
- Green, John Adams, publisher of the Quincy Patriot, ix. 361; xi. 268.
- Green, Nathaniel, Postmaster at Boston, viii. 181, 301, 392, 393.

- Green, R. W., as District Attorney for Rhode Island, vii. 85.
- Green, Willis, of Kentucky, in the House of Representatives, x. 397, 424; xii. 87.
- Greene, Benjamin, nominated as Marshal, vi. 359.
- Greene, William, of Cincinnati, xi. 422.
- Greenhow, Robert, Translator to the Department of State, charged with false translation; exonerated, x. 370, 371. (See *House*, etc.)
- Greenleaf, Daniel, viii. 373; ix. 246, 257.
- Greenleaf, Simon, Royall Professor of Law at Harvard University, ix. 304.
- Greenleaf, Thomas, vii. 131, 147; viii. 240, 367, 368, 373, 376; ix. 246, 254, 362.
- Greenleaf, Mr., i. 117.
- Greenough, H., the sculptor, vii. 434.
- Greenwood, Rev. Mr., vii. 139.
- Gregg, Andrew, his non-importation resolution, i. 415. On speech of J. Randolph on, 418, 419. On Nicholson's resolutions, 415.
- Gregg, Harvey, seeks appointment of Consul at Acapulco, vi. 492.
- Gregory, F. H., Lieutenant-Commandant of the United States schooner the *Grampus*, vi. 322. Captures the Spanish privateer the *Panchita*, 64. First Lieutenant of the *Brandywine* frigate, vii. 48.
- Gregory, Olinthus, work of, on Weights and Measures, iv. 4.
- Gregory, Sherlocke S., petitions of, ix. 374, 448, 460, 497.
- Grehon, Amado, vi. 99. (See *Amado*.)
- Greig, John, of New York, in the House of Representatives, xi. 30, 397, 398.
- Grenet, Abbé, i. 20.
- Grenfell, Mr., iii. 520.
- Grennell, George, of Massachusetts, in the House of Representatives, viii. 539; ix. 55, 152, 538; x. 27.
- Grenville, George, i. 4.
- Grenville, W. W., Foreign Secretary, i. 122; ii. 67; iii. 214. Negotiates on matters connected with the Jay Treaty, 139-167. Transferred to House of Lords, 150. Discussion of American claims, 151; seizure of vessels by an order of the British Government, 152; opinion of, on articles contraband of war, 152; defends the order, 153; rates of indemnity, 154; delivery of posts; reciprocal action, 155; territorial aggressions, 156-158; dismissal of consuls, 157; Mr. Moore and Captain Home, 156, 157, 161, 162, 163, 165. Asserter of English pretensions, ii. 68. His war policy, 108, 109.
- Greuhm, Frederick, Prussian Minister and Consul-General, iii. 493; iv. 16, 17, 177; vi. 225; vii. 25, 26. Death of, 222-226.
- Grey, Lord, i. 133; ii. 108; iii. 206, 207, 439, 554; viii. 346. Prime Minister, 256, 540.
- Griffin, J. K., of South Carolina, in the House of Representatives, x. 172.
- Grinnell, C., vii. 395.
- Grinnell, Joseph, of Massachusetts, in the House of Representatives, xi. 263, 411.
- Grinnell, M. H., of New York, in the House of Representatives, xii. 36. Conversation with, x. 263.
- Griswold, W. A., District Attorney in Vermont, v. 480. Writs for arrest of S. H. Wilcocke, 352. Bearer of complaints against the privateer General Santander, vi. 377, 378.
- Grooten, Mr., ii. 111.
- Grotius asserts moral duty of giving up fugitive criminals, v. 400; ix. 229.
- Grounds, the, shallows on the coast of Denmark, ii. 39.
- Grubb, Mr., iii. 241, 245, 409.
- Grundy, Felix, of Tennessee, in the House of Representatives, viii. 306, 350. Senator, ix. 60. Attorney-General, 113, 139. Death of, x. 384.
- Guadaloupe, v. 391, 448.
- Gual, Don Pedro, Secretary of State for

- Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Colombia, iv. 75; v. 494; vi. 142, 219. His Amelia Island project, 146. Opposes repeal of duties on American merchandise, 220. (See *Colombia*.)
- Guatemala, importance of mission to, vi. 325, 413, 414. Treaty with, vii. 69, 71; ratification of, 163. Contract with Minister of, for canal to the Pacific, 144. Civil war in, 477. On abolishing mission to, 477.
- Guerrero, a Spanish slave trader, vii. 417; viii. 202. (See *Vessels*; *Slaves*.)
- Guerrière, the British frigate, capture of, ii. 418, 421; vii. 277.
- Guess, George, inventor of the Cherokee alphabet, vii. 526.
- Guido, letter of, intercepted, v. 164.
- Guiscard, the assassin, vii. 212.
- Guizot, F., reply to Cass's protest against the Quintuple Treaty, xi. 337, 338, 345. French policy in affairs with Texas, xii. 249.
- Gunboats, call for, i. 477.
- Gunn, Mr., ix. 346.
- Gurley, H. H., of Louisiana, in the House of Representatives, vii. 453.
- Gwin, W. M., of Mississippi, in the House of Representatives, xi. 156, 217, 221, 226, 288, 316, 319, 334.
- Gwinn, Mr., counsel for Leakin and Barnes, ix. 346.
- Gypsum laws, iv. 495; v. 41. (See *Plaster of Paris*.)
- H.**
- Haa-lee-lee-o, Ambassador from the Sandwich Islands, visit of, xi. 274. (See *Richards*.)
- Habersham, R. W., of Georgia, District Attorney, opinion of, on the seizure of the Apollon, v. 337, 418. In the House of Representatives, x. 425, 489, 494, 517; xi. 112, 178.
- Hackett, James H., correspondence with, on the tragedy of Hamlet, x. 137. Sends lithographic likeness of himself, in costume, and a pictorial edition of Hamlet, x. 137, 138. Inquires for author's analysis of Othello, 138.
- Hackley, Richard S., bearer of dispatches from Spain, v. 102, 106.
- Hadjo, Hillis, iv. 184.
- Hadrian, the Emperor, lines of, on death, vi. 78, 79.
- Haff, Lawrence, iv. 64.
- Hagan, Dr., threatens the son of the author, vii. 513.
- Haggard's Admiralty Reports, xi. 487.
- Hagner, Peter, the Third Auditor, vi. 159.
- Hale, Charles, publisher of the Boston Advertiser, ix. 162.
- Hale, John P., of New Hampshire, in the House of Representatives, xi. 462, 501, 531; xii. 12, 35, 43, 142, 144, 152.
- Hale, Selma, iv. 201.
- Halifax, Collector at, proclamation of, vii. 114. (See *British Colonies*, etc.; *Vessels*.)
- Hall of Independence at Philadelphia, reception of General La Fayette at, vi. 423.
- Hall, Allen A., Chargé d'Affaires at Venezuela, xi. 367.
- Hall, Basil, captain in the British Navy, vii. 412. His books of travel, 412; viii. 181, 191, 199.
- Hall, Captain, case of, iv. 140, 141. (See *Court-Martial*.)
- Hall, Hiland, of Vermont, in the House of Representatives, x. 106, 107, 270; xi. 178, 182, 186.
- Hall, Joseph, iv. 6; ix. 28; xi. 468. Judge, vii. 129. Conversation with, viii. 364. (See *Jackson, A.*)
- Hall, J. C., Lieutenant, complaints against, vii. 270; court-martialed, 303.
- Hall, T. H., of North Carolina, in the House of Representatives, viii. 525.
- Hall, Willard, Judge, xii. 111.
- Halleck, Fitz-Greene, ix. 274.
- Hallett, Benjamin F., conversation and

- correspondence with, on nomination for Governor, ix. 6, 52, 59.
- Hallowell, Benjamin, President of the Alexandria Lyceum, letter of, inviting the author to deliver a lecture, x. 177.
- Hallowell, Mr., i. 54.
- Halsey, T. L., Consul at Buenos Ayres, iv. 44, 45, 70, 88; v. 77, 92, 93, 98.
- Halsey, Mr., viii. 422.
- Halstead, William, of New Jersey, in the House of Representatives, ix. 380, 396, 512; x. 15, 151, 514, 528; xi. 143, 147, 168, 231, 287. Contest for seat, 157, 163.
- Hamburg, sale of licenses at, ii. 180. Taken by the Russians, 254, 485. Vessels of, relieved of duties, iv. 116; vii. 348. (See *Hanseatic Cities*.)
- Hamer, Thomas L., of Ohio, in the House of Representatives, ix. 197, 370, 375, 392, 466; x. 22, 99.
- Hamilton, Alexander, iv. 501. Writings of, i. 24; vii. 278, 347. His conflict with Jefferson, iv. 383. His Funding Act, v. 342. Letter to George Cabot, viii. 110, 115, 117.
- Hamilton, A., Jr., publication on the subject of his father's connection with the disunion project of 1804, viii. 145, 152. (See *Disunion Project*; *Hamilton, James A.*) Report upon the Mint, ix. 334. His plan for a constitution, 345, 350.
- Hamilton, Alexander, his project of a substitute for the United States Bank communicated to Congress, x. 490.
- Hamilton, C. B., Surgeon, threatens the author, viii. 24. Letters to Southard, 60.
- Hamilton, James, of South Carolina, in the House of Representatives, vii. 378, 399; viii. 227; ix. 57, 420; x. 269. Urges Calhoun's election, vi. 279. Debate of, with Martindale, on the tariff, 282. On the Massachusetts claim, 334, 335. His call for papers on the Panama mission, vii. 95, 102. Opposes memorial on emancipation, 103. His resolution on the Sedition Law, 397. Chairman of Retrenchment Committee in the House of Representatives, 432. Report to the South Carolina Senate, on the recognition of Texas, ix. 333. Proposes a Convention of banks, 364. (See *Stevenson, A.*)
- Hamilton, James A., viii. 108, 136, 305, 320. Interview with, 110, 117. Correspondence with, published in the National Journal, 118. Conversations with, on the publication of his brother relative to, 145, 152. On negotiations with the Turks, 146, 151; appropriation for, 146, 147. His connection with the Jackson controversy, 325, 327, 329 (see *Rebello*; *Forsyth*). Publishes vindication of imputations in Calhoun's pamphlet, 330.
- Hamilton, Paul, Secretary of the Navy, order of, to Captain Hull, to deliver up the frigate Constitution, vii. 277.
- Hamilton, Thomas, a Scottish traveller, publishes book on America, ix. 15.
- Hamilton, W., iii. 295, 309, 310, 312, 324, 380, 398, 436, 443. Interview with, 476, 477, 513, 514.
- Hamilton, Mr., councillor of the Supreme Court, vi. 507.
- Hamilton, —, Collector at Pensacola, removal of, vii. 75.
- Hamlet, quotation from, ix. 111.
- Hamlin, Hannibal, of Maine, in the House of Representatives, xi. 477; xii. 46, 148, 158, 162.
- Hammett, William H., in the House of Representatives, xi. 504; xii. 40, 125, 143, 146, 154, 160, 161.
- Hammond, Charles, vi. 532; viii. 94.
- Hammond, George, Envoy to the United States, i. 38; ii. 591. Opinion of, on loyalty of Americans, i. 39. Under-Secretary of State, 139. Interview with the author, 139. Conversation with, on case of Vice-Consul Moore,

- 140; on parties in America, 141, 142; balance of trade; opposition to Treaty, etc., 143-146.
- Hammond, Jabez D., vi. 483, 492; vii. 250; viii. 261.
- Hammond, Mr., agent for the State of New York, vii. 53. Urges purchase of fortifications in New York harbor, 53.
- Hampden, John, i. 53.
- Hampshire County, Massachusetts, petition from, praying for prohibition of arrest of fugitive slaves, xi. 492.
- Hampshire Gazette, xi. 276.
- Hampton, Wade, letter of, vii. 34, 37. Opposes the Indian Treaty, vii. 34.
- Hancock, John, i. 5, 38; ii. 23; viii. 274.
- Hancock Lot, the, containing remains of house in which John Hancock was born, presented by J. Adams to the town of Quincy, x. 35.
- Hand, Augustus C., x. 322, 375.
- Handy, James H., viii. 177, 178, 197.
- Hanneberg, Peter, convicted of larceny, petition for pardon of, vii. 407.
- Hannegan, Edward A., of Indiana, in the House of Representatives, ix. 83, 339. Senator, xii. 228.
- Hannum, Captain, captures fugitive slave, xii. 273.
- Hanover, Massachusetts, the writer attends Convention for Improvement of Common Schools at, x. 32.
- Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, x. 236.
- Hanseatic Cities, ii. 64. Letters from Senates of, proposing a treaty of commerce, vii. 348, 358. (See *Commerce*.)
- Haralson, Hugh A., of Georgia, in the House of Representatives, xi. 465, 509; xii. 151.
- Hard, Gideon, of New York, in the House of Representatives, ix. 294, 337.
- Hardin, B., of Kentucky, in the House of Representatives, ix. 45, 46, 56, 78, 83, 120, 144, 147, 197, 201, 202, 205, 207, 212, 277, 283, 291, 324.
- Hardin, John J., of Illinois, in the House of Representatives, xi. 488, 538; xii. 43, 151, 157.
- Harding, Seth, relief of, i. 393, 406, 446.
- Hare, —, convicted of robbing the mail, efforts for release of, vii. 197, 198.
- Harlan, James, of Kentucky, in the House of Representatives, ix. 546; x. 23, 106.
- Harlan, Mr., viii. 426.
- Harold and Ryan, Messrs., Roman Catholic priests, viii. 48. Letter of Mr. Brent in behalf of, 53.
- Harper, Alexander, of Ohio, in the House of Representatives, ix. 530.
- Harper, James, of Pennsylvania, in the House of Representatives, ix. 95, 96, 117, 195.
- Harper, Robert Goodloe, petition in case of Judge Pickering, i. 298, 300, 345; and defence of him, 357; vi. 425. Death of, 468.
- Harper, William, Chancellor of South Carolina, x. 119.
- Harper's Ferry, xi. 440. Excursion to, ix. 140-142.
- Harrington's Oceana, ix. 228.
- Harris, James, i. 12.
- Harris, Leavitt, American Consul at St. Petersburg, ii. 46, 48, 50, 56, 58, 61, 70, 105. Detects forged American registers, 88, 95, 96, 110, 135, 136, 160, 166, 168, 178. On ships' papers, 198. Proposes a provisional treaty, 254, 264, 370. On case of the ship *Thomas*, 391, 392. Commission of, as Secretary to the mission, 495, 498, 530. On interviews with Mr. Bailey and Count Romanzoff, relating to the mission, 539, 540; with Lord Walpole, on rejection of the mediation by England; on extent of powers to treat, 542-544. Proposal to visit headquarters, 554, 560. Communications of, 561. Conversations with Count Romanzoff, 565, 566. Denies having

- formed commercial connections in Russia, 574; insinuations of Bayard, 574-577. Chargé d'Affaires, 590. Visits T. Jefferson, Mr. Madison, and President Monroe, iv. 12. Charges of official corruption against, 282-284, 509. Solicits office of Minister to Russia, 402. Action for slander against W. D. Lewis, v. 292, 301, 310, 328, 355, 383, 529, 533; vi. 97, 410-419; vii. 267. Author's letters brought into Court; deposition of; of Crawford and Calhoun, v. 292-296, 301, 328, 330, 347, 529, 533; vi. 419. Russian, 419. His conduct investigated during his consulship in Russia, 319. Certificate of good conduct furnished by Count Nesselrode, 410.
- Harris, R. D., v. 284; viii. 397, 401.
- Harris, Thaddeus Mason, Rev., vii. 134; viii. 369; ix. 239, 303.
- Harris, Thaddeus W., Dr., Librarian of Harvard University, viii. 546; ix. 304.
- Harris, Mr., President of the Mercantile Library Association at Baltimore, x. 362.
- Harrisburg Convention, the, vi. 248, 250, 253.
- Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, mob at, x. 66, 69. Convention at, nominate W. H. Harrison for the Presidency, 152.
- Harrison, A. G., of Kentucky, in the House of Representatives, x. 15, 27. Death of, 185.
- Harrison, Lieutenant, trial of, vii. 177.
- Harrison, Richard, vi. 507.
- Harrison, Robert Monroe, vi. 81, 445.
- Harrison, William H., General, iv. 73, 76, 81, 245. Medal presented to, vi. 512. In Senate, 514; vii. 83, 117, 223, 225, 371. Seeks the mission to Mexico, vi. 524. Claim for extra services, vii. 83, 105. To be made Major-General, 454, 456, 504, 506. On nominating, to the Colombian mission, 530; viii. 4, 6, 9, 10, 17; troubles at, publishes pamphlet concerning, 211; letter to Bolivar, 212; recalled, 189, 194. Candidate for the Presidency, ix. 382, 392. Presidency, x. 152, 159, 415, 418, 444. Dispatches of, 218. Qualifications for office, 366. Cabinet, 388, 421. Reception of, in Washington, 416. Inauguration of, 439, 440. Illness of, 454, 455, 456. His death, 456; reflections on, 456. Funeral of, 457; order of procession, 459. Proposal of grant of money to widow of, 474. Remains removed to Cincinnati, 485, 487, 488. (See *House*, etc.)
- Harrowby, Lord, iii. 216, 494. On Government, rights of the people, and of Kings, 475, 476. On French notions of liberty, 479.
- Hart, Swanzy, a Revolutionary claimant, ix. 137.
- Hartford Convention and H. G. Otis, viii. 118, 132.
- Harvard University, i. 314. Difficulty with students, 467. Commencement, vii. 145; viii. 405; xii. 209. Elected to the Board of Overseers of, viii. 180, 247. Meetings of Overseers, 365, 378, 406; ix. 157, 162, 178, 303; xi. 263; xii. 204, 208. Invitation to President Jackson, viii. 546, 547. Disturbances among the students, ix. 160, 169, 178, 186; xi. 264. Students subject to criminal jurisdiction or not; discussions on, ix. 163. Proceedings and reports of committee, 163-181. Appointed on the Library Committee, 304. Petition Congress for forbidding duelling, 508. Meeting of the Alumni, x. 348. Chosen President, 467. Resolutions and letters on the resignation of President Quincy, xii. 208.
- Harvests, in England, iii. 422, 438, 453. Bad, in France and Germany, 453. In Ireland, 453.
- Harvey, Colonel, iii. 495, 507. Married to Miss Louisa Caton, 507, 508.

- Hassler, Mr. F., purchases instruments for the Coast Survey, iii. 248. Discovery of error in boundary-line at Lake Champlain, iv. 145, 211. Interviews with Dr. Tiarks to settle the Northern boundary, v. 457. On determination of the latitude, 458. Sent to Europe for purchase of instruments, etc., for Coast Survey, vii. 119. Project for survey of the coast, 453. Reports on weights and measures, viii. 463. Survey of the coast, ix. 202. Correspondence with the Secretary of the Treasury concerning standard of weights and measures, 208; xi. 335. Conversation with, on establishing an observatory, x. 191. On conduct of the Coast Survey, xi. 335.
- Hastings, Marquis of, his vindication of the execution of Colonel Hayne, vi. 375.
- Hastings, —, of Albany, New York, delegate, ix. 120.
- Hastings, John, of Ohio, in the House of Representatives, x. 27, 60, 320, 528; xi. 202.
- Hastings, William Soden, of Massachusetts, in the House of Representatives; carries the election against A. H. Everett, ix. 313, 389, 545. Death of, xi. 189, 190.
- Hatsell's Precedents, ix. 262; x. 114.
- Hatzfeld, Count, i. 213.
- Haughton, Mr., editor of the Boston Atlas, ix. 455. (See *Boston Atlas*.)
- Haugwitz, Count de, pacific policy of, i. 205. His seeming compliance, 224. Bitter against France, 225, 226.
- Hauterive, Mr., iv. 216.
- Havanna, trade with, ii. 181-184; iv. 205. The Governor-General of, iv. 38. Americans imprisoned at, 144. Proposal of the inhabitants to be admitted to the United States, vi. 69-74; terms of, discussed, 72. Agent to, 112. (See *Cuba*; *West Indies*; *Cabinet*; *Sanchez*.)
- Hawes, Albert G., of Kentucky, in the House of Representatives, ix. 46, 78, 126, 202, 205, 212.
- Hawkesbury, Lord, correspondence of, with the Danish Minister, Count Wedel Jarlsberg, on delivering up of a vessel by an Executive order, v. 378.
- Hawkins, Colonel, agent to the commission, arrogates the power of the commissioners, iv. 82; v. 44.
- Hawkins, —, contractor for fortifications on Dauphin Island, v. 490. (See *Dauphin Island*.)
- Hawkins, Micajah T. F., conversation with, ix. 316.
- Hawkins, Samuel, v. 227.
- Hawley, Mr., Rev., Episcopal preacher at St. John's, Washington, D.C., v. 459; vii. 451, 459; viii. 65; x. 459; xi. 508.
- Hay, George, iv. 164, 313, 331, 353; v. 42, 327, 490, 523; vi. 51, 66, 138, 168, 190, 296, 321, 401, 458, 460, 509. Commissioner under the Slave-Indemnity Convention, 160. Correspondence on the Lowrie controversy, 309, 370. Conversation with, on the Edwards investigation, 333. Remarks on T. Jefferson, 349; on W. H. Crawford, 408; on H. Clay, 494. A partisan of A. Jackson, 494. Charged with usury, 511. Recommended for Commissioner of Florida Claims, v. 322. Denounces Russell's attack on the author, 499, 504. Conversation with, 502-504; on author's defence, 522.
- Hay, Mrs., v. 15; vi. 249.
- Hay, Judge, viii. 131. Death of, 249.
- Hay, Mr., Mayor of Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, xi. 438.
- Hayden, Moses, of New York, in the House of Representatives, vi. 353, 463.
- Hayne, Robert Y., of South Carolina, Senator, vi. 176, 328; viii. 109, 187, 334, 464, 482. Meetings at house of, 83. Defeats South Sea Expedition bill, 106. Speeches, 190, 192. Gov-

- ernor; counter-proclamation, 512.
 Joins T. H. Benton in attack on the Eastern States, ix. 235. Leads on the citizens of Charleston, South Carolina, to seize the mails, 255. (See *Benton, T. H.*)
- Haynes, Charles E., of Georgia, in the House of Representatives, ix. 287, 299, 318, 385, 389, 473, 475, 518, 537, 545, 546; x. 12.
- Hayti, xi. 332. On recognizing independence of, vi. 530; vii. 441. Petitions for recognition of, x. 66, 67, 68, (See *West Indies.*)
- Hayward, Daniel, pension granted to, viii. 548.
- Hazard, Samuel, United States Consul at Archangel, ii. 279, 280. Action of, in case of the ship Thomas, 390-392. Letter of, suggesting commercial agreement between Russia and Great Britain, 437.
- Hazeltine, Abner, of New York, in the House of Representatives, ix. 114.
- Hazen, Charlotte, Mrs., widow of an officer in the British army, who joined the American forces; claims indemnification, i. 330, 333, 334.
- Head, Sir Francis, Governor of Upper Canada, message to the Legislature, ix. 467.
- Heads of Departments, opinions required of, by the President; public papers, ix. 88.
- Healy, the artist, his copy of the portrait of Washington, xi. 175.
- Heap, Dr., xi. 369.
- Heath, —, Judge of Admiralty under McGregor, iv. 75.
- Heath, James P., of Maryland, in the House of Representatives, ix. 96, 148.
- Heath, Upton, District Judge at Baltimore, ix. 346.
- Heathcote, Sir Gilbert, iii. 336.
- Heathen mythology, morals inculcated by; influence of Christianity upon, vii. 286.
- Hector, the, ii. 289. And the Commerce, claims for indemnity granted by the Emperor Nicholas, viii. 28.
- Hedge, I. L., Secretary of the Convention of National Republicans for the Plymouth District, Massachusetts, viii. 243.
- Heerman, Dr., distinguished at the attack upon Tripoli in 1804, vii. 501.
- Heinrich, the brig, i. 422; iv. 196.
- Heister, Joseph, the candidate of Duane and the Federal party, v. 113.
- Heister, William, of Pennsylvania, in the House of Representatives, ix. 114.
- Hell Gate, passage of, vii. 152.
- Helvetius, the ship, ii. 35.
- Hemp, viii. 445.
- Hemphill, Joseph, of Pennsylvania, in the House of Representatives, iv. 518; vii. 74; viii. 417.
- Henderson, Colonel, Commandant of the Marine Corps, vi. 514, 527; vii. 256, 270, 293, 314, 426, 449; viii. 5, 33.
- Henderson, J. P., Minister from Texas, xii. 66.
- Hendricks, W., of Indiana, in the House of Representatives, and Senator, vi. 484; vii. 106, 263. Letter of, on Indian land titles, viii. 19.
- Henley, Captain, iv. 20, 75.
- Henley, Thomas, of Indiana, in the House of Representatives, xii. 45, 129, 157.
- Henrick, the brig, i. 292, 294.
- Henry, J., vi. 445.
- Henry, Patrick, vii. 64; viii. 277, 278. Advocates submission of Virginia to Great Britain, vi. 264. Wirt's Life of, ix. 307. His opinion on the Alien and Sedition Acts, 307. Election to the Legislature of Virginia; death of, 308.
- Henry, King of Hayti, iv. 12.
- Henry, Prince of Prussia, secret negotiation of, i. 240.
- Henry, Princess, i. 209, 213, 239.
- Henshaw, David, Collector at Boston, viii. 181, 392, 393.

- Henshaw, John, viii. 402.
- Hereditary Crown has no support in popular sentiment; hereditary rights, viii. 269.
- Hermione, the case of the, i. 158; iii. 232.
- Hermitage, the, Imperial palace of, master-pieces of art in, ii. 74. Theatre, 189.
- Hernandez, agent in Cuba, vi. 137, 138.
- Hernandez, Ignacio, a Mexican priest, bribed to obtain the cession of Mexico, xi. 348.
- Heron's Junius, vii. 317. Notes of, 318. Essay on eloquence, 318.
- Herrera, J. J. de, Secretary of State and Foreign Affairs in Mexico, v. 494.
- Herrick, E., of Maine, in the House of Representatives, vi. 359.
- Herries, J. C., Chancellor of the Exchequer, viii. 265.
- Hersant, Mr., Private Secretary to the Baron de Neuville, v. 280; vi. 30, 98.
- Herschel, the planet, vii. 353.
- Hertsford, Marquis of, iii. 216.
- Hertslet's Collection of Treaties, viii. 67.
- Hickey, Captain, of the Blossom, v. 247, 248, 259. (See *Great Britain; Columbia River*.)
- Hickory Club, the, history of transactions of, published by Dr. Mayo, ix. 429, 430.
- Hicks, Mr., one of the Cherokee Chiefs delegation to the President, vi. 272, 373; vii. 136.
- Higbee, Mr., Rev., sermon upon the Trinity, ix. 506.
- Higginson, Stephen, i. 261.
- Hill, George, complaint of, against G. Graham, vii. 198, 206.
- Hill, Henry, Consul at Rio Janeiro, iv. 353.
- Hill, Isaac, vi. 342; viii. 116, 188; ix. 532. Publishes a life of Andrew Jackson, vii. 415. J. Russell's pamphlet of attack on the writer, viii. 217.
- Hill, Mark Langdon, of Maine, in the House of Representatives, vi. 467, 501, 512, 515. On commerce with the West Indies, iv. 492. On Maine politics, v. 478.
- Hill, Rev. Roland, iii. 362.
- Hill, —, a colored man, sentenced to execution for murder; reprieve solicited for, vii. 202, 204.
- Hillard, Captain, seeks release of his vessel seized for breach of the laws, ii. 390. (See *The Thomas; Harris, Leavitt; Hazard, Samuel*, etc.)
- Hillard, G. S., English oration by, at Harvard University, viii. 406.
- Hillen, Solomon, of Maryland, in the House of Representatives, x. 301.
- Hillhouse, J. A., Senator, i. 287, 288; viii. 226, 227. His action on the bill for introducing slavery into Louisiana, i. 293, 294. Opposes British Aggressions bill, 481, 485. On the disunion project of 1804, viii. 141. His amendment to the Constitution; revised by John Adams, 225, 226.
- Hilliard, Francis, xii. 99.
- Hinckley, portrait-painter, viii. 81.
- Hindman, Colonel, vi. 425.
- Hingham Gazette, viii. 239, 241, 538.
- Hingham Patriot, the, x. 357.
- Hippisley, Sir John Coxe, iii. 515, 556.
- Historical disquisition delivered before the New York Historical Society, x. 110.
- Historical Society of Massachusetts, invite the author to deliver lectures upon history, ix. 253; declines, 254. Address before, xi. 371, 372, 379.
- Historical Society of the University of North Carolina, xii. 264.
- Histories of the American Revolution compared, v. 14.
- History, on writing, viii. 132, 196.
- History of England, by Hallam, ix. 230.
- History of the Law of Nations, by Ward, ix. 229.
- History of the Revolution, by Sir James Mackintosh, ix. 230.
- History, Public, a mask, vi. 98.

- Hitchcock, Rev. Mr., vii. 140.
- Hitchcock, Captain, viii. 540. Refuses to act on Court of Enquiry; reasons for, vii. 271.
- Hitchcock, Professor, report on the Geology of Massachusetts, ix. 47.
- Hoadly, Bishop, iii. 373.
- Hoar, Samuel, of Massachusetts, in the House of Representatives, ix. 294, 313. Expelled by mob from Charleston, South Carolina, xii. 119.
- Hobbes's Works, ix. 225, 226.
- Hobhouse, J. C., letters of, from Paris, iii. 300.
- Hodges, Samuel, Jr., Consul at the Cape de Verd Islands, v. 348.
- Hodgkin, John, contractor for Custom-House at New York, xi. 136.
- Hodgson, W. B., viii. 227, 287. Sent to Algiers to acquire Oriental languages, vii. 106. Chargé d'Affaires, viii. 170. Collection of books of the Oriental languages, 171. Writings of, 283.
- Hoffman, David, vii. 333, 377, 415; viii. 100, 102; x. 365.
- Hoffman, Ogden, of New York, conversation with, on politics, viii. 510. In the House of Representatives, 437, 459, 478, 506, 513, 519, 520, 526, 528, 530; ix. 401, 406, 533; x. 21, 145, 171, 183, 286. District Attorney, 449.
- Hogan, Mr., vi. 111, 239.
- Holabird, William S., United States District Attorney in Connecticut, letter of, and papers communicated to Congress on the Amistad case, x. 378. Falsification of, 398, 442. Appeal by, 438. (See *House*, etc.; *Amistad*.)
- Holbrook, Dr., vii. 124, 132.
- Holcombe, Dr. G. E., of New Jersey, in the House of Representatives, vi. 471.
- Holland, mission to, i. 30. Revolution in, 30. Sympathy of the people with the French, 30. Writer's acknowledgment of the new Government, 31. Regency dismissed; members arrested, 60, 73. French forces enter, 60. Protection to Americans, 61. New States of, 63. Hereditary Princess of, 66. Provisional Assembly, 68, 82; policy of, 86. Abolition of States of Holland and West Friesland, 68; of the ancient constitution, 81. A closer treaty desired, 73. Political intolerance in, 80. Detention of vessels; importation of grain, 86, 87. Commercial intercourse with neutrals, 92. Representative Alquier, 92, 95, 104. Abuses of the Marine Committee, 118. Ports of, ii. 59. Monarchical Constitution of, 70. Union with France, 146, 242. North, 647.
- Holland House, iii. 371.
- Holland, Captain, of the Nimble, vii. 417.
- Holland, Lord, iii. 302, 304, 368, 371-375, 478, 489.
- Holland, W. M., his Life of Martin Van Buren, ix. 276.
- Holleman, Joel, of Virginia, in the House of Representatives, x. 317.
- Holley, Horace, Dr., President of the Transylvania University at Lexington, Kentucky, iv. 130. His project of a travelling academy, vii. 323. His death, of yellow fever, 323. His genius, learning, and eloquence, 323.
- Hollingsworth, John, v. 463.
- Hollingsworth, J., Consul at St. Eustatius, letters of, vi. 83, 88, 103.
- Hollins and McBlair, Baltimore merchants, failure of, iv. 370.
- Hollins, —, seeks the interposition of Government for claim on Spain, vi. 468.
- Holmes, Abiel, Rev., viii. 365.
- Holmes, Isaac E., of South Carolina, x. 387. In the House of Representatives, 160, 287, 288, 426, 487, 514, 532; xi. 8, 191, 242, 293, 327, 455, 487; xii. 11, 30, 146, 238.
- Holmes, John, of Maine, in the House

- of Representatives, iv. 34, 183, 210, 213, 218, 228, 277, 278, 281, 441, 502; v. 91, 314; Senator, vi. 115, 119, 354; vii. 206, 460; viii. 113, 186, 191, 517. Proposed for mission to Chili, 128. His article against the Slave-Trade Convention, 368.
- Holsey, Hopkins, of Georgia, in the House of Representatives, x. 105. Speech on the Indian Appropriation Bill, 547, 548. His views of law and justice, 549.
- Holstein, ports of, seizure of American property in, ii. 81-91, 97, 109, 155. (See *Denmark*; *Romanzoff*; *J. Q. Adams*.)
- Holstein, Prince of, ii. 33.
- Holstein-Beck, Duke of, i. 240.
- Holstein Ducoudray, vi. 81. Prosecution of, for expedition against the island of Porto Rico, 105, 429-431. His attempt to liberate La Fayette, 430.
- Holy Alliance, the, iii. 506; iv. 394, 404; v. 424. Opposition to, in the United States; in Great Britain, vi. 170, 177, 202. Project of, to restore the South American colonies to Spain, 177, 197. Panic of, upon the surrender of Cadiz, 185, 186. Designs of, on Mexico, 207. Rumors of invasion by, 226. (See *Russia*; *Great Britain*.)
- Homans, B., iv. 9, 133.
- Home, associations and value of, x. 346.
- Home, Captain, charged with violating American territory, i. 156, 160.
- Home Department, proposed establishment of a, vii. 109. (See *Executive Department*.)
- Home Missionary Society, report of, ix. 245.
- Homer, tomb of, ii. 143.
- Homer and Palmer, publish Congressional speeches on the French Treaty question, ix. 220.
- Homer, Joseph, pamphlet by, viii. 392.
- Hone, P., Mayor of New York, vii. 127; viii. 421.
- Hooc, George M., Lieutenant, Court-martial, x. 307.
- Hook, Captain, v. 485.
- Hope, the, sent on voyage of discovery, taken by the British, iii. 457.
- Hope & Co., claim for debt of the Territory of Florida, xi. 315.
- Hopkins, George W., of Virginia, in the House of Representatives, x. 51, 260, 272, 279, 337; xii. 14, 16, 20, 48, 138, 142, 145, 146, 150, 152, 156. Lieutenant-Governor, 401.
- Hopkins, J. H., Bishop of Vermont, xi. 508.
- Hopkinson, Alexander, vii. 48, 331.
- Hopkinson, John, Dr., vii. 93, 126.
- Hopkinson, Joseph, counsel for Judge Chase, i. 345, 347, 352; his argument in defence, 356. Letter of, to Mr. Daschkoff, iii. 501. Conversation with, on the Presidential election, iv. 193, 194, 210, 281. Promotes the writer's election, v. 297-299; vi. 130-132. Counsel for Captain Charles Stewart, vii. 45. President of the Academy of Fine Arts in Philadelphia, vi. 423. Correspondence with the Prussian Chargé d'Affaires, 494. Judge, viii. 113, 251, 405, 542; x. 117, 361.
- Hopkinson, Thomas, vii. 48.
- Horace, the ship that took the writer with his family to Russia, ii. 3, 276.
- Horace, Art of Poetry, v. 495. Odes of, vii. 151; viii. 140, 142, 148, 149, 150, 339; ix. 231; x. 119-122. Quotations from, vii. 30, 444. Essential lyric character, ix. 230. Carmen Sæculare, 349.
- Horn, Henry, of Pennsylvania, in the House of Representatives, viii. 438, 462, 492, 494, 500, 506. (See *House*.)
- Horner, Mr., iii. 208, 234.
- Hornet, the, captures English sloop of war the Peacock, ii. 469. Ordered to Tacubaya, vii. 160; viii. 37.

- Horsley, Bishop, lii. 373. Sermons of, 498-500.
- Horton, Lloyd G., x. 36.
- Hostetter, Jacob, v. 207.
- Hottinguer, Mr., iii. 172, 196.
- Hough, Mr., vii. 165.
- Houghton, claims assistance, i. 119.
- Houghton, editor of the Boston Atlas, x. 443.
- House of Braganza, v. 176, 194.
- House of Commons, theory of representation in, iii. 373, 374. Debates in, 520-524. On reforming plan of elections in, 534-536. Debates in, 231, 238, 327, 520-527. Precedents in cases of contempt, ix. 144. Journals of the, 262.
- House of Lords, debate in, iii. 220. (See *House of Commons*.)
- House of Representatives, pass resolutions of censure on Jackson's proceedings in Florida, iv. 245, 247. Choice of Speaker, v. 202, 446. Calls for information on commercial regulations of Europe, 221-2. Resolution demanding enquiries into disbursements of Department of State, 226. Committee in, on expenditures of the Executive Departments, 227. Motions and resolutions on admission of Missouri (see *Missouri*). Disorderly proceedings in, 276, 277. Censures army appointments of the President, 486. Resolution of, recommending the slave-trade to be piracy by the law of nations, vi. 148. Message to, on rejection of the Slave-Trade Convention by the Senate, 346. Expenditures of the, how considered, 378. Transfer of appropriations, 378, 383. Resolution of, calling for correspondence from the Pacific, 461; with the Netherlands, 475. Committee on the affair of Clay and Kremer, 497. Election of Speaker of, vii. 68, 70, 71; viii. 431; ix. 42; x. 150, 155, 161, 163-165. Messages of the President, vii. 72, 163, 178, 189, 197. Resolutions of, for proceedings of trials of D. Porter, 79. Concerning roads and canals, 80; viii. 34, 436. Calling for the legal proceedings in case of slaves captured in Alabama, vii. 85, 88. Secret message of T. Jefferson considered confidentially, 94. Committee of Foreign Relations, 107. Call for correspondence on the Northwest Coast question; speech on Territorial rights, 108; ix. 535, 539. Debates on the Panama mission, vii. 111; resolution calling for correspondence on, passed, 111, 113. Discussion of messages by Cabinet considered, 190. Well fitted to take part in Presidential elections, 301. Chilton's resolutions for reform, debates on, 414, 416, 417, 419, 421. Call of, for McKenney's report; for correspondence concerning Indian passports, 483. Retrenchment Committee, viii. 8. Investigation of secret service in Cuba, 21. Appropriations for Turkish Commissioners, 328. Appointment of committees, the Speaker has no power to change, 436, 437. Committee on Manufactures, appointed chairman of, 433; proceedings, 438-537; ix. 54. Petitions and memorials, presentation of, viii. 434, 435, 475, 481, 523; ix. 49, 52, 55, 61, 63, 80, 90, 93-97, 111, 118, 123, 124, 128, 131, 138, 206, 208, 266, 271, 274-276, 282, 288, 298, 300, 321, 329, 330, 334, 373, 374, 376, 378, 381, 384, 387, 388, 393, 397, 404, 447-449, 452, 457, 460, 461, 463, 468-470, 486, 496, 507, 510, 515, 519, 523, 536-538; x. 8, 15, 16, 64, 76, 92, 99, 105, 192, 211, 249, 259, 376, 380, 389, 402, 479, 484, 485, 491, 515, 532; xi. 39, 54, 60, 61, 64, 66, 100, 101, 138, 140, 146, 165, 198, 450, 461, 463, 482, 492, 503, 514; xii. 27, 40, 50, 55, 119, 122, 131, 137, 139, 156, 160, 176, 220. Debates on anti-slavery in the

District of Columbia, viii. 434, 435, 475, 481; ix. 267, 271, 286; anti-tariff, viii. 509. Committee to report Tariff bill; resolutions and debates on, 434, 458, 467, 501, 513, 516-519, 521, 524, 527; ix. 329; x. 245, 249, 486, 511, 514; xi. 45, 49, 53, 172, 176, 179, 180, 182, 184, 188, 191-193, 194, 195, 197, 199-211, 232, 233, 237-242, 244, 245, 528; xii. 15, 19-21, 25, 127. (See *Revenue Bill*.) Claims upon France, viii. 434-436, 437; ix. 195, 202-207, 212, 217, 472; xi. 188, 308. Internal improvement, viii. 435, 503. Bill for adjusting South Carolina claim, 452, 473. Census Apportionment bill, 455, 460, 464, 465-472, 474; x. 526, 532, 533; xi. 68, 138, 139, 141-148, 175-179, 189, 194, 199. (See *Massachusetts Resolves*.) Private bills, 459; xii. 151, 248. For commercial arrangement with the Colombian Republic, viii. 461. Chickasaw Treaty, 466. Joint committee to consider the mode of celebrating Washington's centennial birthday, 468, 469; resolution for transporting the remains of, for interment under the Capitol, 470, 471, 473. Representation in, 476. Massachusetts Resolves, 522, 523; on the Apportionment bill, xi. 455, 457, 458, 464, 472, 480-482, 499, 511, 532-543; on the annexation of Texas, xii. 12; of March, 1843, 3, 4, 6, 12, 13. Balloting for printer, viii. 525. Enforcing bill, 526, 527, 528. (See *Revenue Collection Bill*.) Revenue Collection bill, 528-530; McDuffie's amendment, 531. Bill for distributing public lands, 531. Harbor and Lighthouse bill, 531, 532. Land-warrants, 531, 532. Indian treaties, 532; ix. 299. Hardware bill, viii. 532. Territorial bills, 533; ix. 207, 277; x. 341; xi. 213, 214, 308, 314. United States Bank, inquiries into affairs of the, viii. 480, 481, 483,

488-491, 493-498, 501, 502, 528, 531; ix. 44, 45, 98, 108, 123, 125, 143, 249. On removal of deposits from, 44, 49, 51, 53-61, 64, 71, 72, 76, 77, 80, 82, 87-90, 96, 98, 106, 111, 112, 115, 120-122, 129, 149, 155, 249. Bills, 378, 379-384. Movement against, xii. 55. (See *United States Bank*.) General Appropriation bills, iv. 312; v. 266; viii. 480, 496, 498, 531, 532; ix. 125, 127, 132, 135, 136, 212, 277, 409; x. 283, 424, 425; xi. 95, 102, 106, 108, 122, 123, 125, 127, 129, 134, 135, 223, 327, 329, 330. Revenue bill for prevention of frauds on, viii. 501. Nullification, 503-505, 533. South Carolina, ordinance of the Convention, 507-512. Call for the Buenos Ayres correspondence, 509. Judiciary Committee bill on continuing the office of reporter to the House, 517. Rules, 517, 518, 529; ix. 43, 48, 53, 56, 121, 126, 135, 375, 377; x. 164, 497; xii. 221. Contested elections; between Thomas P. Moore and Robert P. Letcher, of Kentucky, ix. 42, 44, 45, 46, 144-148; between James Duane Doty and George W. Jones, delegates from Wisconsin, x. 49, 59, 73, 85; between the five New Jersey candidates, J. Philemon Dickerson, Peter D. Vroom, W. R. Cooper, D. B. Ryall, Joseph Kille, and W. Halstead, J. B. Ayerigg, J. P. B. Maxwell, T. J. York, and C. C. Stratton, 142-163, 187, 189; certificates of election, 149, 154; referred to Committee on Elections, 186; proceedings on, 166-171, 186-202, 226, 230, 232, 234-238, 254, 335, 336; between Claiborne and Gholson, ix. 366, 389; Prentice and Wood, 470-474, 477, 482-487; Naylor and Ingersoll, 394; bill on, xi. 230, 287, 448, 454, 492, 495, 504-512; Botts and Jones, xii. 30, 32, 35. (See *Contested Elections*.) Amendments

to the Constitution limiting the Presidential term, debates on, ix. 50, 205, 208, 210, 322; x. 376, 486; xi. 8. Pensions, ix. 77-79, 82-84, 85, 88, 90. Partial Appropriation bill, conference with the Senate on, 77-79, 81, 83, 84, 89; x. 64. Indian annuities, ix. 83. (*See Indian Appropriation Bill.*) Writer's notice before the, of the death of W. Wirt, 100, 101. Indian Appropriation bill, 101, 102, 149, 283, 337, 402, 474, 539, 546, 551; x. 3-6, 9, 106, 337; xi. 191, 500; xii. 55, 56, 141, 162. Potomac Bridge bill, ix. 103. Revolutionary claims, 103, 137, 153, 328. (*See Pension Laws.*) Army Appropriation bills, 109, 198; x. 339; xi. 153, 161-170, 217, 231, 304; xii. 8, 9, 52-56, 173-176. Cumberland Road bills, ix. 112, 150; x. 214, 217, 218. Deposit banks, call for information concerning, ix. 115, 116, 121, 127, 128, 338, 339, 343, 392, 400, 408-411, 413, 414; xii. 168. Pension Commutation bill, ix. 120. On the control of the public moneys, 129, 132. Foreign Ministers, salaries of, 135. Fortification bills, 150, 213, 280, 286; x. 340, 505-509, 536-546; xi. 234, 326; xii. 33. Harbor bill, ix. 151, 154. Action of the, on the death of General La Fayette, 154, 155, 192, 196. Northeastern Boundary question, 192, 194, 372, 381, 452, 489, 491; x. 13, 107, 421. Michigan and Ohio Boundary bill, ix. 197-200, 292, 295, 297. Mode of electing officers of the, 201, 202, 208; x. 59. Petitions, mode of presenting, ix. 266, 270, 290; x. 267, 268. Act of, accepting the Smithsonian bequest, ix. 268-270, 272, 276, 298; x. 180, 224, 229; committee on, 86, 102, 104, 194; bill, xi. 12. Western frontier defence, ix. 278, 283, 284. Mexican relations; call for information on; correspondence, 278, 281-285, 371, 391, 397, 398; x. 6, 28, 29;

xi. 204, 206, 208, 543; xii. 127, 128; treaty, ix. 282, 336; claims, xii. 150; war declared, 262. Public Land bills, ix. 280; x. 13, 16-20, 485, 493, 495, 497, 500, 539, 545; xi. 53, 56, 60, 119; xii. 121, 128, 137, 162. Dutch loan, ix. 282. Abolition petitions, opposition to reception of; debates on, 283, 284, 285-288, 381, 453-455, 486; x. 8, 9, 16, 60, 61, 62, 64-67, 71, 73, 179, 180, 186, 194-205, 206, 216, 223, 261, 368, 369, 402, 527; xi. 50, 51, 109, 272-278, 451, 454, 455, 461, 463, 466, 468, 470, 475, 477, 481, 494, 504, 517, 522-526. Motion to rescind the gag-rule, carried, xii. 115, 116; substitute for, 222. Bill for reorganizing the Post-Office Department, ix. 284. On compulsory voting, 287, 288, 290. Bill for the admission of Arkansas as a State, 292, 294-296; of Michigan, 289-297. Alabama land frauds, 300. On Texas affairs, 301, 333. President's Message, debates on, committee of investigation called for, 323, 327-330. Mint bill, 331, 336, 337. Pension Act, 337. Pensioners, 337, 489. Slave-holders, in the, 370. Sub-Treasury bills, 371, 376, 398-407, 516; x. 28, 483, 485, 489, 490, 493, 508, 510, 525, 528; xii. 128, 129, 161. Treasury Note bill, ix. 373, 385, 390, 391, 394, 396, 397, 528, 535; x. 235, 244-247, 400, 407, 411-414; xi. 57, 59, 78. Defence of the right of petition, ix. 374. Florida war, conduct of, investigated, 379, 393-396, 400, 402, 407, 475. Brazilian correspondence, 381, 391. National Bank, 385, 387, 389, 391. Merchants' Bonds bill, 399, 400. Subserviency of the Committee of Ways and Means to the Executive exposed in speech of R. Fletcher in Faneuil Hall, 449; their protest, and explanation of Mr. Fletcher, 449-451, 452. Texas, annexation of, debates and resolutions

- on, 451; x. 18, 20, 22-29, 30; xi. 328, 330; xii. 30-33, 49, 51, 118, 122, 127, 131-145, 150-152, 163, 170, 174, 222. (See *Texas*.) Call for Gorostiza's pamphlet, ix. 452, 471, 481, 483. Petition of New York Peace Society, debates on referring to committee, 457-459; printing of, 460, 461. Call for documents respecting the capture of the Mexican brig General Urrea, 464, 465. Amendment to, 466. On the Canada invasion, call for information as to frontier defences, 466; debates on, 468. (See *Neutrality Bill*.) Debates on charges of corruption from Matthew L. Davis, "The Spy in Washington," 493, 494; addresses the House, 495. Cilley committee appointed to investigate the duel with W. J. Graves, 497; petition referred to, 502; report of, 519. Neutrality bill, 497, 499, 505. Petition for expulsion of the writer, 501, 537. Civil and Diplomatic Appropriation bill, 509, 511-516; x. 106, 261, 279, 419, 423; xi. 322; xii. 43-45, 48, 55, 56, 171, 172, 270. Duel report, ix. 519-528. Resolutions of the Massachusetts Legislature, 537-545. (See *Massachusetts*.) District banks, on continuing the charters of, 540, 541, 545, 546. Bill, x. 535; xi. 92. Call for correspondence with Texas, ix. 545; x. 6. Lake survey, 3, 12. Bill for establishing the Territory of Iowa, 10-12. Dueling bill, 28, 50, 56, 67. Absentees, 30. Appropriation for printing Mr. Madison's papers, 31. On admitting members of a foreign legislature, 58. Report of the Secretary of the Treasury on the Swartwout defalcation, 58, 70, 74, 94-97, 98, 106. Call for information of popular movement at Harrisburg, 66. Fry's resolution accepted, 66. Reading and discussion of papers on, 69. Recognition of Hayti discussed, 67, 74. Debates on public printing, 80, 204, 207-209, 260. Disorder, 207. Committee of, authorized to swear witnesses, 210. Resolutions of New Jersey Legislature; of Governor, 211, 212 (see *New Jersey*); of Missouri, Anti-Abolition, 212. Letter of assassination submitted to the, 81, 84. Insists upon amendment of the journal to state facts relating to, 83. Bill for relief of Pamela Brown, widow of General James Brown, opposed by S. Williams, Duncan, and Dromgoole; passed, 87. Call for documents in case of Commodore Elliot, 95. Light-house bill, 101; xii. 54. Treasury reports, x. 104; xii. 124. Bill from Senate for armed occupation of Florida, x. 105. Virginia commutation claims, report against, 106, 107. State stock investments, 239, 256, 384, 486, 545. *Mêlée* in the, between Bynum and Garland, 270; committee to investigate, 271. Appropriation for magnetic and meteorological observations, 306, 309, 313, 320, 327. Treasury deficit, power of the President to postpone payments, 337, 339, 389. Navy Appropriation bills, 339, 432, 433, 503; xi. 156-159, 185, 215, 223, 310, 313, 497, 520; xii. 31-33, 48, 53, 56, 173, 174, 270. West Point Academy Appropriation, x. 339; xii. 168, 262, 265. Public buildings, x. 340. Hooe's Court-martial, 344. Naturalization bill, 375, 379. Call for documents relating to China, 375, 376. Committee to examine the falsification of documents in the *Amistad* case, 375, 377-391, 398. Navy Pension Fund, appropriation for, 371, 378, 383-385. (See *Bill, Navy Pension*.) Silk bill, 396, 397. On seizure of vessels by British cruisers, 410. Measures taken on the death of the President, William H. Harrison, 472-476. Revenue bill, x. 251-288, 329-336, 512-519; xi. 10, 13; a third time referred to Com-

mittee of Manufactures; opposed by Pickens and Wise, sustained by Stanley and Tillinghast, x. 381. Report of meeting of New York merchants discussed; Robert Jaffray's letter, 383; bill reported, 386; Senate's amendments, 390; New York Committee, 395. Pension Appropriation bill, 415, 419. Thompson's motion to buy Indian surrender in Florida, 415, 416. Presidential electoral votes counted, 418. Bill for the relief of the widow of President Harrison, 481. Coast Survey, 485, 487; xi. 50. African slave-trade, x. 485. Loan bill, 486, 498, 501; xi. 118, 134. Bankrupt bill, x. 510, 518, 526, 528. Bank bill, 519-537. Fiscal Corporation bill, 537, 538-540; xi. 11-13. Presidential veto, 8. Van Diemen's Land, 8, 9. Post-Office Appropriation, 4; xii. 33, 141. Neapolitan mission, xi. 11, 12. Bill on tonnage duties, 50. Veto message, 12. Bankrupt law repealed; remonstrances against, 60; debates on repeal of, 55-62, 63, 64, 109. Call for information on Texan expedition, 60. Georgia petitions for writer's removal from Committee of Foreign Relations; not allowed to speak in his own defence, 69, 70. Gilmer's resolution of censure upon the writer, 70; Marshall offers a more violent one, 72, 74; debates on, 75, 82. Committee of Foreign Affairs, 50, 121, 122, 127, 130, 132, 133; resignation of five members, 89, 92, 94; on reducing diplomatic missions, 109. District Bank bill, 92; xii. 51, 52. Bill for relief of John Barns; debate on, xi. 100. Meeting of Whig members, 116. Call of the House, 125, 126. War Steamer bill, 127, 129. On Custom-House, 130. On missions, 132. On Judicial Courts, 137. Bill to prohibit transportation of mails in foreign vessels, 140. New York Custom-House investigation, 144-148, 151-

153, 158, 167, 171, 218. (See *Poin-dexter*.) Reply to Wise's attack on Northern manufacturers, 146. Investigation of charges against the Governor of the Wisconsin Territory, 154. Conference with the Senate on Civil Appropriation bill, 154, 155. Joint resolution forbidding reproduction of rejected claims against the Government, 161. Army, reduction of; debates on, 161-170, 218, 220, 227, 228, 231, 238. Committee reports, 163. Bills relating to the District of Columbia, 166, 167. Land claims, 174. Louisiana, xii. 33, 39, 41, 49, 54, 56. Bill for remission of A. Jackson's fine; for the relief of, xi. 175, 179, 244, 274, 282, 289, 312, 314, 465, 468, 478. Virginia military land warrants, 178-188, 198, 199. Party combinations, 179. Quintuple Treaty, message on, declining to give information, 181, 182, 193, 201, 243, 337. Bill for the relief of James C. Watson, 186. Arnold's bill for reducing the pay of members of Congress, 212, 214, 221, 222, 224. Bill for the armed occupation of Florida, 212. Bankrupt Act, 214, 217, 272, 281, 282, 287, 292-297. On refusal of Secretary of War to communicate papers relating to the transactions with the Cherokee Indians, 223, 224, 228, 229, 232, 235. Opposition of the Tyler party, 224. Senate bill for altering the Judicial Courts, 233. Repeal of proviso suspending the distribution of the land-sales, 244. Appropriation for filibusters in Mexico, 247. Third session, 271. Bill for reorganizing the Navy Department, 245. Appropriation for Consul at the Sandwich Islands, 284, 296-300. Exchequer bill, debates on, 290, 301-304. (See *Florida*.) Right of petition, discussions on Senate's resolution, 293. Ashburton Treaty, appropriations for, 296, 297; Cushing's report on, 319; Meriwether's report,

321, 325, 326, 330. Reports on memorial of B. Rich against imprisonment of colored seamen, 298, 299. W. Cost Johnson's resolution for paying State debts, 301, 317, 320; Ingersoll's motion, 322; Johnson's report, 330, 332. Call for information on cession of California to Great Britain, 303. On invasion by Commodore Jones, 304-307, 331. Appropriation for mission to China, 305, 325. Bill to pay the Iowa militia, 306. Arnold's Retrenchment bill, 311, 319, 320. Bill for occupation of Oregon Territory, 314-316, 321, 494, 516; amendment excluding slavery, 316, 318. Florida Relief bill, 316. Latimer petition, 324, 326, 451. Pension bill for widows of Revolutionary soldiers, 324. Debates on the case of W. Jones, imprisoned for jail-fees, 463-465. Remounting of dragoon corps, 463, 537, 538, 544. Call for information on the African squadron, 470. Rhett's anti-tariff resolution, 471; bill, xii. 14, 17. Copyright bill, xi. 474, 489, 506. Improvement of the Western waters, appropriation for, recommended, 486, 490; xii. 168. Petition against delivering up fugitive slaves; appeal from reception of; rejected, xi. 492. Motion for exclusion of newspaper reporters, 496. Portuguese Treaty question, 505. Committee of arrangements for the funeral of the two Secretaries of State and of the Navy killed on board the *Princeton*, 523. Rhode Island memorial on case of fugitive negroes from St. Augustine, 526-538. (See *Ashburton Treaty*.) Virginia resolutions, 527, 540. Georgia, xii. 3, 4, 6. West Point Appropriation bill, xi. 531, 533. Naval bill, 531. Lead Mine bill, xii. 5. Army Pay bill, 6, 169. Appropriations for the Patent Office, 8. Bill to incorporate Georgetown College, 8. Rhode Island memorial against inter-

ference of Congress in State affairs, 10, 124, 125, 137, 174. Western Harbor bill, 11, 12, 13, 14. Call for correspondence with Spain, 20. Census, inquiry into errors of the, 22, 23, 27, 123. (See *American Statistical Association*.) Bill for repressing disorders in the, 23. Treaties with the Hanse towns; with Denmark and Sweden, 26, 43. Bill on election of Presidential Electors, 27, 123, 124. Eastern Harbor bill, 28, 51-53. Occupation of Oregon, 30, 34, 39, 124, 131, 154, 157-161, 173, 174, 229-246, 257. Franking privilege, inquiry into abuse of the, 32. Pension laws, amendment of, 34, 38, 39, 55. Post-offices and postal roads, 30, 47-49, 52, 53, 151, 172, 173, 175. Messages, 51, 54, 116, 118, 127, 152, 261. Navy Pension bill, 51, 168. (See *Navy Pension Fund*.) City banks, 57. Proposal for establishing the Territory of Nebraska, 121, 122; military posts in, and in Oregon, 150. Tariff act of 1843, modification of, 125. Missouri compromise, 145. Clerk of the, inquiry into embezzlement of public funds by, 148-150. Treaty with China, 152, 158. Chesapeake and Ohio Canal bill, 161. Bill for admission of Iowa and Florida, 164, 166, 167, 176. Bill to incorporate two new regiments of riflemen, 229, 253. Attempt to prohibit owning of slaves in the District of Columbia; defeated, 245. Bill for curtailing mileage pay of Senators, 247. River and Harbor bill, 252. Message in favor of increasing the army, 253. Smithsonian Bequest bill, 258, 259, 261. On mode of making appropriations, 265-267. Bill for the improvement of inland seas, 269. House of Romanoff, establishment of the, viii. 198. Houses, historical commentary on, iii. 275.

- Houston, Felix, vi. 489, 510.
- Houston, George S., of Alabama, in the House of Representatives, x. 485; xii. 36, 44, 121, 156.
- Houston, Judge, District Judge at Baltimore, iv. 186, 319.
- Houston, Samuel, General, vi. 372, 512. Bearer of correspondence between A. Jackson and the Secretary of the Navy, vii. 218, 221. In Texas, ix. 282. President, 420, 430; xi. 360, 486. Plans the cession of, 41, 349, 365.
- Howard, B. C., of Maryland, in the House of Representatives, viii. 435. Speech of, 460, 469; ix. 293, 373, 389, 392, 393, 448, 458, 464, 466, 484, 498, 518, 539; x. 3, 28, 51, 72, 107. Speech on the Texas question, 18, 20. Reproach on petitions of women, 26, 36. Conversation with, on Northeastern Boundary question, 364.
- Howard, Charles Wallace, Rev., ix. 525.
- Howard, Colonel, sent to keep peace between parties in the Ohio boundary dispute, ix. 227. (See *Rush*.)
- Howard, Dr., son of Colonel Howard, member of the Board of Internal Improvement, vi. 463.
- Howard, Jacob M., of Michigan, in the House of Representatives, x. 532. (See *Dromgoole*.)
- Howard, John Eager, Colonel, vi. 426. Accompanies La Fayette to Washington, vii. 39. Death of, 333. Funeral of, 334, 335.
- Howard Society, x. 414.
- Howe, Appleton, of Massachusetts, nominated for Congress, xii. 88, 92, 104. Renominated, 276.
- Howe, S. G., Dr., xii. 272, 273. (See *Fugitive Slaves*.)
- Howell's State Trials, xi. 487.
- Howick, Lord, ii. 67.
- Howland, Benjamin, Senator, i. 363, 434.
- Hubbard, David, of Alabama, in the House of Representatives, x. 297, 382, 409.
- Hubbard, E. W., of Virginia, in the House of Representatives, x. 523.
- Hubbard, Henry, in the House of Representatives, viii. 464, 465, 494; ix. 46, 83, 84, 132, 138, 195, 197.
- Hubbard, Samuel, President of the Board of Foreign Missions, viii. 56.
- Hubbard, Mr., i. 59, 64. Going to England on business of Dutch Loan, 114, 115. Arrest of, 116. Release of, 117.
- Hudson, Charles, of Massachusetts, in the House of Representatives; speech in favor of protective tariff, xi. 45. Conversation with, 443; xii. 12, 234.
- Hueen, island of, residence of Tycho Brahe, ii. 34, 37.
- Huger, Daniel E., letter on South Carolina nullification, viii. 410.
- Hughes, Christopher, iii. 3, 128; iv. 236, 424; v. 18; vii. 56; viii. 116. Chargé d'Affaires at Stockholm, v. 129, 347, 363, 407; vi. 165, 455; viii. 206. Chargé d'Affaires to the Netherlands, vi. 520. Dispatches from, 531; viii. 81, 83, 113.
- Hughes, General, vii. 49.
- Hughes, G. W., Cadet, vii. 296, 300, 303, 308.
- Hughes, James M., of Missouri, in the House of Representatives, xi. 490.
- Huguenin, Daniel, Jr., of New York, in the House of Representatives, letter on the intercourse between New York State and Canada, vii. 488.
- Hull, Isaac, Captain, iii. 182; iv. 6; vi. 545; viii. 160. Appointed to command of Pacific Squadron, vi. 169, 210.
- Hull, William, General, surrender of, ii. 418, 421. His proclamation, iii. 25, 26, 36. Governor of the Michigan Territory; arrest of; claim for salary, vi. 191; vii. 200.
- Hulme, Thomas, his scheme for emancipating the slaves, viii. 541.
- Human mind, powers of the, viii. 140.
- Human reasoning in courts, iv. 373.
- Human Rights, title of seditious pamphlet on abolitionism, ix. 256.

- Humanity an absurd reasoner, iv. 354.
The slave-trade the child of, 355.
- Humboldt, Alexander, ii. 494; iii. 158, 163.
- Hume on Legitimacy, iii. 373; viii. 279.
On the execution of Don Pantaleon de Sa, v. 379.
- Humphreys, iv. 6; v. 206.
- Hungerford, John, first devisee of the Smithson property, x. 94.
- Hunnefeldt, Bussche, Baron de. (See *Baron de Bussche*.)
- Hunt, Deacon, of Weymouth, Massachusetts, vii. 135.
- Hunt, Freeman, editor of the Merchant's Magazine, x. 177.
- Hunt, Henry, the mobocrat, elected to Parliament, viii. 308.
- Hunt, Hiram P., of New York, in the House of Representatives, x. 201, 477, 498, 528. Speech for protective tariff, xi. 182. On the power of courts of law to punish for contempt, 297.
- Hunt, Memucan, his newspaper, with report on Texan question, x. 22, 25.
- Hunt, Seth, vi. 59; vii. 529. Author of articles under signature of Ariel, 59.
- Hunt, Washington, of New York, in the House of Representatives, x. 17, 31, 130, 159; xi. 507, 531.
- Hunter, Charles, lieutenant in the Navy, vi. 461. Concerned in a duel; tried; dismissed, vii. 46, 358, 384, 392; x. 51, 95.
- Hunter, John W., x. 174, 476.
- Hunter, R. M. T., of Virginia, in the House of Representatives, ix. 401; x. 23, 24, 164, 165, 166, 179, 211, 217, 230, 234, 379; xi. 189, 197; xii. 235.
- Hunter, William, of Rhode Island, Senator, v. 314.
- Hunting, Mr., ix. 304.
- Huntington, Jabez W., of Connecticut, in the House of Representatives, viii. 444, 519; ix. 36, 46, 80, 82. Senator, x. 322.
- Huntley, W., warrant for military bounty land, x. 112.
- Huntsman, Adam, of Tennessee, in the House of Representatives, ix. 280, 285.
- Huntt, Dr., vii. 190, 210, 312, 520, 522; viii. 138, 149, 151, 171, 194, 317, 320, 328.
- Hurd, John B., of New York, on conduct of L. Harris, v. 319; letter of, on, 355.
- Huron, Lake, x. 3. (See *Great Lakes*.)
- Husband, Joseph, petitioner, ix. 378.
- Huskinson, W., in the House of Commons, iii. 522; viii. 85, 265. British Plenipotentiary for deciding the Slave Indemnity dispute, vii. 213. Speech of, on the shipping interest, 242. Retirement of, viii. 60.
- Hutchinson, Governor, vii. 136. His letters published by Duane; an account of, by Franklin, iii. 512. His History, viii. 29, 220; ix. 157, 159; xi. 375.
- Hutchinson, John, Master of the ship William Dawson, vii. 306.
- Huygens, BANGEMAN, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary from the King of the Netherlands, vii. 47, 183, 203, 260. Robbed by his servants, viii. 60, 61.
- Hyde and Colquhoun, charges against, in case of W. Morgan, vii. 530. Arrest of, 531.
- Hydrometers, vi. 532.

I.

- Ice-hills, in Russia, ii. 88, 90, 228.
- Iceland declared independent, ii. 24.
- Ideas, art of selecting, vii. 169.
- Iliad, the, Heyne's and Wolff's editions of, ii. 76.
- Illinois, has but one Representative, v. 304. Governor of, 311. Elections in, vi. 444. Donation of lands to, vii. 523. Boundaries of, ix. 214. Memorial of Legislature on public lands, x. 382. Resolutions of the Legislature, xi. 332. Petition, 455, 457.

- Imaum of Muscat, x. 305.
 Immortality of the soul, viii. 234.
 Impartiality, the law of history, viii. 92.
 Impeachable offence, what constitutes an, x. 307, 310.
 Impeachment, rules of, i. 318, 326. Evidence, 358. On nature of, 321-326, 355. Powers of, 359, 362. Of Judge Chase, 319-364. Form of question, 360-362. Payment of witnesses, 361, 367, 368, 372. Argument that the Senate is not a court, 322, 324; impossible to be maintained, 325, 327. Postponement of, precedent for, 348. On evidence of an opinion, 353. Case of Samuel Chase, 327, 328, 345, 364.
 Imperial ordinances prohibiting trade with Portugal; with England, ii. 143, 147.
 Implied powers, principle of, granted by the Constitution, v. 8. Argued against, 364. Assumptions of, 364, 365, 401.
 Imports, vi. 108; vii. 203. (See *Commerce*.)
 Impost duties, xi. 171. (See *Duties*.)
 Impressments of American seamen, i. 314; ii. 429, 430, 451, 492; iii. 284; v. 448; vi. 153. Mr. Wright's scheme, i. 386, 409, 466. Maintained by Great Britain, 449, 491. Proposals, and discussions on, iv. 140, 141, 146, 147-150. Lord Castlereagh's modifications, 147. (See *British Government*; *Canning*; *Castlereagh*.)
 Inaugural addresses, propriety of, v. 292, 302, 306, 308. President Monroe's second, 309, 318.
 Independence, the, at Glasgow, iii. 425, 426.
 Independent Treasury Bill, x. 298-325.
 Indiana, boundaries of, ix. 214. (See *Ohio*.)
 Indian Agents, viii. 23.
 Indian boundary, demanded by Great Britain, iii. 6-13; as a barrier, 18, 25.
 Indian Springs, Treaty of, vii. 6, 12. Declared null and void, 226. (See *Creeks*.)
 Indian Treaties, i. 269; ix. 200.
 Indians, i. 34; ii. 178, 179; vii. 498, 502, 525. Allies of Great Britain, iii. 6, 25. To be included in the Treaty of Peace, 6, 8, 25. Relations between, and European settlements in America, 22, 23. Their rights, 25-29. Right to trade with, 212. In Canada, 286. At the South, 289. Creek, treaties with, i. 337, 340, 342, 347, 403, 505; v. 21, 165, 187, 341; vii. 65, 66, 79, 88, 106-109, 362, 409, 481, 499. Mackintosh deputation report murder of their chief in Georgia, 3-6, 61, 76, 78, 93. Negotiations for cession of their lands, 65, 66, 68, 71, 79, 87, 89, 106, 294. Chief Opothele Yoholo, 106. Annuities, trouble about payment of, 294. Dissatisfaction of, under the influence of the Cherokees, 294. New agent appointed, 294. Murder committed by, 448. Reserved lands, purchase of, viii. 25. Thefts by, 33. Treaty, 54. Claims, 78, 91. Hostilities of, ix. 283, 323. Seminole, visit of, to Washington, iv. 20. War with, 28, 31, 42 (see *Seminole War*). Harboring of, at Pensacola, 171. Starving condition of, vii. 65. Natchitoches, iv. 107. Receiving presents from the British Government, measures for preventing, v. 412. Deputation of, at the President's, 432. Cherokees, treaty with, vi. 10. Trade with the Northwest Coast, 100. Interview of chiefs with the President, 229, 272, 373, 402-406. Refuse to cede their lands, 255, 268, 271. Trouble with; claim for lands ceded; attempt to establish a constitution; Lovely's purchase, vii. 136, 411, 426, 498, 502, 516. Treaties, 520, 521; with Arkansas, 516, 518, 523, 525, 539; viii. 8; with the Osage,

542. Protest against law extending the State jurisdiction over them, 343. Relations with the Government, 486. Schermerhorn treaty, ix. 473, 517, 539. Interview with delegation of chiefs, x. 491, 492. Fraudulent transactions with, xi. 168, 202. Choc-taws' school fund, vii. 4, 179. Customs of, 49. Lands reserved to, 492. Seneca, the, viii. 58. Trust fund of, vii. 4, 349; viii. 58, 110, 116; ix. 149. Protest against the disposal of their lands, vii. 388, 484. Complaints of, 465. Visit the President, 484; x. 406. Treaty, vii. 453, 464; viii. 22, 55; x. 337. Relations with; letters of Scott, Leavenworth, and Cummings on, vii. 26, 411. Chief, charged with murder in Michigan Territory, 39. Civilization of, 90, 113, 119, 411. Extinction of, 90. History of, 231. Territory of the, not within the jurisdiction of the United States, 237. Florida, proposal to purchase lands of, 232. Winnebagoes, treaty with, protest of the Brotherton and Stock-bridge tribes against, 330, 371, 465; viii. 9, 19, 82. In Georgia, depredations of, vii. 362. Treaty with the Miami, 472; viii. 3, 6; with the Eel River, vii. 527. Act for extinguishing their land titles, viii. 19. Potawatamie, 35. Wyandotte annuity, 110, 116 (see *Georgia*). Their primitive rights, 205, 206, 229; x. 256. Surrendered to the States, viii. 232, 233. Signing of treaties with the Sioux and the Sacs and Foxes, ix. 415. Drowning of three hundred in a steamboat, 460. Treaty of New Echota, petition against, 536. New Treaty, 538, 539. Schools, x. 385.
- Indigo, production of, in the United States, ii. 175. An article of export, 196.
- Inerarity, John, Consular agent in Florida, vii. 349.
- Infant, the, Don Carlos, offered the sovereignty of Spanish South America, iv. 30.
- Influenza, intermittent, v. 211.
- Ingersoll, Charles J., iv. 286; v. 267, 355; viii. 9; xi. 132. Communicates charge against the author, of ceding right of navigation of the Mississippi, v. 355. Letter of, to J. Monroe, 452. Proposes a new law of nations, vi. 384. Counsel for Leavitt Harris, 419. District Attorney at Philadelphia, vii. 95, 120, 524. Engaged in case of Edward Thomson; interview with, relating to the; correspondence; his six hundred indictments, 95, 120, 126, 187, 223, 259, 267; viii. 68, 84. Letter to R. Rush, exposing frauds at the Philadelphia Post-Office, 543. Address before the Tariff Convention in New York, viii. 417. Opinion on authority of Pennsylvania to revoke the Bank Charter, ix. 320. In the House of Representatives, x. 476, 487, 502, 516, 524; xi. 11, 12, 15, 185, 234, 281, 289, 303, 470, 475, 486; xii. 3, 12, 14, 19, 26, 33, 40-44, 55, 56, 74, 131, 138, 154, 155, 230, 260. Election contested, x. 157, 223, 336, 380, 398; xi. 96. Speeches, 460, 462, 535. Lecture on foreign missions, xii. 191. (See *Erving, G. W.*)
- Ingersoll, Edward, of Philadelphia, vii. 415. Memoir of John Adams written by, 418. Conversation with, concerning McLean's transactions with T. Sergeant and Norvell, 537.
- Ingersoll, Joseph R., of Pennsylvania, v. 355; vi. 96. Engaged in suit of Harris vs. Lewis, 419. In the House of Representatives, ix. 332; xi. 78, 315, 531, 532; xii. 9, 37, 139, 158, 160, 258.
- Ingersoll, Ralph, of Connecticut, in the House of Representatives, vii. 399; viii. 467, 531.
- Ingham, S. D., vi. 42, 187, 228, 235, 241, 462, 469; vii. 112; viii. 179,

- 184, 338; ix. 516; x. 9. Leader of the Calhoun party, vi. 242. On the appointment of G. M. Dallas, 243, 244. Conversation with, on Calhoun's course, 244-246. Chairman of Committee on the President's Accounts, 488. Attempts to buy D. P. Cook's vote for Jackson, 496. Attacks on the author, vii. 229, 230, 233, 417, 431, 466, 471. Character of, 369. Intrigues of, relating to appointment of T. Sergeant, 533, 537. Implicated in the intrigues at the Philadelphia Post-Office, viii. 24, 59. Illness of, 59. Secretary of the Treasury, 99, 107, 128, 171, 179, 207, 289. Resigns, 357, 359, 372. Quarrel with J. H. Eaton, 371, 373. (See *Calhoun*, *J. C.*; *McLean*; *Sergeant*.)
- Inglis, —, Bishop of Nova Scotia, travels through the United States, viii. 54.
- Inman, lieutenant of the recaptured prize-crew, v. 448.
- Inquisition, the, abolished in Spain, v. 101, 142.
- Insolvent debtors, viii. 475. (See *Debtors*.)
- Inspectors of the Revenue at Baltimore, charged with accepting bribes, iv. 308, 318.
- Institute of the Order of St. Catherine, ii. 228. Examination of young ladies at, 228-231, 580, 581.
- Institute, the, of France, annual meeting of, iii. 183.
- Institutions of cadets, army and marine, at Petersburg, ii. 302, 303, 469, 470. For the deaf and dumb, at Philadelphia, vi. 422.
- Insurance companies and underwriters, claims of, in Florida, not to be admitted, v. 361. Complaints of New York, of the depredations of privateers, vi. 377, 380. (See *Privateers*.)
- Integrity in public affairs, iv. 284.
- Intendant of the Department of the Scheldt, the, iii. 16, 22, 30, 128.
- Intercourse, the ship, condemned by Commission for neutral navigation at Archangel, ii. 105.
- Interest and principal under the control of Government, v. 341, 342. On claims, 538. Laws regulating, vi. 276.
- Internal Improvement question, iv. 495; v. 156; vi. 470; viii. 190, 230, 233, 273, 439, 453; xi. 485-487. Power of Congress to grant, vi. 418. Advocated by the author, 451; vii. 58, 59, 63, 197; viii. 444; ix. 162, 248. Debates on, 198.
- Internal taxes, repeal of, v. 314. On establishment of, 408, 410, 411.
- Intrigue, personal, political, and electioneering, iv. 193.
- Inventors, privileges to, how granted in Russia, 413.
- Inventory of furniture in the President's house, viii. 99.
- Investment of public funds in State stocks, offers resolution on, x. 296.
- Ionian Islands protected by Great Britain, iii. 354, 356; viii. 184.
- Iowa, proposal to constitute a Territory, x. 10, 11. Salary of Governor of, 11, 12. Boundary-line with Missouri, xi. 213. State Government, xii. 54.
- Ireland, W. H., proprietor of alleged original Shakspeare manuscripts, i. 133, 136.
- Ireland, conquest of, by Henry the Second, viii. 341.
- Irish Piracy Act, vi. 141.
- Irish Repeal Association on slavery, xi. 460.
- Iron, rolled and hammered, v. 446. Message to Congress on, 513, 520; vi. 103, 140, 295, 310, 327, 330. Importations of, 333; free, x. 274; frauds on, viii. 446.
- Ironside, G., v. 288, 429; vi. 29, 124, 369, 502, 517.
- Irresistible, the, men convicted of piracy

- on board of, v. 138, 146. The captain of, 138.
- Irvine, Baptiste, vi. 81, 105, 431. Correspondence with Carrera, iv. 53, 388, 444. Claims of, v. 49, 51. Letters against J. Forsyth, 52. Character and history of overtures to the author, 435. Maintains opinions against the Supreme Court, 436.
- Irvine, Callender, viii. 91.
- Irvine, James, of Pennsylvania, in the House of Representatives, x. 516.
- Irvine, W. W., of Ohio, in the House of Representatives, viii. 466, 524; xi. 226, 243. Chargé d'Affaires to Denmark, 335.
- Isaachson, Mr., of Christiansand, agent for captains of captured vessels, ii. 22, 23, 24, 25.
- Isaacs, J. C., of Tennessee, in the House of Representatives, vi. 289; viii. 528.
- Isaiah, the Prophecy of, quotations from, vii. 169.
- Isle de Leon, v. 83.
- Isle of France, v. 310.
- Israelites, the, viii. 536.
- Istrias, Capo d', Count, letter from, v. 24, 29, 33.
- Italian poets, viii. 349.
- Italian States, iii. 418. (See *Naples*; *Sardinia*, etc.)
- Itinerary of journey to Reval, ii. 603, 604. From Dover to London, iii. 200.
- Ivanoff, Mr., ii. 88. Consul-General of Russia, iv. 403.
- Ivernois, Sir Francis d', writings of, ii. 87, 93, 449, 450. A Swiss exile, 449. Conversation with, 450, 451.
- Izard, George, General, to be appointed Governor of Arkansas, vi. 477, 494, 527. Orders arrest of the murderer King, vii. 530.
- J.
- Jackson, Andrew, General, iv. 29, 189, 232, 243, 247, 281, 473; v. 496; vi. 281, 501, 524; vii. 52, 379; viii. 93, 174, 324, 356, 357, 359; ix. 263; x. 115. At issue with the War Department, iv. 29. Transactions in Florida; Seminole War, 31-247; v. 315. Execution of the prisoners Arbuthnot and Ambrister, report of committee adverse to, [iv. 87, 101, 115, 171, 218, 274.] Letter of John Rhea, xii. 210. Taking of Pensacola, censured for; vindication, iv. 102, 103, 110-120; viii. 404. Charges against the Governor of Pensacola, iv. 168. Attacked by the press, 108, 109, 115, 201. Correspondence with the Governor of Georgia about the destruction of the Chehaw town, 189, 243. Imprudence and violent conduct, 197, 198. Confers with, about the Florida Treaty, 238, 239. Cabal against, in Congress, 227, 234, 433. Quarrel with Eppes, 294, 295. Commissioner to treat with the Mississippi Indians, v. 165, 166. Offered the office of Governor of Florida, 291, 321, 322. Out of the military service, 321. Commissions and instructions to, 333. His commission as Governor of Florida and Captain-General of Cuba, 367. Controversy with Fromentin, 359, 367-377, 406, 440, 441, 454, 460. Correspondence on, 436, 450, 460, 462. Trouble with the Spanish Minister, 453, 454; resignation of, accepted, 454; ball given to, vi. 229. Letter to the President on the affair with Lowrie; reply, 248, 286, 290, 307. Nominated by the Harrisburg Convention, 250, 253. Medal presented to, 259. Candidate for the Vice-Presidency, supported by the writer's party, 269, 274, 284, 289, 291, 293, 332, 417. Candidate for the Presidency, 292, 340, 357, 371, 417; prospects, 383; defeat, 501. Letters relating to the Armstrong quarrel, 456. Reconciled with Crawford, 474, 478, 485. Opposes the writer's administration, vii. 170, 239. Letter, expos-

- ing F. Skipwith, 201. Quarrel with S. L. Southard; letters to, 218, 220, 222, 253; viii. 250, 331. A standing committee to defend his character from slander; vindication of his conduct published, vii. 274. His execution of the six Tennessee militiamen, 274, 540. Letter to G. W. Campbell, on the removal of Silas Dinsmoor, 478, 482; viii. 61. Sent to Congress, 489, 494, 496. Attends anniversary celebration at New Orleans, vii. 479. His communications to the National Journal, 479. The Presidency, 96. Second term, viii. 524. His Cabinet, 99. Reception of, 101. His treatment of the author, 102, 128. Inauguration address, 105. Appoints members of Congress to office, 112, 131, 138, 172, 206. Administration of, 113, 206, 231, 304. Sweeping reforms, 151; ix. 73; x. 366. Prejudice against Russia, viii. 162, 169; in favor of Great Britain, 169. Three divisions among his friends, 166. His influence over the Senate, 215. His policy towards the Indians, 232. Takes ground against internal improvements, 232. Controversy with Calhoun; correspondence on, 252, [274-277, 296-298, 305, 310, 325, 327, 330-332] Letters to Dr. Bronaugh, 410. On the tariff question, 482. Relations with the author, 484-486. Proclamation against the nullifiers of South Carolina, 504, 505, 507, 511, 520. Message; dissatisfaction at, 503, 510, 537; injurious effect of, on manufactures, 515. Inauguration, 535. Visits Boston, 548; ix. 4-6. Addresses to, 4. Receives degree of Doctor of Laws, 4. Proceedings against the United States Bank, 17, 41, 51, 93. Obtains settlement of claims on France, 238. Controversy with Poindexter, 226, 230, 429. Vote of censure passed on by the Senate, 116. Transactions of, with Mexico and Texas, 430. Breach between Calhoun and, 236. Denies being consulted about the Florida Treaty, 279, 280. Letter to J. Monroe, approving, xii. 109. Illness of, ix. 341. Letters, containing account of S. Houston's conspiracy against Texas, 430; to Mr. Fulton, Secretary of the Territory of Arkansas, denouncing the project against Texas, 430, 466. Calls for aid to suppress interference in the Canada disturbances, 465 (see *Gouverneur, S. L.; Erving, G. W.*). Letter to W. Fulton, x. 29. Order, dismissing Lieutenants Byrne and Westcott, 51. Electioneering letters, 356. Remission of the fine imposed on, xi. 175, 244, 274, 282, 289, 465. Bill for relief of, in Congress, 179. Outrages of, against Mexico, 211. Protest of, 246. Negotiations for Texas and California, 343, 363. Favors a protective tariff, 543, 544. (See *Florida; Monroe, J.; Spain.*) Jackson, Andrew, Jr., Secretary, ix. 319. Jackson, C., Judge, viii. 384, 387, 391, 395-397, 408. Letter on the Tariff bill, xi. 228. Jackson, E. B., of Virginia, vi. 124, 126. Jackson, F. J., British Minister, v. 257. Jackson, George, British Commissioner under the Slave-Indemnity Convention, vi. 175; vii. 109. (See *Commissioners; Convention.*) Jackson, Henry, Chargé d'Affaires, iii. 196. Jackson, James, i. 274, 281, 299, 308, 339, 381. His fame as a duellist, 292, 320. Death of, 422. Jackson, John G., i. 341. Jackson, William, candidate for the Vice-Presidency, xii. 88. Jackson, —, captain of a revenue cutter, complaint of, vi. 401. Jackson-Van Buren Administration, remarks on, x. 342, 347. Congratulations at downfall of, 366. Jacobi, Baron, iii. 274, 299, 493, 494.

- Jacobin clubs, xi. 491.
- Jacobites and Tories in Sir Robert Walpole's Administration, iii. 481.
- Jaffray, Robert, speech at New York meeting of merchants, against the Revenue bill, x. 383.
- Jäger, Mr., Professor of Botany and Zoology at Princeton College, New Jersey, x. 260.
- Jail at Alexandria, vii. 248.
- Jamaica, on appointment of Consul at, vi. 192. Act of British Vice-Consulate at Portland, concerning commerce with, 257. Tax imposed by Legislature of, on American trade, 295. (See *Trade; West Indies*.)
- Jamaica rum, importation of, from Halifax, vii. 257.
- James and Lytle, seek redress for their claims on Great Britain, vi. 383.
- James, Colonel, iii. 312, 330.
- James, Francis, of Pennsylvania, in the House of Representatives, x. 380, 532.
- James the Second, ii. 134.
- James's Naval and Military History of the Late War between the United States and Great Britain, iv. 125, 126.
- Jameson, John, of Missouri, in the House of Representatives, x. 171, 336, 339; xi. 507; xii. 152.
- Janney, Samuel, viii. 35, 37.
- Japanese palace at Dresden; public library and museum at, i. 235, 236.
- Jarlsberg, Wedel, Count, v. 378.
- Jarvis, Leonard, of Maine, in the House of Representatives, viii. 316, 514, 523; ix. 195, 267, 271, 344.
- Jarvis, Russell, assault on the son of the writer, vii. 508.
- Jaudon, Samuel, Cashier of the Bank of the United States, ix. 79, 364.
- Java, the frigate, vi. 147.
- Jawousky, Count, ii. 75.
- Jay, John, his Treaty, v. 350; completion of; effect of, in America; in Europe, i. 13; plan of, discussed, 47, 49, 50, 118; viii. 295. Commissioner to treat with Great Britain, i. 24. In London; dispatches to, 42, 43, 44, 45. Plan of Treaty discussed by, 47-50. Opinion of, of war in India, 51. Advice to author on course to be pursued in Holland, 55, 56, 61, 118, 121, 147; iii. 559. System of defamation pursued against, published in the secret journals of the old Congress, v. 518. Proposal of, to surrender the navigation of the Mississippi, ix. 352.
- Jay, Peter A., son of the Minister, i. 47. Receives degree of Doctor of Laws, viii. 405.
- Jay, William, Judge, letter of, x. 371. Comments on conduct of Secretary of State, 379.
- Jefferson, Thomas, i. 15, 17, 20, 142, 535, 544; iv. 227; v. 23, 102; vi. 159, 532; vii. 7, 120; viii. 115, 245. Denies intention of displacing the author, i. 248. President of the United States, 248, 264, 272. Message to Senate on Convention with Spain, 312; on French Revolution, 316; on Louisiana appointments, etc., 316, 317, 330. Wonderful stories, 317, 330, 457. Manual on Forms of Procedure in Congress, 339, 459, 490. Declared President, 351, 375. On Gulf Stream as a natural boundary, 376. Dinner to Tunisian Ambassadors, 378. Communicates Mr. Monroe's letter to Senate, 386, 389, 390. His policy with France and Spain, 405, 412. Conversation with, on Non-Importation Act, 415. Nomination of J. Armstrong, 421. Agreement to secure votes, 428, 457. Letter of, to Earl of Buchan, 472. On the Epicurean Philosophy, 472. His policy in British affairs, 480, 481, 511, 519. Administration of, French influence in, 518. On plan of France for obtaining British provinces, 521. Harmony of, iii. 503. A slave-holder;

- publishes opinions against slavery, 492. (See *Nicholas*.) Commends letters of the writer to Erving and Onis, iv. 227. His letter to John Langdon, 492. Influence of, on national character, 492. His Declaration of Independence, 492. Letter of, to the President, v. 128. Observations of, on American system, 176. His treaty with Count Montmorin, 178. His report to Congress of December, 1793, 345, 353, 427. And Madison organize an attack on the Washington Administration, 364; argue against implied powers, 364. His purchase of Louisiana, 364. And Madison Administrations, 365. On the danger of permanent tenure of judicial offices, 442. His principle of eight years' Presidential term, 475. Letter of, on the Cohens case, 523. Conduct of, towards J. Armstrong, vi. 68. On the admission of Cuba, 70. Letter of, to Mr. Dunbar, 120. On the principle of capturing enemy's property in the vessel of a friend, 162. In favor of Canning's proposals, 185. T. Pickering's attack on, 346. His insincerity, 349. Letter to J. Monroe on the writer's papers on the Seminole War, 349. To Genest on belligerent rights, 382. Sale of his estate, vii. 204. Reports of, 278. Arguments of, against a national bank, 278. On foreign missions, 278. Opinion of, on duration of missions abroad, 481. Pamphlet relating to the Burr conspiracy, 535. His secret message to Congress relating to the Lewis and Clarke expedition, 88, 89, 105; sent to the House, 94, 105. Subscription for, 118. Death of, 122; public notices of, 123. Last illness of, 123. Letters of, 180; explanatory of his letter to Mazzei, 195; on the Presidential elections, 360. Writings of, 195. Publication of his papers, viii. 187. Letter to Mr. Leiper, 229. Memoirs of, 270, 271, 274, 277, 279, 308, 310. Remarks on the character and career of; facts relating to, 272, 277, 283-286, 292-296, 308; ix. 305, 307, 442. Pamphlet presented to the Provincial Convention at Williamsburg, viii. 278. Opinions of, on slavery, 283, 299. Early revision of the code of laws of Virginia, 284. Not a legislator, 284. Governor of Virginia, 286. Resignation, 286, 292, 294. (See *Virginia*.) Letter to Major Cartwright, 291. Missions abroad, 292, 295, 303. Correspondence of, 292, 298, 308. Correspondence between Timothy Pickering and, on the Christian religion, 369. Report to President Washington, 1790, ix. 261. Democracy of, 276. Correspondence on the Alien and Sedition Acts, 305, 307. Duplicity of, 305. Policy of combining Southern slavery with Northern Democracy inaugurated by, x. 182. Works of, xi. 168. Letter on the Louisiana claim, xii. 109. Jefferson's Manual, ix. 262; x. 4, 330. Jeffersonian, the, a newspaper, ix. 467. Jehu, Mr., soldiers quartered in his house, i. 88. Jenkins, Captain, vii. 312. Jenks, Mr., invention of, vii. 75. Jenks, W., ix. 303. Jenifer, Daniel, of Maryland, in the House of Representatives, viii. 465; ix. 290, 541; x. 98, 162, 181, 183, 318. Jenney and Kendall, letters to, from master of a slave-vessel, v. 348. Jennings, Edmund, dealings of, with American agents, i. 53, 106. Jennings, Jonathan, of Indiana, in the House of Representatives, vi. 448, 479; vii. 85. Jennison, Count, succeeds Count Lixbourg, ii. 288, 383. Jenny, a slave, sale of, vi. 278. Jerome, King, ii. 247. Jesuits, Society of, churches and semi-

- naries belonging to, in St. Petersburg, ii. 159, 239. Examination at schools of, 268, 269.
- Jesup, T. S., General, vii. 120, 507. Pamphlet on brevet rank written by, viii. 28. Conversation with, relating to controversy with G. W. Erving, xii. 144, 145. Confidential mission during war with Great Britain, 145. Dealings in slaves, 163.
- Jew, starving, i. 63.
- Jewish Temple, ii. 7.
- Jews, the, x. 91.
- Jocelyn, Simeon L., x. 135. Conversation with, 450. Letter to, and others, declining their proposal of correspondence with Lord Palmerston, 455. (See *Leavitt*; *Tappan*.)
- Johnson, Alexander B., xi. 413, 497, 498.
- Johnson, Andrew, of Tennessee, in the House of Representatives, i. 372, note; xii. 240.
- Johnson, Catherine, ii. 3, 71, 74, 88, 130, 199, 202, 203, 212, 214, 249.
- Johnson, Cave, of Tennessee, in the House of Representatives, ix. 137; x. 144, 216, 220, 384, 505, 538, 541; xi. 155, 174, 205, 215, 223, 281, 470, 486, 496. Advocates reduction of the army; on army appropriations, 161, 162, 227. On the gag-rule, 519, 521; xii. 12, 25, 31, 32, 44, 47, 129, 145, 149, 154, 165. Postmaster-General, 180.
- Johnson, Chapman, viii. 536. Writer of address of Virginia Legislature to the people, ix. 224. (See *Virginia*.)
- Johnson, Charles Adams, xi. 413.
- Johnson, Edward, Mayor of Baltimore, vi. 426.
- Johnson, F., of Kentucky, in the House of Representatives, v. 536.
- Johnson, Henry, of Louisiana, Senator, vi. 55, 77; xii. 24. In the House of Representatives, ix. 400, 408, 410.
- Johnson, James, of Kentucky, in the House of Representatives, iv. 223.
- Johnson, Jeromus, of New York, in the House of Representatives, vii. 204.
- Johnson, John T., of Kentucky, in the House of Representatives, v. 431.
- Johnson, Joshua, American Consul at London, i. 132, 167; vii. 536.
- Johnson, Louisa Catherine, marriage to, i. 199.
- Johnson, Purser, vii. 7.
- Johnson, Reverdy, vi. 415; x. 364. His house destroyed by a mob, ix. 252, 345.
- Johnson, Richard M., Colonel, of Kentucky, v. 36, 45, 57, 60, 117, 212, 285, 311, 431, 467; vi. 260; vii. 73, 201, 309, 336, 368, 509. Conversation with, iv. 222, 223, 507, 515, 526. Candidate for Governor of Kentucky, 229. Contractor for the Yellowstone expedition, 472. Presented with a sword by President Monroe, v. 71. His politics, 328; conversation on, vi. 235, 244. Urges the appointment of C. P. Lockett, 240, 244. Labors to oppose the caucus, 240. On election prospects; Van Buren's party defeated, vii. 284, 435, 440, 476. Denies advocating the instructions to vote for Jackson, 467. In the House of Representatives, ix. 125; x. 176. Senator, viii. 387, 442. Tries to reconcile President Jackson and the writer, 484-486. Note of, 485, 488. Vice-Presidency, ix. 318, 543.
- Johnson, Dr. Samuel, i. 51; viii. 341.
- Johnson, T., solicits aid from Government, iv. 76, 77.
- Johnson, Thomas, vii. 536; viii. 219.
- Johnson, Walter R., memorial on Smithsonian Fund, x. 86.
- Johnson, W. Cost, of Maryland, xi. 54, 144, 161, 178, 212, 233. In the House of Representatives, ix. 394, 403, 409, 503, 509, 510, 530; x. 80, 97, 98, 156, 169, 181, 183, 320, 321, 382, 414, 512, 524, 540; xi. 12, 33, 34, 49, 147, 176, 413, 423. Anti-Abolition speech, ix. 204, 205. Reso-

- lution of, that no petition relating to slavery be received by the House, 205, 206; objects to rescinding of, 472, 473. Plan for assuming the State debts, 200, 202, 231, 235, 238, 239, 283, 301, 315, 317.
- Johnson, William, Judge, i. 311; iv. 128, 513; v. 20, 43; vi. 515; vii. 223. Life of General Greene, vi. 67, 375. His decision in the case of *Elkison*, 175, 176. On act of South Carolina Legislature, 354. Decision of, in case of *Kelly vs. the United States*, vii. 32. On the law "regulating trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes;" difficulties in the execution of, 236; pronounces the act of South Carolina for imprisoning colored seamen unconstitutional, xi. 271.
- Johnston, John, Indian Agent, viii. 103.
- Johnston, Josiah S., of Louisiana, Senator, vi. 428; viii. 109, 444, 464. His proposal to apply proceeds of land sales to purposes of education, 466. Conversation with, 166. On land-titles, vii. 172, 192. Colonial Trade bill, 231.
- Joinville, Prince de, visit to America, ix. 542. Description of his person and manners, 543.
- Jomini, General, observations on the Turkish campaign of 1828, viii. 183.
- Jones, Anson, Minister from Texas, x. 115.
- Jones, Edward, Chief Clerk in the Treasury Department, v. 174, 414; vi. 401.
- Jones, George, Dr., of Georgia, Senator, vi. 422. Editor of the *Journal of the Franklin Institute*, ix. 168.
- Jones, George W., Delegate from the Territory of Wisconsin, contests seat in the House of Representatives with J. D. Doty, xii. 45, 49 (see *Doty*, *J. D.*). Mileage pay, 89.
- Jones, George W., of Tennessee, in the House of Representatives, xii. 258.
- Jones, Isaac D., of Maryland, in the House of Representatives, x. 524.
- Jones, Jacob, Captain, vi. 445.
- Jones, John Coffin, i. 251.
- Jones, John W., of Virginia, in the House of Representatives, x. 163, 235, 260, 279, 280, 337, 502; xi. 178. Candidate for Speaker, 163; elected, 444, 476, 525, 538. Election of, contested, xii. 30, 38, 40, 46. (See *Botts*, *J. M.*)
- Jones, Joseph, of Virginia, in the House of Representatives, ix. 450, 533; x. 144. Candidate for Speaker of the House, 144.
- Jones, Paul, v. 109.
- Jones, Richard B., solicits office of Consul at Havanna, x. 451.
- Jones, Roger, Colonel, vi. 425, 516-520. Adjutant-General, vii. 75, 117, 177, 183, 448; viii. 11, 28. Difference of opinion between Macomb and, as to duties of, viii. 31, 38, 53. Correspondence and conversations on the Scott controversy, 42.
- Jones, Seaborn, of Georgia, in the House of Representatives, ix. 46, 70, 90, 152, 155, 202, 212.
- Jones, Thomas Ap Catesby, visit to house of, xi. 162-164. Exploit at Monterey, 304-307. Instructions to, 353. (See *Webster*, *D.*)
- Jones, T. K., ii. 185, 186, 188, 279, 286.
- Jones, Walter, District Attorney, iv. 293, 298, 400; v. 300, 322, 347; vii. 5, 6; viii. 78, 536; x. 86, 424. Counsel for D. Porter, vii. 44. Delivers oration on the fiftieth anniversary of American Independence, 120. Brigadier-General; resigns, 387. Counsel for Gedney, x. 436. (See *Amistad*; *Gedney*.)
- Jones, William, v. 65. Collector at Philadelphia, information on progress of the Delaware and Chesapeake Canal, vii. 282. Resignation of, viii. 103.
- Jones, William, candidate for Sergeant-at-Arms of the House of Representatives, x. 172.

- Jones, William, a free colored man, to be sold for jail-fees, xi. 463; petition of, 463-465.
- Jordan, Mrs., v. 267.
- Joseph, Captain, ii. 25.
- Joslin, Professor, viii. 422.
- Jouffroy, iii. 493.
- Journal of a Nullifier, a satire, viii. 503.
- Journal of the Federal Convention, published under direction of the author, vi. 124; viii. 216.
- Journal of the House of Representatives of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, of 1770, ix. 157.
- Journals of the old Congress, iv. 194.
- Judges, ix. 136. Removal of, i. 262; v. 442. New Orleans, salaries of, 407, 408. Appointment of, iv. 436; vi. 415, 530. Western, vii. 84. Of the Superior Court under the King's Government, 136. Nomination of District, 218.
- Judges, the Supreme Court on increasing number of, viii. 205. On limiting services of, ix. 197. Slaveholding, xi. 328.
- Judgment dominated by party spirit, vii. 379.
- Judicial Courts, power of, to punish for contempt, xi. 291.
- Judicial logic, disingenuous, 363, 372.
- Judicial offices, permanent tenure of, v. 442; viii. 302.
- Judiciary, independence of the, i. 254, 322. In America, iii. 374. Reorganization of, vii. 83. Power of, in danger, viii. 262, 273.
- Judiciary Committee, bill to repeal twenty-fifth section of the Judiciary Law, viii. 302.
- Judson, Andrew T., in the House of Representatives, ix. 291. Appointed Judge of the United States District Court, 315; x. 134. Commits captured negroes to trial in the Circuit Court, 134. (See *Amistad, the*.)
- Judson, Mr., a petitioner, ix. 496.
- Julius, Dr., Commissioner from Prussia, to examine the prisons and penitentiaries, ix. 204.
- Junius, Letters of; authorship of, iii. 546; vii. 317; viii. 220, 278. Criticism on writings of, 318. Remark of, on tyranny, x. 123.
- Junta, the, ii. 84; naval forces of, 184.
- Juries, grand and petit, v. 217. Selection of, xi. 107, 108.
- Jury, trial by, in France, iii. 156.
- Just, Baron de, iii. 371, 438, 504. Complaints of the Great Powers, 505.
- Justice in the Navy, vii. 19.
- Justinian's Institutes, ix. 230.
- Juvenal, Satire of, xi. 169.

K.

- Kalitcheff, Count de, Russian Minister at the Hague, i. 79, 95, 204.
- Kamenski, Count, ii. 214.
- Kamenski, General, ii. 135, 158. Recalled from Turkey, 247.
- Kammenoi-ostrow, country-seat of the French Ambassador, ii. 88, 90.
- Kane, Elias K., of Illinois, Senator, vi. 512; viii. 10.
- Kankey, Mr., Consular Commercial Agent at Barbadoes, vi. 143. Charters trading vessels to the West Indies, vii. 227.
- Karamsin's History of Russia, viii. 198.
- Kean, Charles, the English tragedian, on the merits of, v. 267. Performs at Philadelphia, 267.
- Kearney, Captain, commanding the sloop of war Warren, proceedings of, against the Greek pirates, vii. 462, 464.
- Keating, Professor, viii. 426.
- Keene, Sir John, iii. 231.
- Keene, R. R., vi. 515.
- Keim, George M., of Pennsylvania, in the House of Representatives, x. 14, 266, 269, 334.
- Keith, George S., his pamphlet on Weights and Measures, vii. 453.
- Kelly, James, x. 529. (See *Footnote, John*.)

- Kemble, Charles, the author dines with, viii. 544.
- Kemble, Frances Ann, viii. 544.
- Kemble, Gouverneur, of New York, in the House of Representatives, x. 163.
- Kemp, Bishop, vii. 335.
- Kempenaer, President of the States-General, i. 123.
- Kemper, Mr., vii. 48.
- Kendall, Amos, viii. 116, 178, 189, 540; ix. 46, 255, 311, 430; xi. 360. Charges H. Clay with bribery, viii. 28. Aids in the expulsion of W. J. Duane, x. 115. Address to the people of the United States, 296. Resigns the office of Postmaster-General, 296. Editor of the *Extra Globe*, 296.
- Kennedy, Andrew, of Indiana, in the House of Representatives, x. 520; xi. 182, 487, 488, 504, 532; xii. 11, 17, 159, 235.
- Kennedy, James L., appointed Consul at the port of Mazatlan, vii. 165.
- Kennedy, John P., of Maryland, ix. 247. In the House of Representatives, x.. 24, 62, 495, 512; xi. 102, 143, 144, 178, 199, 298, 321, 513; xii. 12, 17, 51, 144. Letter of, 93.
- Kennedy's Colonial Commerce Report, xi. 165.
- Kennon, Beverly, Captain, xi. 523.
- Kent, Benjamin, Rev., xi. 384. Poem delivered before the Φ B K Society, viii. 409.
- Kent, Duke of, iii. 250, 300, 301, 318, 323, 331, 332, 360, 362, 363, 376, 385, 509. Compliments the author, 543. Death of, v. 23, 67.
- Kent, James, Chancellor of the State of New York, vii. 196, 201; viii. 417. Conversations on his *Law Commentaries*, 417, 423.
- Kent, Joseph, member of the Maryland Legislature; of the House of Representatives; Presidential elector; Governor of Maryland, vii. 165, 443. Director of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, viii. 37. President of the Canal Convention, 199. Death of, x. 444, 445.
- Kentucky delegation, overtures of, to Massachusetts delegation on the Presidential elections, x. 76. Committed to the slavery question, 77.
- Kentucky, politics in, iv. 228-230, 234, 273; vii. 375, 386, 388. Discontent of the people, vi. 57. Removal of the judges, 57. Elections in, 413, 446, 452, 457, 467, 468, 479; vii. 346, 466, 469, 484; viii. 231, 236, 254, 263, 267, 400; x. 76. Proceedings in the Senate, vii. 440. Correspondence, 461. Resolutions of the Legislature against removal of deposits from the United States Bank, ix. 97.
- Kentucky Reporter, the, Clay's organ, iv. 118.
- Kenyon, Lord, i. 26; iii. 486, 487.
- Kepler, ii. 566.
- Kerr, Mr., Cashier of the Bank of the Metropolis at Washington, District of Columbia, iv. 311.
- Kerr, J. L., of Maryland, in the House of Representatives, viii. 467, 493; x. 365. (*See House.*)
- Ketcham, Major, question of rank between Major Kearney and, vii. 391.
- Key, Francis S., District Attorney at Washington, i. 503; iv. 293; viii. 313; ix. 422, 424, 427; x. 86. Case of the *Amistad* negroes, x. 396.
- Key West, Collector at, receives orders to prohibit the fitting out of privateers by D. Porter, vii. 290. (*See Porter, D.; Cabinet.*)
- Kibby, Sidnah, petitioner, ix. 538.
- Kidder, David, of Maine, in the House of Representatives, vi. 488.
- Kiel, proposal to winter at, ii. 40.
- Kille, Joseph, of New Jersey, in the House of Representatives, x. 237. One of the contesting members, 237.
- King, Charles, of New York, son of Rufus King, iii. 363, 365; v. 310; vii. 88, 313, 314. President of Co-

- lumbia College, iii. 316, note. Proposed as Collector of New York, vi. 522. Controversy of, with the editor of the National Advocate, on charges against Rufus King, vii. 55, 63. Editor of the New York American; publishes Lee's lampoon on the author, ix. 347. Solicits author's influence to obtain office of Postmaster at New York, x. 436.
- King, C. B., artist, vii. 5, 7.
- King, Colonel, implicated in the murder of W. Morgan, vii. 512, 530, 540.
- King, Colonel, of Georgia, ix. 308.
- King, D. P., President of the Massachusetts Senate, x. 185. In the House of Representatives, xi. 443.
- King, Edward, of Ohio, vii. 308, 314.
- King, Henry, of Pennsylvania, in the House of Representatives, ix. 96.
- King, John Alsop, Secretary to the Legation to Great Britain, vi. 544; vii. 86, 88, 213, 314; viii. 312, 410.
- King, John P., of Georgia, Senator, speech against the Sub-Treasury bill, ix. 426. Indignation of his party, 426.
- King, Josias W., vi. 502, 517; viii. 313.
- King, Judge, vii. 126.
- King, Lord, iii. 217.
- King, Preston, of New York, in the House of Representatives, xi. 457; xii. 13, 21, 147, 155, 232.
- King, Rufus, Minister to Great Britain, i. 200, 267. Convention of, iii. 84, 203, 254. Senator, 215; iv. 59, 73, 81, 198, 245, 272, 315, 517; v. 40, 299, 310, 338, 480, 489, 499, 513; vi. 54, 55, 242, 466, 472, 502, 541; vii. 55, 63; viii. 225. Conversation with, on politics; the Convention of 3d July, 1815; taking of Pensacola, iv. 128, 181; on the Missouri slave question, 522, 524, 529; v. 6, 12, 36-38, 206; ix. 259. Political career of, v. 38. On the difficulties of the United States Bank, 38. Offers resolutions in Senate for restrictions on the British Colonial trade, 39; conversation concerning, vi. 257. Controversy with Spain about the navigation of the Mississippi, v. 206. On the appointments to South America, 514. On the Russell letters, 517. On the rumored coalition between Crawford and the author, 239. Affair of Lowrie; letter of the Georgia delegation, 257, 298. On the party power in Congress, 263. On the New York elections, 298, 439. On the Slave-Trade Convention, 317, 322, 329, 350. The Edwards and Crawford controversy, communicates with Jeremiah Mason and R. Stockton concerning, 317, 323. Alienation between, and J. Monroe, vi. 472, 481. Correspondence on the Hartford Convention, between Gouverneur Morris and, 487. Public services of, 503. Letter of, to the author, on his election to the Presidency, 504. The mission to England, 523, 544. Instructions to, on the Slave-Indemnity Commission, 533. Dispatches from, vii. 52. Opposition to, 73, 77, 86. Nomination of, to Court of Great Britain, confirmed by the Senate, 88. Illness and resignation of, 143. Speech of, on passage of the Navigation Act, in 1818, 254.
- King, Thomas Butler, of Georgia, in the House of Representatives, x. 475, 476, 512; xi. 245. Reply to speech on the abolition-petition rule, 475. On the Bank bill, 524. Charges the writer with changing sides on the Oregon question, xii. 242.
- King, William, letter from, iv. 492.
- King, William, Governor, canvasses for Crawford, v. 478; vi. 335. Commissioner on the Florida Treaty claims, 18, 40, 377. Conversation with, on the differences between the American and British Commissioners on the fifth article of the Ghent Treaty, 41. Urges the nomination of author as

- Vice-President, 234, 235. His denunciation of G. Sullivan, 260. The confidant of Webster, 352.
- King, W., of Maine, viii. 81.
- King, William, Colonel, vii. 23. Trial of, in 1819, 23. Letter of, claiming appointment in the artillery, 24.
- King, William R., Senator from Alabama, v. 301; ix. 291; x. 61. Quarrel with H. Clay, 442. Minister to France, xii. 25, 249.
- King and White, case of, viii. 537.
- Kings, the meeting of, at Aix-la-Chapelle, iv. 86. (See *Congress*.)
- King-bury, Harmon, efforts of, to suppress Sunday mails, x. 48.
- Kingston, Mr., vi. 376.
- Kinnaird, Douglas, iii. 201, 207, 208, 335.
- Kinnaird, Lord, iii. 300, 335.
- Kinnard, George L., of Indiana, in the House of Representatives; killed by steamboat explosion, ix. 319.
- Kirkland, C. P., letter to, containing opinions on slavery, x. 39.
- Kirkland, J. T., Dr., iv. 6. President of Harvard University, vii. 145; viii. 116, 542. Sermons of, on the occasion of the death of John Adams, vii. 134; elected to deliver a discourse on, before the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 135.
- Kirkpatrick, Mr., vi. 470. Complaint of, against Bennett, 492.
- Kitchin's Atlas, x. 364.
- Kleist, General, iii. 264.
- Klimkieuitz, Benoit Henri, a Polish exile, petitions for a grant of land, ix. 469.
- Knapp, S. L., oration by, on decease of John Adams, vii. 137, 139; viii. 425.
- Kneeland, Abner, an atheistic writer, xi. 408.
- Knight, N. R., Senator from Rhode Island, his project for getting possession of Canada, vii. 500.
- Knight, Simeon, a paymaster in the army, vii. 434, 439.
- Knox, General, i. 34, 36; viii. 272; ix. 434.
- Köhler, Mr., discussions on literature, ii. 76.
- Kohlmann, Abbé, ii. 159.
- Kökeritz, Aide-de-Camp to the King of Prussia, i. 243.
- Koll, Point, ii. 25, 30, 31.
- Kolokoltzof, Admiral, ii. 46, 47.
- Königstein, fortress of, i. 237.
- Koran, translation of the, into modern Greek, x. 91.
- Koslofsky, Prince, Minister to Sardinia, ii. 410.
- Kotschubey, Count, ii. 74, 326.
- Koutousoff, Admiral, ii. 424-426; iii. 468.
- Kraitsir, Dr., a Polish exile, establishes academical school, ix. 367.
- Krayenhoff, i. 59.
- Krehmer, George, Chargé d'Affaires from Russia, viii. 204.
- Kremer, George, of Pennsylvania, in the House of Representatives, vi. 286, 484, 491, 494, 497, 515; vii. 399. A political tool, 513.
- Kremer, letters signed, viii. 165.
- Kreppe, Senator, of Pennsylvania, correspondence respecting renomination of A. Jackson, viii. 351.
- Krudener, Baron, viii. 96, 107, 203. Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary from the Emperor of Russia, vii. 387, 398, 423, 515; viii. 66. Interviews with, 69, 71, 161, 163, 166-168, 170, 175, 183, 204. Mediation with the Greeks, 167, 168, 175. Remarks on the Jackson Administration; the President's Message, 169. Wrecked on his return to Russia; rescue of, 258.
- Krusenstern, Captain, ii. 110, 111, 302.
- Kuhn, Captain, vi. 514; vii. 293, 426. Complaints of, against Henderson and Hall, 270. Removal of, viii. 5.
- Kunheim, General, i. 216.
- Kurakin, Prince, Russian Minister at Paris, ii. 245, 282, 289, 298, 304.

- Laval, Comte de, ii. 75, 76, 96, 126. His family proscribed, 128, 140, 141, 257, 258. Inspector of Naval Institution, 302, 317. His collection of antiques, 340, 341. On the war, 407, 408, 409, 410; iii. 156, 159, 168.
- Laval, Duc de, iv. 216, 302.
- Laval, Madame de, iii. 156, 157.
- Lavallette, escape of, iii. 434, 439, 521.
- Lavignac, iv. 76.
- Lavoisier, M., i. 90.
- Law, of nations, a bill intended to protect foreign seamen against their own sovereigns an infringement of, i. 291; on the closing of ports, iv. 41; forbidding the possession of Florida by a foreign power, 89; on privateering, 308; on taking an enemy's goods from neutral vessels, vi. 382, 383, 385; free ships make free goods, 384; on claims, v. 273, 279; on rendition of criminals, 357, 358, 386, 400. Common, digest of, iii. 511. Maritime, belligerent, and neutral, American principles of, vi. 531.
- Law, John, ii. 301; vi. 76, 77.
- Law, Richard, Captain, Collector of the port of New London, Connecticut, vi. 475. His plan of finance, vii. 247. Removal of, viii. 259.
- Law, Thomas, viii. 171. Visit to, v. 127.
- Lawler, Joab, of Alabama, in the House of Representatives, ix. 283, 287, 501.
- Lawless, Edward Luke, suspended by Judge J. H. Peck, viii. 252. (See *Peck, J. H.*)
- Lawrence, Albott, ix. 253; xi. 144; xii. 213. In the House of Representatives, ix. 264, 281, 308, 318, 332; x. 184; resigns, ix. 368. Conversation with, 264, 363; x. 43, 185. Consulted by President Harrison on the system of administration; the tariff compromise, 437, 443, 444. Correspondence with R. B. Rhett, 444; with H. Clay, 445. Conversation with, xi. 28. Negotiations for settlement of the Northeastern boundary, 196. Visits Europe, 388. (See *Cushing, C.*)
- Lawrence, Joseph, of Pennsylvania, in the House of Representatives, x. 514. Recommends the appointment of William Clark as Treasurer of the United States, vii. 441.
- Lawrence, Nathaniel, Rev., ix. 220.
- Lawrence, Richard, an insane man, attempts to shoot President Jackson, ix. 203, 204, 226, 229.
- Lawrence, Samuel, letter relating to Poindexter's report on the New York Custom-House, xi. 158, 264, 294.
- Lawrence, William, xi. 264.
- Lawrence, William B., Chargé d'Affaires at London, vii. 439; viii. 31, 328. Dispatches to, vii. 439. Dispatches from, 542; viii. 17, 60. Trouble about settlement of his accounts, 236. Conversation with, on the Presidential election, 236; on the colonial trade, 326.
- Lawrence, James, the, condemnation of, in Cuba, vi. 434.
- Laws, revival of old, i. 119. Secret, cause of, iv. 32. Enacting of new, v. 96. Printing of the United States, 16, 42, 265, 266; vii. 81. Transmission of, 275.
- Lawyers, of Philadelphia, professional opinions given to Spain on indemnities claimed by America, i. 312. Large proportion of, among public men, iii. 373, 374. Western, iv. 15.
- Lay, Mr., recommended as Chargé d'Affaires to Naples, x. 448, 449. Chargé d'Affaires to Sweden, xi. 149.
- Laybach circular, the, v. 445.
- Lea, Pryor. (See *Arnold.*)
- Leach, Captain, ii. 23, 25.
- Lead mines, vii. 16. Missouri, irregularities in the leases of, 21, 83.
- Leakin, General, vii. 207. Editor of

- Lamb, Lady Caroline, iii. 409.
 Lamson, Rev., viii. 369.
 Land bill, viii. 522.
 Land claims, viii. 35, 72; ix. 481, 485; xi. 174. Appointment of law agent to settle, viii. 73.
 Land grants, vii. 74, 162, 232. Signing and issuing of, vi. 543; viii. 200, 201. Frauds in obtaining, vii. 74. (See *Land Titles*.)
 Land laws, vii. 187. (See *Land Grants*; *Land Titles*.)
 Land offices, v. 156; vii. 220, 227, 340, 374, 407, 430; x. 10. Commission to examine, v. 483; vii. 473, 520.
 Land patents, vii. 160, 270; x. 423. (See *Land Grants*.)
 Land sales, vii. 280, 303, 473; viii. 35, 36. Modes of applying, vi. 466. In the Territory of Arkansas; restrictions on payments for, vii. 137, 427. In Florida, 247. In Missouri, 270. At Washita; investigation of, 430, 520.
 Land titles, viii. 73. Memorial for procuring tribunal to try the validity of, vii. 172, 192. Under the Spanish Government, viii. 73. (See *Land Laws*; *Land Grants*.)
 Land warrants, xi. 178.
 Landgrave, Madame the Dowager, of Hesse-Cassel, i. 211.
 Lane, Amos, of Indiana, in the House of Representatives, ix. 44, 79, 340; xi. 193.
 Lane, Dr., of Mobile, claim of, for maintaining captured slaves, vii. 158, 171, 172.
 Lane, Henry S., of Indiana, in the House of Representatives, x. 404.
 Lane, Lieutenant, assault of, upon J. Ewing, member of the House of Representatives, ix. 211.
 Lane, Samuel, Colonel, vi. 387. Commissioner of Public Buildings; charged with defalcation, 287. Agent of J. Monroe, 287, 289, 526. Accounts with Barings Brothers, vii. 349.
 Langhorne, Maurice, viii. 59.
 Langhorne's Plutarch, viii. 114.
 Langtree, contracts with Clerk of the House of Representatives, x. 261, 262, 265.
 Lanham, a soldier, sentenced for murder of Kelly, v. 485. Reprieved, 485.
 Lanman, James, of Connecticut, vi. 490. His right to a seat in the Senate denied, 524.
 Lansdowne, Marchioness Dowager of, ball given by, iii. 310, 311.
 Lansdowne, Marquis of, iii. 220, 221, 311. Debate on A. Jackson in the House of Lords, iv. 397.
 Lansing, G. Y., Chancellor, v. 481.
 Lantaro, articles signed, v. 56.
 Lapparent, Count Charles Cochon de, i. 92. (See *Cochon*.)
 Larned, Samuel, of Rhode Island, offered the appointment of Secretary of Legation to Chili, vi. 188, 191. Chargé d'Affaires to Chili, vii. 467; viii. 87.
 La Salle, essay by T. H. Benton, xi. 353.
 La Sensible, French frigate, ix. 12.
 La Serna, Mateo de, the Spanish Chargé d'Affaires, v. 33, 70.
 Lathrop, Samuel, vi. 313, 493; ix. 11, 45.
 Latimer, George, claimed as a slave; the author solicited to act as counsel for, xi. 265. Petition for, 322, 354.
 Latin, English pronunciation of, iii. 497.
 Latitude, observations of, iv. 211; v. 457, 458.
 Launch of two frigates, ii. 187, 274.
 Laurens, H., viii. 295. Portrait of, iii. 559.
 Laurie, Dr., vi. 223; vii. 53, 302; viii. 429, 435; xii. 111. Letter of, 17.
 Lauriston, General, ii. 259; iii. 156. Succeeds the Duc de Vicence as French Ambassador at St. Petersburg, 262, 264, 285 (see *Ambassador*). Scotch descent of, 301, 385, 386, 388, 441, 442. A prisoner, 544.

- Laval, Comte de, ii. 75, 76, 96, 126. His family proscribed, 128, 140, 141, 257, 258. Inspector of Naval Institution, 302, 317. His collection of antiques, 340, 341. On the war, 407, 408, 409, 410; iii. 156, 159, 168.
- Laval, Duc de, iv. 216, 302.
- Laval, Madame de, iii. 156, 157.
- Lavallette, escape of, iii. 434, 439, 521.
- Lavignac, iv. 76.
- Lavoisier, M., i. 90.
- Law, of nations, a bill intended to protect foreign seamen against their own sovereigns an infringement of, i. 291; on the closing of ports, iv. 41; forbidding the possession of Florida by a foreign power, 89; on privateering, 308; on taking an enemy's goods from neutral vessels, vi. 382, 383, 385; free ships make free goods, 384; on claims, v. 273, 279; on rendition of criminals, 357, 358, 386, 400. Common, digest of, iii. 511. Maritime, belligerent, and neutral, American principles of, vi. 531.
- Law, John, ii. 301; vi. 76, 77.
- Law, Richard, Captain, Collector of the port of New London, Connecticut, vi. 475. His plan of finance, vii. 247. Removal of, viii. 259.
- Law, Thomas, viii. 171. Visit to, v. 127.
- Lawler, Joab, of Alabama, in the House of Representatives, ix. 283, 287, 501.
- Lawless, Edward Luke, suspended by Judge J. H. Peck, viii. 252. (See *Peck, J. H.*)
- Lawrence, Abbott, ix. 253; xi. 144; xii. 213. In the House of Representatives, ix. 264, 281, 308, 318, 332; x. 184; resigns, ix. 368. Conversation with, 264, 363; x. 43, 185. Consulted by President Harrison on the system of administration; the tariff compromise, 437, 443, 444. Correspondence with R. B. Rhet, 444; with H. Clay, 445. Conversation with, xi. 28. Negotiations for settlement of the Northeastern boundary, 196. Visits Europe, 388. (See *Cushing, C.*)
- Lawrence, Joseph, of Pennsylvania, in the House of Representatives, x. 514. Recommends the appointment of William Clark as Treasurer of the United States, vii. 441.
- Lawrence, Nathaniel, Rev., ix. 220.
- Lawrence, Richard, an insane man, attempts to shoot President Jackson, ix. 203, 204, 226, 229.
- Lawrence, Samuel, letter relating to Poindexter's report on the New York Custom-House, xi. 158, 264, 294.
- Lawrence, William, xi. 264.
- Lawrence, William B., Chargé d'Affaires at London, vii. 439; viii. 31, 328. Dispatches to, vii. 439. Dispatches from, 542; viii. 17, 60. Trouble about settlement of his accounts, 236. Conversation with, on the Presidential election, 236; on the colonial trade, 326.
- Lawrence, James, the, condemnation of, in Cuba, vi. 434.
- Laws, revival of old, i. 119. Secret, cause of, iv. 32. Enacting of new, v. 96. Printing of the United States, 16, 42, 265, 266; vii. 81. Transmission of, 275.
- Lawyers, of Philadelphia, professional opinions given to Spain on indemnities claimed by America, i. 312. Large proportion of, among public men, iii. 373, 374. Western, iv. 15.
- Lay, Mr., recommended as Chargé d'Affaires to Naples, x. 448, 449. Chargé d'Affaires to Sweden, xi. 149.
- Laybach circular, the, v. 445.
- Lea, Pryor. (See *Arnold.*)
- Leach, Captain, ii. 23, 25.
- Lead mines, vii. 16. Missouri, irregularities in the leases of, 21, 83.
- Leakin, General, vii. 207. Editor of

- the Baltimore Chronicle, ix. 345. And Barnes, prosecuted for libel by Reuben M. Whitney, 346.
- Leaming, —, Delegate from Pennsylvania, ix. 94.
- Lear, Tobias, Tripoli Treaty negotiated by; singular transactions of, i. 475. Stipulation signed by, varying from the public treaty, 500.
- Leary, Jeremy, the author's coachman; his death from accident, x. 425, 427.
- Leavitt, H. H., of Ohio, in the House of Representatives, viii. 523. Speech on the Kentucky contested election, ix. 144.
- Leavitt, Joshua, xi. 44, 79, 292, 463. And Henry B. Stanton send letter of invitation to Anti-Slavery Convention, x. 125; declined, 128. S. L. Jocelyn, L. Tappan, and, appeal in behalf of captured slaves, 135. Delegate to the World's Convention for the Promotion of the Abolition of Slavery, xi. 374. Conversation with, 374. Displaced by J. W. Jones, 496. (See *Amistad, the*; *Jocelyn, S. L.*; *Tappan, L.*) Reporter, xii. 142.
- Lebanon Springs, visit to, xi. 392.
- Lebzeltern, Mr., iv. 68.
- Le Cœur and Pechigni, schools of, ii. 133; vi. 419.
- Le Compte, Joseph, of Kentucky, in the House of Representatives, viii. 302.
- Lectures upon Rhetoric, 336; ix. 24. Upon Faith, x. 356. Delivered at Charlestown; at Salem, 359. Before the Mercantile Library Association at Baltimore, 363. At Washington, 451. Upon Democracy, xi. 267.
- Lederer, Baron, Consul-General from Austria, receives powers to negotiate Treaty, viii. 73. Interview with, 74.
- Ledyard, John, the traveller, Mr. Jefferson's instructions to, i. 189. His expedition to Kamschatka, viii. 310.
- Lee, Mr. Arthur, ii. 23; iii. 152, 474; vii. 245. Conduct of, in the Deane quarrel, i. 505. Robbery of papers of, 242. Memoirs of, viii. 29. (See *Adams, John.*)
- Lee, Charles, i. 457.
- Lee, F. L., viii. 277.
- Lee, Gideon, of New York, in the House of Representatives, ix. 329, 337.
- Lee, Henry, General, Governor of Virginia; Commander-in-chief of troops sent against the Pennsylvania insurgents; his eulogy on Washington, vii. 218.
- Lee, Henry, Major, of Virginia, vi. 539; vii. 123, 217, 260, 479; viii. 25, 188, 249. Writes against Johnson's Life of Greene, vi. 375. Abilities and political tendencies of, vii. 56, 180, 181. Writes against the Administration, 180. In the Post-Office Department, 180. The rival of Taliaferro, 180, 181. Candidate for the Vice-Presidency, viii. 524. Letter of, ix. 346. Talents as a writer; libellous attacks on the author; appointed by Jackson Consul-General at Algiers; rejected; conduct at Algiers; residence and death in Paris, 346, 347.
- Lee, J., of Maryland, vi. 492, 502; xi. 205.
- Lee, Ludwell, vii. 41. Entertains General La Fayette and the President, 43.
- Lee, Richard Bland, v. 28; vii. 156. Death of, 239.
- Lee, R. H., vii. 41; viii. 277. His Memoir of the Life of Arthur Lee, vii. 245; viii. 29. Recommended for Clerk in the Paymaster-General's office, 84; removed, 148, 151. Intended history of the Administration, 93.
- Lee, Robert, viii. 108.
- Lee, Thomas, Lieutenant of Marines, vii. 159, 167.
- Lee, William, vi. 67; viii. 244. Charged with making known in England the signing of Treaty with France, i. 105.

- Laval, Comte de, ii. 75, 76, 96, 126. His family proscribed, 128, 140, 141, 257, 258. Inspector of Naval Institution, 302, 317. His collection of antiques, 340, 341. On the war, 407, 408, 409, 410; iii. 156, 159, 168.
- Laval, Duc de, iv. 216, 302.
- Laval, Madame de, iii. 156, 157.
- Lavallette, escape of, iii. 434, 439, 521.
- Lavignac, iv. 76.
- Lavoisier, M., i. 90.
- Law, of nations, a bill intended to protect foreign seamen against their own sovereigns an infringement of, i. 291; on the closing of ports, iv. 41; forbidding the possession of Florida by a foreign power, 89; on privateering, 308; on taking an enemy's goods from neutral vessels, vi. 382, 383, 385; free ships make free goods, 384; on claims, v. 273, 279; on rendition of criminals, 357, 358, 386, 400. Common, digest of, iii. 511. Maritime, belligerent, and neutral, American principles of, vi. 531.
- Law, John, ii. 301; vi. 76, 77.
- Law, Richard, Captain, Collector of the port of New London, Connecticut, vi. 475. His plan of finance, vii. 247. Removal of, viii. 259.
- Law, Thomas, viii. 171. Visit to, v. 127.
- Lawler, Joah, of Alabama, in the House of Representatives, ix. 283, 287, 501.
- Lawless, Edward Luke, suspended by Judge J. H. Peck, viii. 252. (See *Peck, J. H.*)
- Lawrence, Abbott, ix. 253; xi. 144; xii. 213. In the House of Representatives, ix. 264, 281, 308, 318, 332; x. 184; resigns, ix. 368. Conversation with, 264, 363; x. 43, 185. Consulted by President Harrison on the system of administration; the tariff compromise, 437, 443, 444. Correspondence with R. B. Rhett, 444; with H. Clay, 445. Conversation with, xi. 28. Negotiations for settlement of the Northeastern boundary, 196. Visits Europe, 388. (See *Cushing, C.*)
- Lawrence, Joseph, of Pennsylvania, in the House of Representatives, x. 514. Recommends the appointment of William Clark as Treasurer of the United States, vii. 441.
- Lawrence, Nathaniel, Rev., ix. 220.
- Lawrence, Richard, an insane man, attempts to shoot President Jackson, ix. 203, 204, 226, 229.
- Lawrence, Samuel, letter relating to Poindexter's report on the New York Custom-House, xi. 158, 264, 294.
- Lawrence, William, xi. 264.
- Lawrence, William B., Chargé d'Affaires at London, vii. 439; viii. 31, 328. Dispatches to, vii. 439. Dispatches from, 542; viii. 17, 60. Trouble about settlement of his accounts, 236. Conversation with, on the Presidential election, 236; on the colonial trade, 326.
- Lawrence, James, the, condemnation of, in Cuba, vi. 434.
- Laws, revival of old, i. 119. Secret, cause of, iv. 32. Enacting of new, v. 96. Printing of the United States, 16, 42, 265, 266; vii. 81. Transmission of, 275.
- Lawyers, of Philadelphia, professional opinions given to Spain on indemnities claimed by America, i. 312. Large proportion of, among public men, iii. 373, 374. Western, iv. 15.
- Lay, Mr., recommended as Chargé d'Affaires to Naples, x. 448, 449. Chargé d'Affaires to Sweden, xi. 149.
- Laybach circular, the, v. 445.
- Lea, Pryor. (See *Arnold.*)
- Leach, Captain, ii. 23, 25.
- Lead mines, vii. 16. Missouri, irregularities in the leases of, 21, 83.
- Leakin, General, vii. 207. Editor of

- the Baltimore Chronicle, ix. 345. And Barnes, prosecuted for libel by Reuben M. Whitney, 346.
- Leaming, —, Delegate from Pennsylvania, ix. 94.
- Lear, Tobias, Tripoli Treaty negotiated by; singular transactions of, i. 475. Stipulation signed by, varying from the public treaty, 500.
- Leary, Jeremy, the author's coachman; his death from accident, x. 425, 427.
- Leavitt, H. H., of Ohio, in the House of Representatives, viii. 523. Speech on the Kentucky contested election, ix. 144.
- Leavitt, Joshua, xi. 44, 79, 292, 463. And Henry B. Stanton send letter of invitation to Anti-Slavery Convention, x. 125; declined, 128. S. L. Jocelyn, L. Tappan, and, appeal in behalf of captured slaves, 135. Delegate to the World's Convention for the Promotion of the Abolition of Slavery, xi. 374. Conversation with, 374. Displaced by J. W. Jones, 496. (See *Amistad, the*; *Jocelyn, S. L.*; *Tappan, L.*) Reporter, xii. 142.
- Lebanon Springs, visit to, xi. 392.
- Lebzelter, Mr., iv. 68.
- Le Cœur and Pechigni, schools of, ii. 133; vi. 419.
- Le Compte, Joseph, of Kentucky, in the House of Representatives, viii. 302.
- Lectures upon Rhetoric, 336; ix. 24. Upon Faith, x. 356. Delivered at Charlestown; at Salem, 359. Before the Mercantile Library Association at Baltimore, 363. At Washington, 451. Upon Democracy, xi. 267.
- Lederer, Baron, Consul-General from Austria, receives powers to negotiate Treaty, viii. 73. Interview with, 74.
- Ledyard, John, the traveller, Mr. Jefferson's instructions to, i. 189. His expedition to Kamschatka, viii. 310.
- Lee, Mr. Arthur, ii. 23; iii. 152, 474; vii. 245. Conduct of, in the Deane quarrel, i. 505. Robbery of papers of, 242. Memoirs of, viii. 29. (See *Adams, John.*)
- Lee, Charles, i. 457.
- Lee, F. L., viii. 277.
- Lee, Gideon, of New York, in the House of Representatives, ix. 329, 337.
- Lee, Henry, General, Governor of Virginia; Commander-in-chief of troops sent against the Pennsylvania insurgents; his eulogy on Washington, vii. 218.
- Lee, Henry, Major, of Virginia, vi. 539; vii. 123, 217, 260, 479; viii. 25, 188, 249. Writes against Johnson's Life of Greene, vi. 375. Abilities and political tendencies of, vii. 56, 180, 181. Writes against the Administration, 180. In the Post-Office Department, 180. The rival of Taliaferro, 180, 181. Candidate for the Vice-Presidency, viii. 524. Letter of, ix. 346. Talents as a writer; libellous attacks on the author; appointed by Jackson Consul-General at Algiers; rejected; conduct at Algiers; residence and death in Paris, 346, 347.
- Lee, J., of Maryland, vi. 492, 502; xi. 205.
- Lee, Ludwell, vii. 41. Entertains General La Fayette and the President, 43.
- Lee, Richard Bland, v. 28; vii. 156. Death of, 239.
- Lee, R. H., vii. 41; viii. 277. His Memoir of the Life of Arthur Lee, vii. 245; viii. 29. Recommended for Clerk in the Paymaster-General's office, 84; removed, 148, 151. Intended history of the Administration, 93.
- Lee, Robert, viii. 108.
- Lee, Thomas, Lieutenant of Marines, vii. 159, 167.
- Lee, William, vi. 67; viii. 244. Charged with making known in England the signing of Treaty with France, i. 105.

- Challenges Petry, 106. Letter of, to Edmund Jennings, 106.
- Lee, William, iv. 11, 17, 27, 62, 63. Demands explanation of Galabert, 47, 48. Second Auditor of the Treasury, vii. 434; viii. 37, 79. Removed, 116, 144. On Jackson and his Administration, 162.
- Lee, the, Captain Blacker, iv. 362.
- Leesburg, visit of General La Fayette to, vii. 42.
- Leet, Isaac, of Pennsylvania, in the House of Representatives, x. 268, 270.
- Legaré, Hugh S., of Charleston, South Carolina, viii. 406, 410; ix. 388, 398, 459, 543; x. 9, 16, 68, 80. Speech on the Sub-Treasury Bill, ix. 404. Remarks on his style and promise as an orator, 405. Supports Gholson and Claiborne, 482, 485. His argument for refusing to receive petition refused, x. 75. Attorney-General, xi. 23. Dies at Boston, 386.
- Legaré, Lieutenant, vii. 220.
- Legations, American, in Spain, v. 127.
- Leggett, Aaron, claimant on Mexico, presents memorial to Congress, xi. 208, 211-214, 228.
- Legislation, tendencies of, ix. 260.
- Legislative, executive, and judicial powers separated by the Constitution, v. 369; ix. 228; xii. 224.
- Legislative Assemblies, unsuited to the transaction of judicial business, viii. 480.
- Legislature, members of the, independent of the Executive, v. 245.
- Leib, Dr., v. 481.
- Leib, Mr., applicant for office of Auditor in the Treasury, x. 452.
- Leigh, Benjamin Watkins, author of papers signed Algernon Sidney, viii. 223. Senator; prepares report on the Smithsonian bequest, ix. 268.
- Leiper, George, refuses to drink the toasts at the Jefferson dinner, viii. 228.
- Leipsic, ii. 539, 543, 544.
- Leland's History of Ireland, viii. 349, 350.
- Le Louis, case of, v. 388, 449.
- Lenox, Peter, of Washington, Director of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, viii. 37.
- Lent, in Russia, kept with strictness by the lower orders, ii. 452.
- Leon, Joaquín Velasquez de, Chargé d'Affaires of the Mexican Republic, xi. 203.
- Leopard, the British frigate, attacks the Chesapeake in Hampton Roads, i. 468.
- Leopold, Prince of Saxe-Coburg, iii. 312, 343. Comes in state to London, 346. Personal appearance of, 348, 360, 435. Sovereign of Greece, viii. 184, 204.
- Le Roy, Bayard & Co., their speculations in United States stocks, iv. 494.
- Leslie, C. R., the painter, iii. 543.
- Lesseps, Mr., French Consul, ii. 149, 308, 388. At Philadelphia, iv. 465.
- Lestevenon, M., i. 89, 92.
- Letcher, Robert P., of Kentucky, in the House of Representatives, vii. 375, 484; viii. 176, 336, 461, 509, 511, 512, 513. On the politics of Kentucky, vi. 440, 446, 452, 455, 456, 473. On the appointment of Chargé d'Affaires to Peru, vii. 107.
- Letter threatening assassination for moving inquiry in the House into the Stevenson affair with O'Connell, x. 81. (See *House*, etc.; *Convulsd*, B. 7.) On slavery, to citizens of Bangor, xi. 406, 408.
- Letters, visitation of, i. 76. Franking of, 265. Intercepted, 105, 107; ii. 531; v. 164, 348. Credential, to whom addressed, iv. 17, 18; vi. 449. Forged, iv. 63. Signed Franklin, 239. Of recedence, of recall, difference of, 231. On paying visits, 483. Publication of extra-official, v. 108. From foreign sovereigns, proper address of,

153. Of marque, vi. 231, 445; vii. 60. Divulging of private, deprecated, 462.
- Letters from Silesia, ix. 24.
- Letters from the author to his constituents; a pamphlet, ix. 343.
- Le Vasseur, Mr., vii. 39, 40, 48. Secretary to General La Fayette, vi. 419, 422.
- Levees, Prince Regent's, iii. 371, 385.
- Levesque, his History of Russia, ii. 193.
- Leviathan, a work published by Hobbes, ix. 225.
- Levies of men in America by French emigrants, iv. 11.
- Levens, Mr., i. 89.
- Levy, David, Delegate from Florida, in the House of Representatives, x. 483, 520; xi. 6, 7, 155, 162, 168, 170, 316, 501; xii. 164.
- Lewis, J. C., address of, before the Hebrew Orphan Society, ix. 191.
- Levy, Nathan, iv. 425.
- Levy, Uriah P., Lieutenant, offers present to the United States of statue of Jefferson, ix. 113.
- Lewis, Commodore, iv. 321.
- Lewis, Dixon H., of Alabama, in the House of Representatives, ix. 70, 284, 300, 323, 395, 407; x. 84, 144, 160, 483; xi. 221; xii. 20, 25, 54. Candidate for Speaker, x. 163.
- Lewis, John D., iv. 283; vi. 419.
- Lewis, Major, viii. 116, 207, 297.
- Lewis, Samuel, Chief Clerk of the War Department, viii. 222; x. 100, 101.
- Lewis, William B., Second Auditor, viii. 372; ix. 56.
- Lewis, William D., letter from, on trial of Leavitt Harris, iv. 509. Applies to the Russian Government for public documents, vi. 411, 419. (See *Harris, L.*)
- Lewis, Winslow, vii. 395.
- Lexicon, Universal, i. 235.
- Lexington, the, to be fitted out for the South Sea Expedition, viii. 58.
- Libel, truth no justification of, iii. 562.
- Liberality, religious, iii. 497.
- Liberty party, the, visit of committee of, xii. 79, 80. Convention at Dedham, 86, 87, 88. Association with Native Americans, Catholics, etc., 110.
- Library, of William the Fifth, late Stadtholder, removed to Paris, i. 109. Of Frederick William the Second of Prussia, 222. Of Dresden, 235. Of Congress, 420, 424, 463, 478. Imperial, of Russia, curious manuscripts in; illuminations by Raphael Sanzio, ii. 325. Public, of Ghent, iii. 16, 17.
- Licenses for vessels, ii. 109. Granted by France for trade with England, 145, 176, 177, 180, 280. Perniciousness of system of, 364.
- Liebau, ii. 191, 194.
- Lieber, Francis, ix. 79.
- Lieven, Count, ii. 377, 430, 432, 512, 516, 539-541. Instructed to renew the proffer of mediation with England, 516, 517; iv. 389; v. 140; vii. 9. Confidential communications relating to Russian mediation, ii. 541, 544, 545, 568, 570. Russian Ambassador; interviews with, iii. 205, 209, 385, 386. On Russian measures relating to the Barbary States, 223, 322, 322, 323, 415, 418-420, 497, 541, 560, 561. Letter from, 338, 339. Dispatches of, to Baron de Tuij, vi. 146, 172.
- Life, value of, vii. 265. Mystery of everlasting, imperfectly revealed, 459.
- Life and Times of Henry Clay, by Colton, xii. 169, 207.
- Light-house keepers, appointment of, vii. 160.
- Light-houses, ix. 150, 516. On the coast of Maine, v. 375. Building of, on the Florida coast, vii. 309.
- Likenesses, x. 116.
- Lima, appointment of Navy Agent at, vii. 389. Meeting of Envoys at, xi. 340.
- Lima, Count de, iii. 498.

- Limerick, Earl of, iii. 381, 417.
- Lincoln, Abigail, pension claim, x. 112.
- Lincoln, Enoch, Governor of the State of Maine; in the House of Representatives, v. 469; vi. 488. Concerning the Northeastern Boundary negotiations with Great Britain, vii. 263, 326. Questions the right of the General Government to cede State territory, 263; correspondence relating to, 263, 267, 350, 351, 361. Opposition of, to the Treaty with Great Britain, 382.
- Lincoln, Jotham, of Hingham, seeks the office of Collector of Customs at Boston, xi. 436.
- Lincoln, Levi, x. 437. Governor of Massachusetts, vii. 7, 139, 141, 142; viii. 407; ix. 21, 22, 45, 47, 123, 126, 152, 192, 193, 199, 325, 338, 379, 389, 408, 413, 452, 499, 510, 513, 514, 537; x. 14, 27, 60, 71, 107, 149, 264, 281, 286, 297, 414. Message of, on the Free Bridge Act, vii. 251; on the Northeastern Boundary controversy, 326, 382. Correspondence with the Anti-Masonic State Convention, viii. 414. Letter on the Apportionment bill, 474. Correspondence with, ix. 22, 24, 25, 44. On Committee of Overseers of Harvard University, 163. On public lands, x. 19, 424. Conversation with, 388.
- Lincoln, Solomon, x. 349, 357. Conversation with, 437.
- Lindsay, Rev. Mr., iii. 362.
- Line-of-battle ships, viii. 168.
- Lines, a kind of Russian carriage, ii. 285.
- Linn, Archibald L., of New York, in the House of Representatives, x. 500, 515. On the Bankrupt Law, 530.
- Linn, Lewis F., Dr., of Missouri, Senator, death of, xi. 447.
- Linneus, the steamboat, vii. 153.
- Lippincotts, Messrs., concerned in the failure of Edward Thomson, vii. 94.
- Judgment of the Supreme Court in favor of, 259.
- Lisbon, Portuguese vessels from, not received in Russian ports, ii. 102.
- Liskewitz, Mr., Russian Minister at Copenhagen, ii. 35, 36.
- Liston, Sir Robert, iii. 470, 474. Letter of, to Joseph Ewart, 473, 474.
- Litchfield, Elisha, of New York, in the House of Representatives, v. 482.
- Litchfield, Franklin, Consul at Porto Cabello, ix. 143. Conversation with, on the state of Venezuela, 143.
- Literary Club, Dr. Johnson the founder of, viii. 291, 346.
- Literary composition, viii. 132, 150.
- Literary Convention, the writer elected President of, viii. 418. Plan for a National Literary and Scientific Institution, 419, 420, 422. Proceedings of, 420-423. Committee for electing members, 422, 423.
- Literature, passion for, v. 219.
- Litta, Count, ii. 58, 61, 97, 286.
- Litta, Countess, ii. 57, 58, 61.
- Little, Colonel, solicits appointment of Marshal for the District of Maryland, vii. 207.
- Little, Rev. Mr., vii. 249, 376. Sermons of, vi. 77-464, 529; vii. 168, 176, 285. Death of, 324. Views of, on baptism, 381.
- Little Belt, the British sloop, ii. 281, 299.
- Little Prince, the, a Creek Indian chief, expostulations with, vii. 295.
- Littlefield, N. S., of Maine, in the House of Representatives, x. 541.
- Live-oak, plantation of, in Florida, viii. 51, 172, 254, 322.
- Livermore, A., of New Hampshire, in the House of Representatives, iv. 529, 530; v. 276; vi. 279, 333.
- Livermore, Harriet, preaches in the Capitol, x. 6, 7. Mission to the Western Indians, 7. Visits Jerusalem, 7. Her books, xii. 9.
- Liverpool, Earl of, influence of, over

- the King, ii. 68. Desires peace, iii. 195, 221, 234. Interview with, 253-260. On charges against British officers, 258, 259, 278, 286, 294, 306, 385, 437, 440.
- Liverpool, Mayor of, on destitute seamen, iii. 285.
- Livingston, Brockholst, Judge, iv. 4, 123; v. 322.
- Livingston, Edward, of Louisiana, vi. 187, 297, 440; vii. 77. His project for a criminal code, vi. 55. His inquiries as to the ownership of islands in the Gulf of Mexico, 279. In the House of Representatives; on the Edwards-Crawford Investigation Committee; his code for Louisiana, vii. 78. His proposal to abolish capital punishment, 78. Agent for Louisiana claimants, 309. Senator; on Jefferson's accusation against Bayard, viii. 187, 200. Appointed Secretary of State, 357; xi. 363. Letter to, viii. 539, 542. His System of Penal Law, ix. 33. Minister at Paris, 207. Correspondence on claims, 209, 219; communicated to Congress, 231.
- Livingston, Edward P., Lieutenant-Governor of New York, Vice-President of the Literary Convention, viii. 418, 422.
- Livingston, R. M., Commissioner for the Seneca Indian Treaty, viii. 55, 58.
- Livingston, Robert R., Minister to France, correspondence on the Louisiana negotiations; withholds Talleyrand's letter, v. 433, 444, 445; ix. 320. Memoirs addressed to Napoleon, 351. Gains the ear of Napoleon, 352.
- Lloyd, Edward, of Maryland, Senator, iv. 436.
- Lloyd, James, of Massachusetts, i. 261. Senator, vi. 232, 283, 352, 439; vii. 78, 149. Letter to James Monroe, vi. 158. Conversation with, on the Northwest Coast Convention, 454; vii. 99. Letter, 307.
- Lloyd and Perkins, claims of, iv. 252.
- Loan bill, v. 313; vii. 228, 234.
- Loans, repayment of Dutch, i. 114. Mr. Adams urges renewal of instalment, 115. Mr. Willink's proposal, 115. Silesian, seizure by the King of Prussia of the, 147. Dutch, 263. Commissioners of, 279. Negotiations of, iii. 43, 144. For South American provinces, iv. 123. For payment of Louisiana stock, 346, 359. Prejudice against, unjust, v. 309. Colombian, disaster of, in London, vi. 221. For payment of Government bonds, vii. 8, 173, 175, 194. (See *Bank, United States; Treasury.*)
- Lobdell, Ebenezer, x. 103.
- Locke, John, of Massachusetts, in the House of Representatives, vi. 313.
- Locke on Government, ix. 225. (See *Filmer.*)
- Loco Focos, ix. 399, 406.
- Locomotive engines, remission of duties on, ix. 190.
- Lodrone, Count de, i. 238.
- Logan, George, Dr., of Pennsylvania, Senator, on duty on importation of slaves, i. 295, 336. On trade with St. Domingo, 346, 383, 401, 406, 407, 413, 414. On Tunisian affairs, 434, 436.
- Logan, William, Judge, of Kentucky, Senator, iv. 515.
- Lomax, Major, claims to rank over Major Bird, vi. 538, 541; vii. 21.
- Lomonosoff, Attaché to the Russian Legation, iv. 376, 407; viii. 204. (See *Krehmer.*)
- London, address of the corporation of, to the King, ii. 84, 177. Usages of, iii. 300. Lord Mayor of, re-election of, 331, 360, 450; fête given by, on the river Thames, 428-430, 448; proposal of, to omit the annual dinner on Easter Monday in favor of charitable institutions, 484; letter of, to the Duke of Wellington, viii. 257. Common Council of, address to the

- Prince Regent, iii. 470. Riots in, viii. 257.
- London Morning Chronicle, v. 185.
- Londonderry, Marquis of, in favor of relaxing restrictions on the West India trade, v. 472. Speech of, 485. Correspondence of, on the slave-trade, vi. 35, 36. Commits suicide, 70.
- Long, Daniel, dismissed from office of Inspector at Elizabeth City, New Jersey; certificates and depositions against, vii. 280.
- Longchamps, i. 14. Promenade de, iii. 177.
- Longfellow, Stephen, of Maine, in th House of Representatives, vi. 488.
- Long's expedition to Texas, v. 84, 109. (See *Texas*.)
- Longuerue, M., adventure of, ii. 366.
- Longworth, Nicholas, xi. 429.
- Loomis, Arphaxad, of New York, in the House of Representatives, ix. 379, 389, 393, 400, 410, 473, 493, 522; x. 80; xi. 401.
- Lord, Judah, recommended as Consul at Porto Rico, v. 150.
- Lord, M., viii. 388, 393, 398.
- Lords, House of, a check on the Commons, iii. 374. Debates in, 554. Visit to, 533, 554.
- Lorich, Mr., touching a treaty of commerce between Sweden and Colombia, vi. 219. (See *Swedish Government; Colombia*.)
- Loring, Charles G., viii. 384, 385; x. 467.
- Loring, Ellis Gray, x. 358. Subscriber to Page's portrait of the author, 42. Letter of, requesting legal advice respecting the negroes taken in the ship *Amistad*, 132. Conversation with, xi. 29.
- Lorman and Patterson, Messrs., deputation from the Baltimore and Ohio Railway Company, vii. 466.
- Lose, Count, i. 233.
- Lothrop, S. Kirkland, Rev., ix. 303. Conversation with, on the McLeod case, xi. 26.
- Lotteries, city, vii. 5, 6, 498. Power of the President to approve, 6, 12, 13. For the sale of T. Jefferson's estate, 204.
- Lottery cause, vi. 441.
- Loud. (See *Hector, the*.)
- Loudon's Encyclopædia of Gardening, and Encyclopædia of Agriculture, vii. 261, 284.
- Loughborough, Lord, liberal sentiments of, towards America, i. 49, 50.
- Louis, Prince of Prussia, iii. 407. War with the United States, iv. 66.
- Louis the Fourteenth, King of France, i. 17; v. 362. Transactions through Torcy with the Duke of Marlborough, vii. 320.
- Louis the Sixteenth, funeral service for, iv. 45.
- Louis the Eighteenth, iii. 193, 198, 262, 480, 509. Proclamation of, ii. 460. Ministry of, iii. 192. Council of, deliberate on. (See *France*.)
- Louisa, Queen of Prussia, i. 213.
- Louisa, the, a piratical privateer, iv. 362, 363, 377. (See *Privateers*.)
- Louisa Carseras, a Spanish brig, libelled, iv. 377, 378.
- Louisiana, iii. 62, 63. Bill in Senate for taking possession of, i. 266, 268, 278. Government of, 275, 342. Taxing of, 285, 287-289 (see *Senate*). On admission of slaves into, 292, 293. Addresses from people of, 278. Feast in honor of acquisition of, 293. Deputies, 321. Land titles, 463. Extent of, iv. 26. Boundaries of (see *Boundaries*). History of negotiation for purchase of, 219; vi. 432-434, 444; ix. 320. Treaty, i. 267, 270, 275, 278; ratification of, in 1803, iv. 220. Debt, 325, 346. Privileges claimed by France in ports of, v. 124 (see *France*), 338, 340, 425. Loan, 174. Purchase of, by Jefferson, 364, 401. A dissolution and recomposi-

- tion of the Union, claims of French Government under, vi. 23, 404. Elections in, 446, 476. (See *France; American Citizens.*)
- Louisville Public Advertiser, Kentucky, v. 327. Appointed to print the laws of Congress, 328.
- Love of God, vii. 459.
- Love, James, of Kentucky, in the House of Representatives, ix. 212.
- Love, Thomas C., of New York, in the House of Representatives, ix. 293.
- Lovejoy, E. P., a leading abolitionist, shot by a mob at Alton, Illinois, ix. 432. (See *Alton.*)
- Lovejoy, Mrs., petition for relief of, ix. 496.
- Lovell, Joseph, Surgeon-General, iv. 479. A phrenologist, vii. 257.
- Lovell, Mrs., v. 490.
- Lovely's purchase. (See *Cherokees.*)
- Low, Mr., vi. 459.
- Lowell, Charles, Rev., vii. 139; viii. 369, 384, 390, 398; ix. 163, 368.
- Lowell, John, i. 252, 259; vi. 14.
- Lowell, John Amory, x. 467.
- Lowell, Joshua A., of Maine, x. 299. In the House of Representatives, xi. 172.
- Löwenhielm, Comte de, Swedish Minister at the Hague, i. 76, 78, 85; ii. 416, 464. Praises the American Government and President Washington, 100, 118, 124.
- Lowndes, William C., of South Carolina, vii. 469; viii. 233. Consultation with, on appropriations; on joining in European mediation between Spain and her colonies, iv. 71, 72. Proposed as Commissioner to Constantinople, 72; declines, 77, 160, 346. Letter from, 477, 478. In the House of Representatives; the Committee of Foreign Relations, v. 16, 17, 34, 92, 121, 122, 204, 333. Candidate for Speaker, 202. Opposes Clay's motion for appropriation for Minister to South America, 264. Illness of, 307. Recommended for the Presidency by South Carolina Legislature, 466, 468. Conversation with, 505. A slaveholder, 506.
- Lowrie, Walter, of New Jersey, Senator, vi. 243, 285. Letters of, to the President, on correspondence with General Jackson, 248, 341; publication of, 286, 290, 296, 472. Secretary of the Senate, vii. 75, 80, 83, 187, 523; ix. 110. (See *Monroe, J.; Hay, G.*)
- Lowry, Mr., a Cherokee chief, vi. 272, 373.
- Loyall, George, of Virginia, in the House of Representatives, ix. 322.
- Lubeck, vii. 348. (See *Hanseatic Cities.*)
- Lublin, Representative in Holland, i. 172.
- Lubomirski, Prince, ii. 302.
- Lucas, John B. C., candidate for District Judge in Missouri, v. 223.
- Lucas, Robert, Governor of Ohio, message of, on disputed boundary with Michigan, ix. 215. (See *Ohio; Cass; Silliman.*)
- Lucas, William, of Virginia, in the House of Representatives, x. 306.
- Lucchesini, Marquis de, i. 239.
- Lockett, Craven P., vi. 235, 240; viii. 216.
- Lumpkin, John H. S., of Georgia, in the House of Representatives, vii. 368; xi. 507.
- Lundy, Benjamin, his views on slavery; editor of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, viii. 316; ix. 302. Conversation with, 365. Letter to, 459. Letter from, 536.
- Lunt, George, ode by, x. 136.
- Lunt, William Parsons, Rev., of Quincy, x. 344, 349; xi. 262. Installation of, as colleague of Rev. Peter Whitney, ix. 239-242. Conversation with, x. 348. Funeral sermon on the decease of Dr. William Ellery Channing, xi. 258. Sermon, xii. 200.
- Luriottis, Andreas, Envoy of the Provisional Government of the Greeks, letter of, soliciting aid, vi. 172.

- Lushington, Dr., member of Parliament, i. 134; iii. 526.
 Lützen, battle of, ii. 468, 469, 472.
 Lûxbourg, Comte de, Secretary of the Bavarian Legation at St. Petersburg, ii. 57, 75, 228, 287, 288. On the relations of France and Russia, 245. Departure of, 288.
 Luzac, Elie, author of *La Richesse de la Hollande*, i. 75, 176.
 Luzerne, Chevalier de la, first Envoy from France to the American Republic, i. 10, 16; iv. 358.
 Lyceum, establishment of a, in Philadelphia, viii. 429, 435.
 Lyman, Theodore, i. 261; vi. 173; x. 467. Tried for libel on D. Webster, viii. 90.
 Lyman, William, Consul to London, i. 321.
 Lynch, Mr., v. 197.
 Lynch law practised in Mississippi, ix. 252.
 Lyndhurst, Lord. (See *Copley, Sergeant*.)
 Lyon, Chittenden, of Kentucky, in the House of Representatives; his nullification resolutions, viii. 532.
 Lyon, Francis S., of Alabama, in the House of Representatives, ix. 400, 548.
 Lyon, Lucius, Delegate from Michigan Territory in the House of Representatives, ix. 197, 198; xii. 158. Conversation with, on the Ohio Boundary dispute, ix. 221.
 Lyric poetry, ix. 231.
 Lytle, Robert T., of Ohio, in the House of Representatives, ix. 122, 194, 212.
- M.**
- Mabritz, iv. 75.
 Macbeth policy, the, vi. 131, 132.
 Macdonald, Captain, presents model of hollow-square buildings to the Government, vii. 68.
 Macedonian, the frigate, iv. 127.
 Machias, taking of, iii. 52.
 Mackay, Mungo, i. 51.
 Mackenzie, petition for release of, x. 259, 279.
 Mackenzie's Travels on the Northwest Coast, vi. 159.
 Mackintosh, Chilly, vii. 3-5, 76.
 Mackintosh, General, a Creek Indian chief, Treaty with, for the Creek Indians, vi. 511. Murdered, vii. 3-6.
 Mackintosh, Sir James, iii. 206, 208, 372, 375. Motion of, in the case of Mary Ryan, 521. On the restoration of British vessels, 531.
 Mackintosh, Lady, iii. 207, 208.
 Maclay, Samuel, of Pennsylvania, Senator, i. 334, 363, 369, 388. On the case of J. Smith, of Ohio, 482, 489.
 Macomb, Alexander, vii. 480; ix. 33. Medal presented to, vi. 512. Chief Engineer, report of, vii. 183; viii. 14. Official head of the West Point Academy, vii. 296. Appointed Major-General, 455, 456, 506, 508, 528; viii. 10, 11, 15, 27, 93, 160. Contested by Scott, 13. His character, 13, 14. Consulted about surveys for the Baltimore Railway, 35. Orders announcing promotions, 53. Claim of, for back pay, rejected in the House, ix. 198. Death of, x. 490.
 Macon, Nathaniel, of North Carolina, iv. 81. Senator, v. 40, 204, 489, 491; vi. 127, 128, 527; vii. 82, 367, 545. Candidate for the Vice-Presidency, vi. 279, 285.
 Macy, Stephen, Commander of the ship *Alfred*, i. 39; ii. 5.
 Madawaska, war in, vii. 362, 454. Settlements at, 454, 464.
 Madeira, island of, v. 181.
 Madison, James, i. 24, 273, 314; iii. 275, 501; iv. 74, 133, 206; v. 112; vi. 5, 45, 68, 187, 508, 532; vii. 7, 120, 535; viii. 217, 224, 245; x. 430. Treaty with Great Britain, i. 341. Dissatisfied with the call for papers

- on the Clearance bill, 341. On Georgia land claims, 344. Desires the writer's appointment to a foreign mission, 374. Pamphlet on neutral rights, 386, 389, 395. Retaliating Navigation Act; the system maintained by, towards Great Britain, 408. Correspondence with the Marquis de Casa Yrujo, 410, 415, 418, 448, 475. Candidate for the Presidency, 478, 506, 507, 512, 515, 522. Report on foreign documents, 531, 533. Inauguration of, 544. Offers the writer the mission to Russia, 544. Message to Senate, 547, 549. On appointment of the writer to the Supreme Court, ii. 274, 333. Re-elected to the Presidency, 451. Corresponds with Jeremy Bentham, iii. 511. Member of the Convention of 1787, iv. 175. Electioneering during Administration of, 452. Vetoes bill for appropriations for internal improvements, v. 365. Incorporates a National Bank, 365. Administration of; doctrine and practice of, regarding assumption of implied powers, 365. Appoints General Armstrong to the War Department, 434. Letter to President Monroe, favoring the power of the Executive to appoint Ministers during a recess of Congress, 539; vi. 27. Opinion on the interference of the Holy Alliance in South American affairs, 185. His report of 1798, 458. Course of, on the Alien and Sedition Acts, ix. 305, 309. Work on the Constitution, 319. Report, 350. Controversy with the Senate in 1814, xi. 151. (See *Jefferson, T.*; *Adams, J. Q.*; *President of the United States.*)
- Madison, Mrs., correspondence relating to the works of James Madison; authorized to publish, ix. 319, 404; xii. 126. Visit to; consulted by, on publications, ix. 418, 511.
- Madison Papers, xi. 143.
- Madisonian, the, a newspaper, x. 20, 144. Organ of the Tyler party, xi. 164; xii. 146.
- Maffit, Rev. Mr., sermons by, xi. 160, 164, 218, 236.
- Magazine, Columbian, i. 22.
- Magnetism, animal, i. 15.
- Mahand, Mr., of Virginia, applied to by Alexander Smyth for certificate against the author on subject of slave-trade, x. 88. (See *Mercer, C. F.*)
- Mahon, —, postmaster, convicted of stealing from a letter, petition for pardon, vii. 408.
- Mail contractors, visit of, to the President, vii. 340.
- Mail contracts, vii. 344. Robberies, on remitting punishments for, 408, 497.
- Mails, x. 513.
- Maine, separation of, from Massachusetts, iv. 421. Admitted into the Union, v. 3. Circular letter from Governor of, complaining of British depredations, vi. 488. Boundary between New Brunswick and, 489, 493. (See *New Brunswick.*) Party in, friendly to the Administration, vii. 206. Elections in, viii. 238. Nullification party in, ix. 193. The Northeastern boundary; action of Legislature on; approves rejection of arbitration on, 229, 480, 540, 542; x. 261. Shipping interests of, ix. 529. (See *Northeastern Boundary.*)
- Maintenon, Madame de, vii. 286.
- Maisonneuve, Commandeur de, ii. 50, 55, 57, 212, 214, 285.
- Maistre, Comte de, Minister of Sardinia, ii. 64. His Soirées de St. Pétersbourg, 64, 69. On Slavonian translations, 127, 213, 219. His translation of Plutarch, 296, 297, 311, 393. Accounts of Dantzic victories, 470, 582, 583.
- Major, H., a New York merchant, claims exemption from law forbidding credit on duties, vii. 32. Opinion of New York lawyers in favor of, 32.

- Malabar, the British ship, rescues the crew of the American steam-frigate Missouri, xi. 528.
- Malcolm, Colonel, recommended by the author for Marshal of East Florida, v. 528.
- Malden, Indians attracted to, v. 412.
- Mallory, R. C., of Vermont, in the House of Representatives, v. 479, 480; vi. 232, 248, 269, 484; vii. 529. Chairman of Committee on the Ghent Commissions, v. 227, 235, 313.
- Mallory, Francis, of Virginia, in the House of Representatives, x. 12, 389, 414; xi. 225, 243.
- Malmesbury, Lord. (See *Harris*.)
- Malo Yaroslawetz, battle of, ii. 420.
- Malta, island of, ii. 371, 372; iii. 355, 358.
- Malthus's Definitions in Political Economy, article on, by A. H. Everett, viii. 218.
- Maltitz, Baron de, Secretary of Legation to the Russian Minister, v. 445; vi. 137. At the ratification of the Anglo-Russian Slave Convention, vi. 124; of the Northwest Coast Convention, 465.
- Man, in the days of Solomon, disposed to unhappiness, vii. 285. Unable to save himself from eternal punishment, ix. 435.
- Man-of-war, Danish. (See *Vessels*.)
- Mangum, Willie P., of North Carolina, in the House of Representatives, speech of, vii. 103. Senator, ix. 57, 316.
- Mann, —, agent to Guatemala, vi. 325. Instructions to, 325.
- Mann, Abijah, Jr., of New York, in the House of Representatives, ix. 48, 96, 117, 122, 126, 195, 205, 283, 292, 300, 325, 327.
- Mann, Horace, xi. 144. Eulogy pronounced by, on John Adams and Thomas Jefferson, vii. 138. Secretary of the Board of Education; delivers an address before the Plymouth County Association for the Improvement of Common Schools, x. 32, 33.
- Mann, Joel K., of Pennsylvania, in the House of Representatives, ix. 101.
- Manney, Mr., quarrel of, with Captain Smith, vii. 351.
- Mansfield, Jared, Professor at West Point, vii. 472.
- Mansfield, Lord, i. 135; viii. 220.
- Manufactory of glass, ii. 321, 322.
- Manufactures, vii. 82. Account of, by census, prescribed by law, v. 134. Returns of, printed in the year 1813, 134. Protection of domestic, 361, 365; vi. 451. Prosperous state of, v. 410.
- Manuscript narrative of the campaign of 1814 by General Brown, vii. 55.
- Manuscripts, x. 391.
- Maps, surveying, v. 386.
- Marat, i. 84.
- Marat democrats, x. 345.
- Marbois, Count, i. 10; iii. 152, 153, 156, 165; iv. 358; viii. 152, 299. Employed in negotiating sale of Louisiana, v. 433. Concludes treaty for cession of, iv. 220. His Complot d'Arnold, 222.
- Marbury and Madison, case of, vii. 35.
- Marchand, Albert G., of Pennsylvania, in the House of Representatives, x. 304.
- Marcy, W. L., Comptroller of the State of New York, vii. 388, 404. Negotiates for the sale of the New York fortifications, 157. Senator, viii. 333. Governor, xi. 403. Secretary of War, xii. 180.
- Mardis, S. W., of Alabama, in the House of Representatives, viii. 531; ix. 115, 138, 197.
- Maréchal, Baron, Minister Plenipotentiary from the Emperor of Austria, visit of, x. 47, 408. Early acquaintance with, as Secretary of Legation to Count St. Julien, 47. Death of contemporaries, 47. Mission to Brazil, 47.

- Mareuil, Durand de, French Minister, vi. 405, 408, 441, 449, 469, 481, 513, 527; vii. 100, 241, 258.
- Marie Galante, American vessels from, ii. 199, 200.
- Marietta, Ohio, visit to, xi. 432.
- Marine, a, sentenced by Court-martial to be shot for mutiny; punishment of, commuted by the President, v. 392.
- Marine Hospital at Philadelphia, vii. 261.
- Marion, the revenue cutter, vii. 519.
- Markley, Philip S., appointed naval officer, vii. 380.
- Markoe, Francis, x. 469; xi. 173, 539.
- Marks, William, of Pennsylvania, Senator, vii. 401, 536; viii. 208, 251.
- Marlborough, Duke of, bribe offered to, by Louis the Fourteenth, vii. 320. Avarice and dissimulation of, 320. Relations of, with the Tories, 320.
- Maroon War in Jamaica, Dallas's History of, x. 236.
- Marryatt, Sir James, Advocate-General, opinion of, on the Treaty of 1686, vi. 51.
- Marsh, George P., of Vermont, in the House of Representatives, xii. 21, 158, 259.
- Marsh, James, iii. 387. Commissioner for refugees, 492.
- Marshall, John, Chief Justice, iv. 140, 518; v. 146, 322; vi. 515, 519; viii. 94, 200, 291, 463, 468. His Life of Washington, i. 349; vi. 68; viii. 216, 382; ix. 157, 250. On claims, v. 362. Argument in case of Nash vs. Robbins, 387. Letter recommending J. J. Crittenden, viii. 78. Opinion of, on owner-ship of letters, 187. Health of, 315. Death of, ix. 241. His career, 243. His ascendancy over Jefferson, 243. Death of his son, 244.
- Marshall, Thomas F., of Kentucky, x. 539. In the House of Representatives, viii. 513; ix. 44, 146; x. 477, 497, 523, 525, 539, 542; xi. 17, 42, 55, 57, 76, 85, 116, 197, 239, 241, 298, 301, 323.
- Marshals, instructions to, for taking the census, v. 125, 129, 134, 155.
- Marston, John, of Quincy, vi. 416.
- Martens, G. F., work of, on diplomacy, iii. 3; iv. 113, 222. Collection of treaties, v. 378.
- Martial Law, pamphlet entitled, by Judge Nicholas, xi. 282.
- Martin, Daniel, Governor of Maryland, viii. 267.
- Martin, Dubois, Captain, vi. 425.
- Martin, J. L., of Alabama, in the House of Representatives, ix. 400, 408, 486, 548; x. 98.
- Martin, Luther, i. 357; viii. 216; ix. 351.
- Martin, Samuel, petitions for female education, x. 86.
- Martindale, Henry C., of New York, in the House of Representatives, ix. 48, 114.
- Martineau, Harriet, Author of Conversations on Political Economy, visit to, ix. 199.
- Martinez, Francisco Pizarro, Mexican Envoy, not received, ix. 419, 420; x. 56. Attached to the mission of Luis de Onis, 57.
- Marvin, R. P., of New York, in the House of Representatives; memorial of, on national roads, viii. 33.
- Mary, the, of Newburyport, ii. 30.
- Mary, Princess of Cambridge, iii. 318, 323. Marriage of, 405, 406.
- Maryland resolutions, vi. 119. Elections, 476; vii. 335. Claim of, for interest on loans, 114. On nominating Clay, 267.
- Maseres, Baron, iii. 452.
- Mason, Armistead T., of Virginia, Senator, killed in a duel with Colonel McCarty, iv. 246.
- Mason, General, iv. 14, 293; v. 45; vi. 69, 543; viii. 35, 158. His transactions with Aguirre, iv. 426.

- Mason, James M., of Virginia, in the House of Representatives, ix. 401.
- Mason, Jeremiah, vi. 187, 279, 315, 332, 389. Intrigues used to displace, as President of United States Bank at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, ix. 532.
- Mason, John, Secretary of Legation to Mexico, vii. 245; viii. 52, 158. On payment of salary to, vii. 16.
- Mason, John Thompson, of Maryland, i. 295. In the House of Representatives, x. 507, 520, 521; xi. 201.
- Mason, John Y., of Virginia, in the House of Representatives, ix. 122, 190, 195, 274, 282, 291, 300, 383, 482. Attorney-General, xii. 180.
- Mason, Jonathan, of Massachusetts, Senator, i. 257.
- Mason, Lowell, ix. 184.
- Mason, Samson, of Ohio, in the House of Representatives, ix. 384, 388, 528; x. 10, 16, 89, 101, 175, 217, 273, 472, 528; xi. 33, 156, 227.
- Mason, Stevens Thomson, of Virginia, Senator, i. 268; x. 429.
- Masonic controversy, viii. 364, 366, 367, 368, 442; ix. 8, 25, 45, 66, 71, 72, 75. Correspondence relating to, viii. 364, 368, 399, 403, 539, 543; ix. 16, 24, 25, 45, 51, 61, 62, 69, 70, 72, 74. (See *Anti-Masons*.)
- Masonry, political, in Mexico, vii. 277. Influence of, on elections, 345, 388, 410, 416. Remarks on, viii. 426, 427; ix. 24, 115. (See *Masonic Controversy*.)
- Masons, ix. 16. (See *Masonry*.)
- Masot, Governor of Pensacola, iv. 106, 328. (See *Florida*.)
- Massachusetts, Legislature of, on independence of the Judiciary, i. 254. Political affairs in, iv. 234. Position of, in the Union, 421. Refuses to place militia under command of the United States; demands remuneration for, 422. Favors the writer's election, vi. 312, 416. Claim of, 226, 232, 478; x. 107; opposition to, 334, 416. Proceedings of Governor and Council of, on occasion of the death of John Adams, vii. 126. Amendment to Constitution of, viii. 363. Legislature of, nominates Clay, 400. Election of County Senators, 400. Representation of, in Congress, imperfect, 432. Indictment of Mayor and Aldermen of Boston by Council, ix. 18. Elections in, 33, 34, 39, 41, 70, 74, 312; x. 185. Address to the people of, ix. 22, 28, 35, 59, 62. Resolutions of Legislature sent to Congress, 104, 106. State papers, 157, 527. Petitions to Congress from, 266, 275. Delegation, 443, 452, 455, 527, 535; x. 95, 104, 184, 254; xi. 13, 189, 216, 538; xii. 135; protest against the Apportionment bill, viii. 472, 474, 517, 522; on the Northeastern Boundary question, ix. 283, 284, 542; letter to, from J. C. Alvord, 499, 502, 504, 509, 510, 514; on abolition petitions, x. 209, 210, 254; on the amendments to the Bank bill, 523. Legislature, discussions on the Tariff, 522. Board of Education, report of, 144. Action of Legislature, on censure of the writer in the House of Representatives, xi. 126, 127. Claims, 216; for disbursements during war with Great Britain, 308.
- Massillon, Sermons of, ii. 5-7, 17, 18, 81, 99, 133, 141, 205, 206, 233, 581, 583; x. 449.
- Mather's Magnalia, Lives of the three Thomas Shepherds, viii. 156.
- Mathews, Charles, theatrical exhibition of, vi. 79.
- Matter indestructible, vii. 459.
- Matthews, General, his invasion of Florida, vii. 74.
- Matthews, James M., Dr., viii. 419, 422. Chancellor of the University of New York, exhibits his project of a literary institute, ix. 244.
- Matthews, Rev. Father, vii. 283.

- Mattocks, John, of Vermont, in the House of Representatives, x. 479.
- Maudru, on the values of Russian weights, etc., ii. 137, 138.
- Maul, John, recommended for promotion in the army, x. 57.
- Maulde, M. de, secret Commissioner from Paris to the Hague, shunned, i. 80; services of, 82.
- Maury, A. P., of Tennessee, in the House of Representatives, x. 85.
- Maury, James, Consul at Liverpool, iii. 232, 259; v. 24, 41; vi. 143; viii. 360.
- Maury, M. F., Lieutenant, article on the Right of Search, xi. 141.
- Mavor's Travels, ii. 6.
- Maxcy, Virgil, Solicitor of the Treasury, viii. 252; xi. 523. Bearer of explanations between Calhoun and the author, viii. 323.
- Maximilian, Prince of Saxony, i. 234.
- Maximus, Valerius, on the Epistles of Cicero, vii. 476.
- Maxwell, Governor, charges against, iii. 328.
- Maxwell, John P. B., of New Jersey, in the House of Representatives, x. 157, 163. His seat contested, 157. Funeral eulogy on S. L. Southard, xi. 190.
- May, Frederick, Dr., of Washington, Director of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, viii. 37.
- May, Samuel, xii. 275.
- May, Samuel J., Rev., ix. 362. Delivers lecture on the right of petition, 362.
- May, William L., of Kentucky, in the House of Representatives, iv. 414; x. 20.
- May-day, Russian, procession of carriages, ii. 124, 125, 262.
- Mayo, Daniel, vii. 71.
- Mayo, Lieutenant, vi. 463.
- Mayo, Dr. Robert, x. 32, 433, 461, 464. Book entitled "Eight Years' Residence in Washington;" solicits author's recommendation for, 429. His plan of reform, 430. Pamphlet, 430. Member of the Hickory Club, 430. Suit against Blair and Rives, 432; xi. 164, 187, 203. Letter concerning, xii. 117. (See *Jackson, A.*)
- Maysville, Kentucky, appointment of Postmaster at, viii. 44, 59; xi. 431.
- Mazarin Bible, viii. 292.
- Mazoura, the, Algerine frigate, captured, 251, 252; restored, 400, 401.
- McArthur, Duncan, of Ohio, in the House of Representatives, vi. 297, 317, 360, 385, 448, 473.
- McAuley, Thomas, Rev., viii. 422.
- McBride, John, Surveyor-General of Georgia, memorial of, on Georgia claims for the Florida boundary, vii. 371.
- McCaner, Mr., Rev., xi. 357.
- McCarty, John, his duel with Mason, iv. 246.
- McCarty, Jonathan, of Indiana, in the House of Representatives, viii. 465; ix. 198; x. 321.
- McCarty, Richard, of New York, in House of Representatives, on pointment of Postmaster at Alba v. 482.
- McCauslen, William C., of Ohio, in the House of Representatives, xi. 498, 499.
- McClelland, John A., of Illinois, in the House of Representatives, xi. 509; xii. 13, 44, 139, 157.
- McComas, William, of Virginia, in the House of Representatives, ix. 54, 329.
- McConnell, Felix, of Alabama, in the House of Representatives, xii. 234, 235.
- McCormick, A. T., Rev., v. 26, 27.
- McCormick, George, viii. 147; x. 174, 476.
- McCoy, —, Rev., a Baptist missionary among the Indians, vii. 410.
- McCoy, William, of Virginia, in the House of Representatives, viii. 431, 452, 468.

- McCulloch, James H., Collector of Baltimore, iv. 318, 390; v. 154; vi. 426; vii. 336, 338. Implicated in transactions of Buchanan and Smith, 382.
- McDonald, Master of the Rolls, i. 135.
- McDonald, Aeneas, case of, iii. 232.
- McDonald, Colonel, iv. 29.
- McDonald, General, vii. 336.
- McDonough, Captain, death of, vii. 64.
- McDowell, Joseph J., of Ohio, in the House of Representatives, xi. 526.
- McDuffie, George, of South Carolina, in the House of Representatives, v. 467; vi. 353, 476, 492, 495, 496; vii. 112, 377, 394, 417, 517; viii. 435, 442, 458, 460, 467, 472, 480, 482, 490, 491, 505, 508, 513, 522, 528, 531; ix. 51, 57, 59, 103. Quarrel with Colonel Cumming, vi. 76. Conduct of, in the Crawford and Edwards controversy, 306. On the tariff, viii. 467, 476. Reply to Clayton's charges against the United States Bank, 481. On the Deposit question, ix. 49, 50, 51, 54, 57, 90, 120, 121. Governor of South Carolina, 333. Member of the Southern Convention, 421. Senator, xii. 56.
- McEvers, Mr., i. 59, 67.
- McGillivray, Mr., iii. 485.
- McGinnis, Mr., on the claims of Captain O'Brien, vi. 461.
- McGregor, expedition of, against Amelia Island; proclamation, iv. 19-29, 35. Projected expedition of, against the Floridas, 40, 42, 50, 53. Recruiting advertisement of, 42. Privateering commissions granted by, 44. Interview with Bagot, 50. His scheme for selling the Floridas, 53. (See *Amelia Island*; *Aury*.)
- McIlvaine, Abraham R., of Pennsylvania, ix. 94. In the House of Representatives, xii. 20.
- McIlvaine, C. P., Episcopal clergyman at Georgetown, v. 230. Appointed to Professorship at West Point, vi. 479.
- McIntyre, Rufus, of Maine, in the House of Representatives, vii. 378; ix. 89.
- McKay, James J., of North Carolina, in the House of Representatives, ix. 101, 147, 148, 284, 343, 395, 402, 512; x. 100, 157, 273, 286, 302, 308, 382, 385, 500, 508, 509, 530; xi. 157, 161, 162, 183, 225; xii. 9, 13, 31, 33, 38, 44, 47, 53, 177, 179.
- McKean, Thomas, Governor of Pennsylvania, case of, quoted, vi. 399.
- McKee, John, of Alabama, in the House of Representatives, viii. 16.
- McKee, Samuel, in the House of Representatives; candidate for Governor of Kentucky, iv. 229; vi. 413.
- McKeever, Isaac, viii. 113.
- McKenna, T. M., of Pennsylvania, in the House of Representatives, viii. 445, 474, 516, 519; ix. 103, 521; x. 31; xi. 207, 238, 242.
- McKenney, T. L., editor of the Washington Republican, vi. 60; vii. 7, 30, 39, 179, 249, 458. His prospectus for a newspaper, vi. 47. Accused of abusing the franking privilege, 66. Negotiates treaty with the Creeks, vii. 362, 370; with the Winnebagoes, 371, 465. Accounts of, 407. Report of, exonerating the agent J. Crowell, 426; relating to the Cherokee constitution, 476; communicated to Congress, 488. Indian History written by, viii. 457.
- McKeon, John, of New York, in the House of Representatives, ix. 274; x. 495, 500, 513, 523; xi. 10, 53. Speech on the mission to Naples, 11. Speech, 166, 199.
- McKim, Isaac, of Maryland, in the House of Representatives, ix. 332. Death of, 518.
- McKinley, John, of Alabama, in the House of Representatives, ix. 51, 70, 87, 117, 144, 195, 201, 208; xi. 125.
- McKinney, John A., of Tennessee, nominated for District Attorney of East Tennessee, vii. 388.
- McLane, Allen, xii. 203. Collector at

- Wilmington; at New Castle, vi. 511, 514, 521; vii. 91.
- McLane, Louis, of Delaware, in the House of Representatives, vi. 249, 254, 261, 267, 455, 478, 483, 490, 511. Mission to Great Britain, viii. 139, 261, 264, 289, 344. Lawsuit with the United States, 290. Secretary of the Treasury, 357; ix. 36; x. 115. Conversation with, on paying the national debt; the United States Bank; the tariff, 456, 457, 460, 463, 470. Minister to England, xii. 203. Remarks on, 204. Overtures to, by President Tyler, 214.
- McLean, John, Postmaster-General, vi. 285, 323, 488; vii. 56, 76, 84, 120, 162, 166, 201, 282, 363; viii. 59, 99, 112, 358, 412, 505, 537; x. 431. On the Presidential candidates, vi. 250, 391. Reports of, vii. 54, 363. Suspected of hostility to the Administration, 56, 58, 180, 275, 343, 349, 355, 364, 532, 536, 544. Relations with Calhoun, 67, 275, 364. On removal of Richard Bache from Philadelphia Post-Office, 509; appointment of T. Sergeant, 531-538. Censures of the press on, 532. His removal advised, 535, 540. Conversations with, on affairs at the Philadelphia Post-Office, viii. 12, 59. Duplicity of, 25, 51, 210. Made Judge of the Supreme Court, 107, 109. Denies standing as candidate for the Presidency, 210. (See *Sergeant, T.*; *Norvell.*)
- McLean, Mrs., viii. 244.
- McLellan, Isaac, Jr., hymn composed by, on occasion of La Fayette's birthday, ix. 184.
- McLellan, Robert, of New York, in the House of Representatives, x. 520.
- McLeod, Alexander, a Canadian, indicted for murder, x. 422. Case of, debated in Congress, 487. (See *Caroline, the.*) Decision of the Supreme Court refusing to discharge, 504; Mr. Fox's note of, xi. 20; noticed in Parliament, 21. Discussion between the State of New York and the Government of the United States concerning, 26. Acquitted, 27.
- McLochlan, Mr., Commissioner from New Brunswick on the Northeastern boundary, xi. 216.
- McNab, Colonel, his expedition to Schlosser, ix. 465, 471, 472. (See *Caroline, the.*)
- McNair, Alexander, Governor of Missouri, vi. 251.
- McNally, W., petition of, x. 211.
- McNeal, John, Colonel, commanding Third Regiment of Infantry, vii. 182.
- McNeill, General, vii. 493. Appointed Surveyor of the Port of Boston, in place of Mr. Gerry, viii. 164, 301.
- McNulty, Caleb J., of Ohio, Clerk of the House, xi. 445. Dismissed, xii. 148, 149, 150.
- McNutt, Alexander G., Governor of Mississippi, letter of, xi. 315.
- McRae, Alexander, Consul, iv. 278.
- McRae, W., Colonel, v. 542.
- McVickar, Captain, ii. 20.
- Meade, Cowles, i. 458.
- Meade, Margaret, claim of, xi. 57, 109.
- Meade, R. W., of Philadelphia, iv. 104, 148, 251; vi. 377, 511. Bearer of treaty from Spain, v. 234, 236, 284. His claim on the Spanish Government, 234, 309. Memorial on, to the President, 272; misstatements in, 272, 273, 300; the malice and treachery of, 272; communicated to the Senate, 272; report on, 275; printed and distributed to Senators, President, and Department of State, 279.
- Mease, James, Dr., vii. 267. Employed by the Government to prepare a memoir upon the cultivation of silk and the silk-worm, 256, 257. Correspondence on the subject of importing exotics useful for cultivation, 267, 293.
- Mecklenburg ordinance of exclusion, ii. 156, 157, 167.

- Medals, vii. 52, 53. Struck in commemoration of the Russian campaign of 1812, ii. 524. Distribution of, to the officers of the late war, vi. 512. Struck at the author's inauguration as President, vii. 203.
- Medem, Count de, vi. 409, 411, 480, 482.
- Mediation, offer of Russia of, with England, ii. 402, 498-602.
- Medill, William, of Ohio, in the House of Representatives, x. 225, 232, 245, 382, 385. On New Jersey elections, 226, 234, 251.
- Mediterranean passports, vii. 160.
- Mediterranean squadron, v. 430. On reinforcing, vi. 358. (See *Squadron, American*.)
- Meehan, purchaser of the Washington City Gazette, viii. 217.
- Meigs, Henry, of New York, in the House of Representatives, iv. 518.
- Meigs, Josiah, of the Land Office, iv. 22, 263.
- Meigs, R. J., Jr., iv. 262. Postmaster-General, appoints General Van Rensselaer to the post-office at Albany, v. 480.
- Mellen, Grenville, ix. 184.
- Mello, Carvalho e, Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Emperor of Brazil, vi. 283.
- Melville, Lord, iii. 259, 274, 321, 354, 360, 479.
- Members of Congress buried at the Navy Yard, Washington, v. 220.
- Memel, viii. 167.
- Memoir, forged, attributed to the Duc de Cadore, ii. 298.
- Memorials, on the Wilmington Packet, and the appointment of consuls, presented to States-General, i. 171, 172, 184. On renewal of Treaty with Prussia, 218. Of New York merchants, 382-385, 390. Of Philadelphia merchants, 384, 419. Of Baltimore, 391. Of Salem and Boston, 400. On seamen's fund, 400. Of Samuel G. Ogden and Wm. S. Smith, 437; violent debates on, 438; presented by Mr. Quincy to the House of Representatives, 438. From merchants of Philadelphia on the Non-Importation Act, 483, 488; from Boston on the same, 488. On printing the House laws, v. 265. (See *House*, etc.)
- Memory, v. 235. Imperfections of the, vi. 342. Decay of, viii. 193.
- Men and Manners in America, a book. (See *Hamilton*.)
- Menard, Pierre, viii. 9. Negotiations with Winnebago Indians, 24.
- Me-naw-chee, an Indian woman, conveyance of land granted to, vii. 430.
- Mendenhall, Mr., a slave colonizer, vii. 295.
- Menifee, Richard H., of Kentucky, in the House of Representatives, ix. 394, 468, 530; x. 8.
- Menou, Comte de, vi. 22, 29, 30, 98, 257, 405, 406; viii. 10, 158. Instructions of, relating to the French Fishery question, vi. 158, 161. On Crawford's circular note, 171. Interview with, on South America, 252. Proposes negotiation on claims of American citizens and the Louisiana Treaty claim, 162. (See *Fisheries; South America*.)
- Mercantile Library Association of New York, visit to, viii. 419.
- Mercantile Library Company at Philadelphia, author declines invitation of, to lecture, x. 131.
- Mercer, Charles Fenton, of Virginia, iv. 246. In the House of Representatives, iv. 212, 213, 354; v. 214; vi. 481; viii. 13, 435, 439, 467; ix. 103, 205, 365, 374, 385, 398, 470, 522, 541; x. 5, 80, 148, 162, 163. Conversations with, on the Slave-Trade Convention; report of, vi. 140, 150, 323, 361-363. Letter to S. Canning, setting forth the author's position, 357. Authorized by the President to make a Convention with France, 363.

- Inquiry on legal proceedings in the sale of certain slaves, vii. 85. Re-elected to Congress, 266. President of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, viii. 24, 26, 37, 112. Conversation with, on the subject of making the slave-trade piracy; perverted by A. Smyth, x. 88. Retires to Tallahassee, Florida, 360. Exertions of, in favor of internal improvement and the extinction of slavery, 360, 361.
- Mercer, John, Colonel, v. 433, 444.
- Mercer, Major, Commissioner from the State of Maryland on boundary with Pennsylvania, viii. 350.
- Mercer Luminary, the. (See *Pittsburgh Times*.)
- Merchant, the, and Reformer, newspaper, ix. 420.
- Merchant vessels, on the arming of, vi. 445, 460. (See *Vessels*.)
- Merchants of France consult the King's Council on sending ships to St. Mary's, v. 297, 339. Of New York, interview with committee of, on the Revenue Law, x. 393. (See *New York*.)
- "Mercury," article signed, in the New York Patriot, vi. 304, 314.
- Meredith, L., of Baltimore, intercedes for release of J. Gooding, prosecuted for slave-trading, vii. 372. Counsel for Judge Peck, viii. 289; for Leakin and Barnes, ix. 346.
- Meridian Hill, viii. 103.
- Meriwether, James, of Georgia, in the House of Representatives, x. 528; xi. 87, 156, 157, 161, 185, 319, 325.
- Mermentau, the, iv. 107.
- Merrick, Pliny, ix. 14.
- Merrick, William D., of Maryland, Senator, xii. 180, 190.
- Merrill, Binney, xi. 265.
- Merriwether, David, Indian Commissioner. (See *Campbell*.)
- Mersen, Mr., i. 59, 66, 88.
- Mesmer, F. A., discoverer of animal magnetism, i. 15.
- Mesne process, vi. 407.
- Messages to Congress, analysis of, 199, 200.
- Metcalf, Thomas, of Kentucky, in the House of Representatives, vii. 386. Candidate for Governor; efforts to secure election of, 469, 484; viii. 3.
- Methodist church, dedication of, xii. 197, 198.
- Methodists, v. 231.
- Methuen Treaty, i. 179.
- Metrology, Paucton's, ii. 344, 353, 354.
- Metropolitan of the Russian Church, ii. 60, 79, 80, 135, 310, 483.
- Metternich, Prince, mediator at the European Congress, ii. 494, 513, 516; iii. 192. Efforts of, for the abolishment of the Swiss Confederacy, viii. 176.
- Meulemeester, Miss, verses of author to, iii. 138.
- Meulemeester, Mr., iii. 14, 45, 138, 145.
- Mexican Government, decree of, proposing reference to arbitration of disputes with the United States; accepted, ix. 458, 537. Closing of the ports of, 458. Proposals to, for the purchase of Texas, x. 29. Thanks of, tendered for the writer's conduct, xi. 442.
- Mexican Republic, establishment of the Constitution, vi. 456. (See *Mexico*.)
- Mexico, projects for invading, iv. 9; ix. 420. Viceroy of, iv. 100. To be included in the recognition of South American independence, v. 114. Trade with Colombia, 188. Revolution in, 443. Recognition of, 493. And Peru, settlement of, by Spain, vi. 104. Appointment of Ministers Plenipotentiary by, 111. Appointments to, 413, 414. Relations with Cuba; expeditions against, vii. 9, 10. Sends Minister to the Panama Congress, 97. Treaty with; stipulations concerning neutral property in enemy's vessels, 227. Treaty of commerce, 245, 277, 527; treaty of limits, 473, 523; viii. 57, 464. Marauding expedition to, vii. 386. Revolution

- in, viii. 202. Relations with, ix. 278, 282, 419, 520; x. 28. Correspondence with, 377. Convention of indemnities, xi. 43, 174, 209. Proposals for cession of Texas, 348, 349, 351, 365. (See *Lallemand*; *Onis*; *Cuba*; *Texas*; *Mexican Government*.)
- Meyer, Mr., ii. 78; vii. 159.
- Michael, Prince, ii. 96, 162, 285, 393, 444.
- Michaux's North American Sylva, vii. 121, 262, 284, 291.
- Michigan, alarm of war in, vi. 530. Dispute as to boundary-line, ix. 215; x. 10. Constitutes itself a State, ix. 260, 289. (See *Ohio*.) Remonstrances against admission of, 289. Convention declining conditions of admission, 335; second convention, 341.
- Michigan, Lake, x. 3. (See *Great Lakes*.)
- Michilimackinac, Fort, surrender of, iii. 255, 270, 286.
- Middleswarth, Ner, of Pennsylvania, ix. 372.
- Middleton, Arthur, v. 154, 160.
- Middleton, Henry, of South Carolina, in the House of Representatives, chairman of the Amelia Island Committee; report, iv. 32, 34, 39, 40, 44, 74, 190; v. 131. Visit to, iv. 185. Conversation with, 306. Minister to Russia, 474, 505; v. 131; viii. 328. Instructions to, v. 129, 143, 152, 158, 162, 338, 430; vi. 157, 179, 544; vii. 8-10, 89, 96. Negotiates Convention under the first article of the Treaty of Ghent, v. 158, 162; vi. 45, 60, 99. Negotiations on the Northwest Coast controversy, 93, 157, 158. Convention for regulating belligerent rights, 167, 168, 170. Attends the coronation of the Emperor Nicholas, vii. 178, 191. Return to America, viii. 328. On public affairs, 410. Delegate to the Anti-Tariff Convention, 425. (See *British Government*; *Russia*; *Tuyl*.)
- Middleton, John, v. 154.
- Middleton's Life of Cicero, viii. 114.
- Midleton, Mr., Minister of Poland, at the Hague, i. 76, 89, 124.
- Midshipmen, new warrant established for passed, vii. 294. Applications for, xi. 277.
- Mifflin, Mr., i. 142.
- Mifflin, Samuel, x. 206.
- Miguel, Don, Regent and King of Portugal, viii. 152; ix. 36, 106. Exposition of his right to the throne, viii. 153, 213. (See *Tortade*.)
- Milan Decree, repeal of, ii. 167, 280, 336.
- Mileage bill, x. 306.
- Military academy recommended by Washington, vii. 63.
- Military and political rivalry, v. 109.
- Military appropriation bill, v. 313, 331. (See *House*, etc.)
- Military education, compared with a college training, vii. 214, 215.
- Military gymnasium of Georgetown, vii. 302.
- Military interference with the Government unexampled during the Revolution, v. 142.
- Military mutiny, v. 142.
- Military posts, establishment of, on the Northwest coast, vi. 455.
- Military power the only executive force in Florida, v. 367.
- Military schools, laws and regulations of, in Europe, iv. 431.
- Militia, iv. 367. District, mode of dissolving and forming companies, vii. 26, 33. Volunteer, review of, 31.
- Maryland Light Infantry, 33. Legion, review of, 159. Commissions, 160. (See *Board of Officers*.)
- Militiamen, Frenchmen drawn as, iv. 59. Englishmen drawn as, 84. Court-martial of Tennessee, in 1814, vii. 352, 406, 410.
- Millbury, Massachusetts, petition from,

- for abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, ix. 266.
- Miller, Daniel L., correspondence with, xii. 98.
- Miller, James, Major, vi. 527. Governor of the Arkansas Territory, 96. Receives medal for military services, 512.
- Miller, Jesse, of Pennsylvania, in the House of Representatives, ix. 205. Auditor of the Treasury, 315; xi. 108.
- Miller, Rutger B., of New York, in the House of Representatives, ix. 315.
- Miller, S. D., of South Carolina, in the House of Representatives; Senator, viii. 464.
- Miller, William, of North Carolina, recommended for the mission to Guatemala, vi. 499, 512; appointed, 520.
- Miller, William, Jr., killed in a duel, x. 51.
- Miller, Mr., architect of the public buildings at Washington, ix. 427.
- Milligan, Colonel, iii. 3, 14. His expedition to England, 90, 186, 191.
- Milligan, Mr., ii. 487, 507, 575, 576.
- Milligan, —, charged with forging in the State of New York, delivered up by the Government of Canada, v. 358.
- Mills, E. H., of Massachusetts, vii. 326. Senator, vi. 264, 344; vii. 95, 96, 103, 105, 113. Re-election of, 224. On the bill for suppressing piracy, vi. 459. Supports Jackson, 474.
- Mills, Mrs., petitions for pardon of her brother, vii. 271.
- Mills, Robert, architect, x. 14.
- Milman's History of the Jews, ix. 7, 10.
- Milne, Admiral, order of, for seizing American vessels, iv. 61, 62.
- Milner, Mr., vi. 423.
- Milnor, Rev. Dr., viii. 422.
- Milton, Lord, iii. 324. His vote of censure on the Lords of the Admiralty, 471, 472.
- Milton's Paradise Lost, viii. 157. Paradise Regained, vii. 474.
- Mina, Xavier, iii. 340, 439.
- Miner, Charles, of Pennsylvania, in the House of Representatives, ix. 205.
- Mingay, Mr., Dr. Cook's joke on, iii. 487.
- Ministers, foreign, v. 131, 153. On making presents to; order forbidding the reception of, i. 191; iii. 527; iv. 14; v. 319; ix. 78; debates on, x. 305, 307, 328–330. Not amenable to military requisitions, iii. 35. Preparation of instructions for, iv. 12, 92, 340; v. 143, 166, 338. Privileges of, iv. 123, 429; v. 160; vi. 93. Rules of intercourse with the President, iv. 17–20, 22, 295. Correspondence of, 327. Should not be employed as brokers or private agents, 346–348. Circular letter to, 417. Citizens of the United States not to be received as Ministers from a foreign power, v. 492. Office of, created by the law of nations, 493. Precedence of, vi. 409. Salaries of, ix. 135. (See *Ambassador*.)
- Ministers, public, vessels carrying, to be exempt from capture or detention, ii. 23, 26, 27.
- Ministry, fund for educating young men for the, viii. 207.
- Minority, strength of the, x. 242.
- Minot, William, x. 467.
- Mint, the, ii. 139. Process of coining at the Russian, 139, 140. Machinery for American, iii. 421, 443, 445. Visit to the, in London, 474. Investigations into, with a view to reconstruction of, ix. 334.
- Mint establishments, x. 279.
- Mirabeau, integrity of, i. 37, 75. Secret history written by, 111.
- Miracles, remarks on, vii. 176.
- Mission, to Russia, ii. 3–497; secret, of Lubomirski, 302; Russian, to Brazil, 281, 339; extraordinary, 488, 500; author received at court, 529. At

- Ghent, meetings of, iii. 3, 4, 7; papers, etc., relating to, how disposed of, 129, 130, 132-137, 139-144. To Great Britain, 199. Secret, from Prince Metternich, iv. 68, 70.
- Missions, foreign, v. 153.
- Missionaries to the Indians imprisoned by the State of Georgia, viii. 477, 486. (See *Georgia*.)
- Mississippi, slave insurrection in, ix. 252, 254, 255. Deposits of public money in, 282. Resolutions of the Legislature of, on the election of Claiborne and Gholson, 445, 486; on the annexation of Texas, x. 22, 25. Constitutional right of, to forbid importation of slaves into, 423; argument of Mr. Walker on, 423, 427; of D. Webster, 426; opinions of the Chief Justice and Judges given, 442. Petition to eject from the Union, xi. 112. Repudiates debts, 315, 319. (See *House*.)
- Mississippi River, the, negotiations concerning the navigation of, iii. 60, 62; v. 355-357; vi. 45; vii. 217. Appropriation for improvement of, xi. 486, 487. (See *House*.)
- Missouri, iv. 262; viii. 269. Bill for admitting into the Union, iv. 262; lost by restriction on slavery, 398, 512, 528; conditions of, 528, 529; fermentation produced by, 529. Slave question, 472, 496, 498, 499, 506; v. 128; compromise proposed, iv. 530; forebodings of the writer, 502, 505, 529; speeches and discussions on, 510, 511, 522, 524, 526, 532; basis for a new party, 529. Formation of State Government of, v. 3. To be a Slave State, 3. Statutes of, 169. Convention, article of, prohibiting colored persons from entering the State, 199, 205, 207, 208-210. On admission of, into the Union, 199, 204. Constitution of, 204, 205, 208-211, 236, 276; vi. 354. Resolution of the Senate on, v. 268; committees of the House on resolution, 268; report on, rejected, 275; joint committee on, 301; conditional admission proposed, 301; carried, 307; problem solved by the slave representation, 307. Boundaries of, x. 10. Resolutions of the Legislature on anti-abolitionism, x. 212. (See *Slavery*; *Wisconsin*; *Boundaries*.)
- Missouri and Mississippi armed steamers, xi. 139.
- Missouri Compromise, xii. 145. Carried in the House of Representatives, v. 3; artifices and arguments used in obtaining, 4, 5-12, 15. Contravenes the Constitution, vi. 353.
- Missouri River, the, iv. 107.
- Mitchel, O. M., Professor, of Cincinnati, Ohio, xi. 183, 394, 425, 428.
- Mitchell, the slave-smuggler, v. 155. Screened by Crawford, 185. Ascendancy of, over Crawford, 186. Escapes punishment, 186.
- Mitchell, Charles F., of New York, in the House of Representatives, letter to Duff Greene, x. 195, 196.
- Mitchell, D. B., Indian Agent, vii. 489. Investigation into charges by the Governor of Georgia against, vi. 86, 87, 335; his pamphlet concerning, 336, 339.
- Mitchell, Nathan, ix. 303.
- Mitchell, Robert, Collector at Pensacola, vii. 446.
- Mitchell, S. L., of New York, Senator, i. 315. On importation of slaves, 379, 387, 393, 400, 407, 417, 424, 432. On the Ogden memorial, 438, 450, 463, 466. His conversational powers, 473, 474. On defence of ports and harbors, 476, 495.
- Mitchell, T. R., of South Carolina, in the House of Representatives, viii. 449, 459, 493, 500, 508; ix. 308. Controversy with General Hayne, viii. 80, 83. On memorial of the Free-Trade Convention; reduction of duties proposed by, 444. Speech

- against the United States Bank, 483.
- Mix contracts, vi. 9.
- Mixed courts for the trial of captured slavers, v. 182. Incompatible with the Constitution, 182, 189, 192, 217. Expedients for obviating, 190.
- Mobile, Bay of, vii. 353.
- Mob at the President's house, ix. 431. (See *Riots*; *Lovejoy*.)
- Model dwelling-houses, vii. 68.
- Mohileff, Archbishop of, Roman Catholic, ii. 204.
- Molly, the, case of the, i. 135.
- Mona Passage, naval force to be stationed in the, vi. 9, 10.
- Monarchical governments, prejudices of, against liberal principles, viii. 175.
- Mondragone, Duc de, Minister of Naples at St. Petersburg, ii. 62, 95, 105.
- Money, Russian, ii. 611.
- Monroe, James, of Virginia, Senator, i. 420; v. 504; vi. 3, 8, 379, 467, 518; vii. 4, 41, 120, 267, 471, 525; viii. 22, 245. Minister to France; reception of, by the French National Convention, i. 62, 67, 142, 405, 523. Appointed Envoy to Spain, 315. Minister to England; difficulties; letter to the Secretary of State; letter of Lord Mulgrave to; correspondence with Mr. Canning, 386, 387, 389, 395, 402, 423, 487, 498, 523, 524; iii. 44. Arrival from England, i. 493. Secretary of State, ii. 361; iii. 182, 241. Correspondence, 258, 285, 289, 293, 391. Instructions for Commercial Convention with Great Britain, 391. Negotiations relating to the fisheries, 501. Answer to proposals for Russian mediation, ii. 473. Pamphlet by, 606, 607. President, iii. 501, 510; iv. 7, 132, 136, 177, 181, 185; v. 62, 148, 280, 365, 436. On the Amelia Island disturbances, iv. 35, 39, 42, 52, 55, 57, 67, 71, 162, 165, 432, 435. Illness of, 61, 70. On regulating intercourse with the foreign Ministers, 16, 22, 34, 188, 295. On the expenses of the Ghent Treaty, 67. On South America; recognition of independence of; remonstrates against European interference in; nomination of Ministers to, 67, 71, 72, 117, 118, 156, 165, 168, 185, 187, 190, 192, 197, 199, 205; vi. 192. Remarks on, iv. 70, 240, 279; v. 91, 128, 158, 279; vi. 170. Appointments to foreign missions of members of Congress, iv. 72, 73, 132; vi. 488, 490, 495, 508, 520. Insists on recall of J. Russell, iv. 74, 99. On Commercial Convention with Great Britain, 97, 98, 100, 146-150, 152. Florida; proceedings of General Jackson disapproved of; opposes taking possession of; opinion on Fromentin's writ of habeas corpus, 102, 107-117, 175, 176, 189, 450, 452; v. 16, 366, 368-375, 406, 441; xii. 210. Directs a second trial in case of Captain Hall, iv. 141, 153. Treaty with Spain, 144, 145, 171, 435, 462, 495-500; v. 34, 39, 42, 83, 84, 99. Corresponds with Jefferson, iv. 354. His tour through the South; return, 405. Reception of, at New Orleans, 468. Interview with, 405. Refuses to suspend appointment in favor of Bland, 415; exonerates him from personal interest in the privateers, 417. His plan of raising levies, 452. Administration of, its policy of preparing fortifications; establishing system of internal taxation; on loans; manufacturing interests; intrigues against; remarks on, 497; v. 304, 309, 314, 490; vi. 47, 197, 349, 516. Discussion of the question of the slaves captured by British and sold during the war, v. 159. (See *Convention*; *Slave Indemnity*.) Hesitates to punish the Collector of Savannah for complicity in privateering, 170. Interview with, on foreign affairs, 175-178. Message of, 199-

201. On the slave-trade, proposals for abolition of, 218. Re-elected to the Presidency unanimously, with the exception of a single vote, 224, 277, 302. Second inauguration of, 317, 318. His influence in Congress, 324. On negotiations with France, 345. Views of, on letter of Governor Clinton relating to Carleton Island, 397. Interview with, on affair of the Apollon; on the angry threats of De Neuville, 417. Attacks upon, by General Armstrong, 432. His part in negotiations for the purchase of Louisiana, 432-434; ix. 320; documents and facts relating to, v. 432-444; ix. 307. Address to, at Pittsburg, v. 433. Relations of, with John Randolph, 456. Refuses to take part in election of his successor, 476. On influencing the appointment of postmasters, 481, 482. Misunderstanding between, and Congress, 490. Projected letter to the Emperor of China, 491. Russell's attack on the author, 498. Hesitation and reluctance of, to communicate Russell's letters and the author's reports on them to Congress, 500-502, 507-509, 512, 513; consults Attorney-General Wirt, 501; George Hay, 502; aims at screening Russell, 513. Message of, on the Russell papers, sent to Congress, 516; published, 529. On Russell's letter; position and motives of, vi. 44, 45. Administration of; materials for history of, 47, 197, 349, 516. Messages of, 100, 194-198, 204, 429, 432. Illness of, 168. Interview with, on Russian negotiations, 184. Difficulty with W. Lowrie, 248, 286, 307, 341. Renews proposals for a Yellowstone River settlement, 249, 250. Letter of the Georgia delegation to, 255, 258. Appropriation for furnishing the President's house; Cocke's committee of enquiry concerning; memorials to Congress concerning, 288, 289, 444, 460, 469.

Course of, in the investigation of the Edwards memorial; receives secret warnings, 298-302, 361, 366. Letter to W. H. Crawford on the D. B. Mitchell affair, 335, 336. Anxieties of, 367, 370. Case of L. Harris, 388, 462, 465. Correspondence relating to W. H. Crawford's probable retirement from the Treasury, 390. Embarrassment of his private affairs, 444; vii. 267, 539; viii. 360, 378. Leaves Washington, vi. 528. Visit to, in company with General La Fayette, vii. 40-43. Alienation of Crawford and, 80, 87. Controversies with the Senate, 117. Appointment as Minister to the Congress of American nations, 156, 158, 160. Neutrality of, with regard to the succession, 185. Movements of personal parties during Administration of, 185. Declines to be Presidential elector, 463. Visits Washington, viii. 23, 46, 173. Writes a history of his own times, 131. His dissertation on government, 131. Illness of, 172, 249, 360. Conversation with, on correspondence with Jackson; with H. L. White, 249. Claims of, paid by Congress, 360. His public career, 360, 378, 381. Death of, 377. Eulogies on, 381, 388, 397, 401, 403, 407. His character compared with that of Chief-Justice Marshall, 382. Autobiography, 385.

Monroe, James, of New York, in the House of Representatives, x. 195, 286, 412; xi. 152, 343.

Monroe, Joseph J., iv. 20, 25, 27, 80.

Monroe, Lieutenant, iv. 405.

Monroe Doctrine, vi. 163.

Montallegre, the Portuguese ship, v. 154. Instructions to prevent armament of, 154. (See *Privateers*.)

Monterey, seizure of, by Captain Jones, xi. 349, 353. President's Message on, 356. (See *Jones*.)

Montesquieu, the Abbé, speech of, to

- the Legislative Assembly, iii. 188.
And Rousseau on declaring war, iv. 32. On government, ix. 227, 228.
- Montevideo, iii. 553, 561. (See *Portugal*.) The Brazilian occupation of, iv. 41; justified by that of Amelia Island, 86. (See *Aguirre*.) Terms for restoration of, 86.
- Montez and Ruiz, purchasers of the slaves taken in the ship *Amistad*; navigate the vessel to American coast, x. 134. Ownership asserted, 429. (See *Amistad*.)
- Montezuma, Emperor, family of, ii. 72.
- Montgelas, Count, Bavarian Minister, ii. 245.
- Montgomery, Hugh, United States Agent with the Cherokee Indians, vii. 136.
- Montgomery, William, of North Carolina, in the House of Representatives, x. 301. Sub-Treasury bill (see *Independent Treasury Bill*).
- Monticello, case of the, vi. 420.
- Montmartre, iii. 196, 205.
- Montmorency declines offer of mediation by Great Britain, vi. 138.
- Montmorin, viii. 304.
- Montoya, Mr., Secretary of Legation to the Mexican Minister, vi. 456, 458.
- Montréal, Mr., ii. 136, 164, 165, 297.
- Montrose, Duke of, iii. 465.
- Monument to George Washington, resolution of Congress on; the author's suggestion for, v. 221; ix. 360. Subscriptions for, 427, 435.
- Moore, Eli, of New York, the prince of workingmen, 405. In the House of Representatives; assumes to be leader of the laborers' party; president of their Convention; in favor of the Sub-Treasury, ix. 405.
- Moore, Gabriel, of Alabama, in the House of Representatives, Senator, viii. 464.
- Moore, Jacob B., author of *Annals of the Town of Concord*, New Hampshire, vi. 273.
- Moore, John, of Louisiana, in the House of Representatives, x. 98, 530; xi. 174, 208.
- Moore, S., of Pennsylvania, in the House of Representatives, recommends Mr. Latimer as Consul to St. Thomas, v. 516.
- Moore, Samuel, Director of the Mint at Philadelphia, vii. 330, 332.
- Moore, Samuel McDowell, of Virginia, in the House of Representatives, ix. 64, 107, 138, 212.
- Moore, Thomas P., of Kentucky, supersedes W. H. Harrison in mission to Colombia, viii. 112, 189. In the House of Representatives; contested election of, ix. 42, 44, 46, 144. (See *Letcher*.)
- Moore, William S., xii. 16, 23.
- Moore, Mr., British Vice-Consul, i. 140, 156, 160.
- Moore, —, canvasser for A. Jackson, vi. 292. Project of, in favor of De Witt Clinton, 292-294, 302.
- Moorhead, James, correspondence with, ix. 51, 69.
- Moose Island, iii. 102; iv. 90. (See *Great Britain; Passamaquoddy Islands*.)
- Moral Class-Book, by W. Sullivan, ix. 265.
- Moral considerations essential to a wise Government, v. 47.
- Morales, the insurgent chief, iii. 308. Issues reprisals against the British blockade, vi. 153, 482.
- Morality, on applying scale of, v. 328.
- Morão, J. C. de Figanière e, Chevalier, Portuguese Minister Resident, corresponds with the department of State concerning duties levied on Portuguese wines, xi. 503. Conversation with, 503.
- Mordwinoff, Admiral, ii. 205.
- Moreau, General, i. 109, 118; ii. 379, 516, 522. Wounded, 528. Death, 532-535.
- Morehead, James T., Governor of Ken-

- tucky, xi. 427. Address at Covington, 429.
- Morel, J. H., solicits reappointment as Marshal of Georgia, v. 455; vii. 172. Charged with murder of a black man, v. 455.
- Moreno, Dr., a South American exile, v. 57.
- Morey, Amos C., petition on banks and currency, ix. 449.
- Morgan, Charles W., commander of the Falmouth, cruise in the Gulf of Mexico, viii. 52.
- Morgan, Christopher, of New York, in the House of Representatives, viii. 425; x. 247, 480, 505, 531, 536, 538, 541; xi. 161, 399.
- Morgan, General, arrested on suspicion of seditious correspondence, iii. 435, 436.
- Morgan, J. J., of New York, in the House of Representatives, vi. 498.
- Morgan, William, murder of, vii. 345; escape of the murderers, 512.
- Morgan, Rev. Mr., x. 428.
- Morgantown, North Carolina, memorial to Congress, ix. 128.
- Morier, Mr., iii. 218.
- Morillo and the South American insurgents, iv. 12, 200; v. 43, 188. Proposals to the Colombian Government, 215. (See *Bolívar*.)
- Morning Chronicle, articles in, against the Commercial Convention, iii. 279, 430, 431.
- Morning Post, ix. 252.
- Morocco, Emperor of, bill for declaring war against, i. 273.
- Morpeth, Lord, speech at the World's Anti-Slavery Convention, xi. 407.
- Morris, Anthony, American Minister to Spain, ii. 649.
- Morris, Arthur, iii. 488.
- Morris, Calvary, of Ohio, in the House of Representatives, censures the proceedings against Giddings, xi. 116.
- Morris, Charles, Commodore, v. 113, 114; vi. 529; vii. 30. Cruise of, to the West Indies, iv. 12. Commands the frigate to take General La Fayette to France, vii. 32, 48; instructions to, 48; to visit the naval establishments in Europe, 48, 78; letters from, 65. Inspects the Northern navy yards, 250.
- Morris, General, iv. 4.
- Morris, Gouverneur, vi. 67. First Envoy from the United States to France, i. 62. Intrigues of, 67. Conversation with, on British and American affairs; sentiments of the King towards Americans; anecdotes, etc., 137-139. Dr. Edwards's opinion of, 149. Baron d'Alvensleben's inquiries about, 204; Prince Ferdinand's, 215. Pamphlet of, iii. 227.
- Morris, Humphrey A. H., Court-martial on, vii. 384.
- Morris, John B., property destroyed by mob at Baltimore, ix. 252.
- Morris, Mr., of Baltimore, vi. 425; viii. 34.
- Morrison, Colonel, iv. 473.
- Morse, Freeman H., of Maine, in the House of Representatives, xii. 3, 9, 31, 152, 159, 165.
- Morse, Isaac E., of Louisiana, in the House of Representatives, xii. 259.
- Morse, Jedediah, Dr., Agent for the Indians, iv. 510. His history of the United States, 510, 513.
- Morse, S. F. B., Professor, inventor of the electric telegraph, xii. 35.
- Morsell, James S., Judge, v. 485.
- Morsell, James T., memorial of, on silk culture, ix. 460.
- Morton, Earl of, iii. 318.
- Morton, Ichabod, x. 33.
- Morton, Marcus, ix. 6, 65, 71, 170, 313; x. 196; xi. 28.
- Morton, Thomas, his work on the New England Colonies, viii. 155.
- Morveau, Guyton de, i. 90.
- Moscow, ii. 89; taken and burned, 404, 405, 408, 409; retaken, 418; rejoicings for delivery of, 418, 419.

Mosher, vi. 290, 321.
 Mosquera, Mr., an exile from the republic of Colombia, viii. 361.
 Mott, Lucretia, ix. 303; xi. 285.
 Motte, M. L., Rev., vii. 375-377, 381.
 Mount Vernon, vii. 53.
 Mouths of the Elbe, department of the, offered to Denmark, ii. 466.
 Mower, —, of New York, canvassing for De Witt Clinton, vi. 340.
 Mowry, —, State Printer of Pennsylvania, vi. 496.
 Muhlenberg, Henry A., of Pennsylvania, in the House of Representatives, ix. 122, 145, 331, 491.
 Mulatto boy charged with theft, tortured, v. 191.
 Mulgrave, Lord, iii. 309. Letter to J. Monroe, i. 402. Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, v. 391.
 Mulowny, S., Consul at Tangier, vii. 307, 357. Complaints against, for harboring Spanish fugitives, vi. 481, 484. (See *Tangier*.)
 Mulvey, Spanish Vice-Consul, x. 417. (See *Antelope*.)
 Munroe, Thomas, Postmaster at Washington, removed, viii. 149.
 Munster, Count, iii. 251, 299, 322. Interview with, 324-327.
 Murat, King of Naples, surrendered, ii. 544; iii. 194.
 Murden, —, iv. 75.
 Murphy, Don Diego, Vice-Consul at New Orleans, assault upon, iv. 56.
 Murphy, John, Governor of Alabama, message of, to the Legislature, vii. 427. In the House of Representatives, ix. 197.
 Murray, Charles, iii. 541.
 Murray, James B., letter of, iii. 459, 460.
 Murray, Lord James, iii. 465.
 Murray, John, the publisher, iii. 512, 513.
 Murray, William Vans, succeeds author at the Hague, i. 189, 192, 280.
 Musée Napoléon, iii. 196.

Musgrave, Rev. Mr., of Baltimore, sermon by, xi. 513.
 Music, color of, ii. 219.
 Musignano, Prince de, vii. 330. Embarks in the Delaware, United States ship of the line, 392. (See *Bona-parte, Carlo Luciano*.)
 Mussulmanlis, Society of the, a notorious piratical association in Cuba, vi. 489.
 Myconi, proceedings of Captain Kearney at, vii. 464.
 Myers, Moses, Collector of New York, vii. 397.

N.

Nanina, the, iii. 459, 460.
 Nantucket, petition from, for recognition of Hayti, x. 67.
 Naples, American goods confiscated at, ii. 107. Relations with the Barbary States, iii. 355, 420. Revolution in, v. 179, 180, 194. Death of the King, vi. 528. Mission to, xi. 11, 12. (See *Sardinia; Great Britain*, etc.)
 Napoleon, the Emperor, ii. 49, 72, 84, 85, 90, 91, 93, 117, 160; v. 432. The real author of the execution of d'Enghien, ii. 165. Prevailed upon to sign edicts, 186. Persists in attempts to distress English commerce, 181. And Spanish colonies, 183. (See *West Indies; England*, etc.)
 Tariff and decree ordering burning of English merchandise, 192, 198, 209. Annexes Hanseatic cities, 210, 211. Change of policy after marriage, 238, 239, 245. Letter of friendship to Alexander, 247, 282, 359. And a long war in Spain, 290, 291. Encourages writers of religious sentiment, 292. On the French Academy, 293, 303, 304. At Compiègne, 304, 306. Conversation with Prince Kurakin on victory of Koutouzof and the Duchy of Oldenburg, 309. Commercial measures of, not to be relied on, 336; dictated by political interest,

- 337, 363, 379. Always secures his retreat, 385. Proclamation of, 389, 416. Proposes an armistice, 417. Desperate condition of, 420. Passions of politicians concentrated upon, 420, 441, 458. And Moscow, 442. His retreat; return of, to Dresden, 442. At Weimar, 442. Accepts Austria's mediation for peace; terms of acceptance, 448. The Don Quixote of Monarchy, 459, 471. His passage of the Beresina, 472. Statue of, 478. Proposes an armistice, 481, 525. Attacks Allies before Dresden, 527, 531. At Leipsic, 539, 596. Abdicates, 602. Act of abdication, 614. At St. Helena, iv, 384. Abuses of the Governments under his control, 424. Destroys the Spanish monarchy, ix, 351. His designs upon Louisiana and Mexico relinquished, 352.
- Narbonne, Count de, ii, 494, 513, 516.
- Narischkin, Grand Chamberlain, ii, 96, 133. Garden of, 173, 189, 191, 212, 251, 255, 310, 393.
- Narischkin, Madame, and her son, ii, 423.
- Narrative, personal, of eminent men, i, 29.
- Nashville sends memorial to Congress, ix, 298.
- Nassau-Weilburg, Prince Charles of, i, 231.
- Natchez, United States sloop of war, captures the Mexican brig General Urrea, ix, 464.
- National Academy of Design at New York, viii, 361.
- National Advocate of New York, vi, 61.
- National Assembly of Holland, report of a Constitution; debates on, i, 185, 186. Decree of Unity and Indivisibility, 186.
- National Bank, discussion on expediency of a; in favor of, x, 40.
- National debt, extinction of, ix, 197. (See *Public Debt*.)
- National Gazette, Mr. Walsh's, publishes Russell's letter with defence thereof, v, 526, 527. Criticism on the President's Message, viii, 249.
- National Institute at Paris, iii, 163.
- National Institute for the Promotion of Science, x, 373; xi, 173. Act of Incorporation, x, 377. Meeting of the Board, xi, 458. Memorial to Congress, 539. (See *American National Institution*, etc.)
- National Intelligencer, articles in, iv, 23; v, 57, 130; vi, 7, 45, 58; viii, 217, 358, 462, 536; ix, 130, 221; x, 114, 455; xi, 24, 103, 107, 120, 136; xii, 19, 131, 139. On the South American question, iv, 23. On Pensacola, 104, 114, 117, 185. On the Columbia River settlement, v, 243, 250, 260. The Russell papers, 523. In subjection to Clay and Crawford, vi, 47, 61. Course of, in the Presidential election, unsatisfactory to Congress, 291, 396; supports Crawford, 396. Proceedings of the Slave-Trade Convention; garbled, 361, 367. Attacks the Administration, 396, 399. Articles and speeches by the author published in, v, 534; vi, 45, 116; viii, 393; ix, 127, 220, 290, 426; x, 31, 100, 115, 175, 257, 276, 294, 310, 385, 422, 471; xi, 9, 21, 24, 86, 460; xii, 35, 61, 65, 68, 182, 191. Articles published in, under signature of "One of the Convention," viii, 131; replies to, signed "Massachusetts," 132. Correspondence relating to dismissal of William Slade, 150. Webster's speech in reply to R. Y. Hayne, 192. Article of 27th of July, 1818, 276. Calhoun's address, 320. Address attributed to D. Webster, 337. On the Jackson controversy, 350. Wickliffe's correspondence, 477. Advertisement of sale of slaves, ix, 417, 421. Attack on Richard Fletcher, 449. State papers, x, 18. Letter of H. A. Wise on the Cilley duel, xi, 101. Letter of H.

- Clay, 103. On the right of search, by D. Webster, 344. (See *Gales and Seaton*.)
- National Journal, vi. 228, 396, 407; vii. 179; viii. 193, 203, 217, 427. (See *National Intelligencer*.)
- National Museum at Paris, iii. 155, 157.
- National Republican District Convention at Scituate, nominates the author, viii. 538.
- National Republican newspaper, the Calhoun organ, vi. 396.
- National Republican party, ix. 45. Operations of, ix. 15, 16, 19, 25, 28, 65, 66, 71. (See *Worcester Convention*.)
- National Union, a Clintonian paper, purchased by the Crawford party, vi. 351.
- National university recommended, vii. 62.
- Nations cannot be independent of one another, v. 29.
- Native American party, xii. 110.
- Naturalization laws, ii. 429; iii. 202, 397. Of foreigners, vii. 301. Petition for change of, xii. 40, 65. (See *House*; *Tarr, A.*)
- Naval commanders, on raising the rank of, vii. 61.
- Naval force, vii. 57.
- Naval hospital, selection for site of, vii. 244.
- Naval officers, appointment of, vii. 167; xi. 185. Salaries of, ix. 136, 137, 195, 198; xi. 310, 311. Bill to limit number of, 531.
- Naval peace establishment, Southard's plan for a, vi. 234; vii. 57.
- Naval school recommended, vii. 57, 90.
- Navarino, battle of, viii. 164.
- Navarro, Chevalier de, ii. 49 (see *D'Andrade*), 64, 75, 166, 185, 187, 245, 254, 287.
- Navigation acts of April, 1818, v. 40, 41, 196, 471, 472, 530, 540; vii. 238, 241. Movements against, silenced, v. 519. Question, 196, 339, 347, 350, 352. (See *Duties*; *Convention*; *French Tonnage Act*.)
- Navigation Act, Counter, passed, iv. 78. Not liked in England, 121. (See *Bagot, C.*)
- Navigation laws, unjust, pressed by France, iv. 498.
- Navy, the, vi. 337.
- Navy agents, vi. 520.
- Navy Board, on choice of commissioners to the, vii. 342.
- Navy Department, duties of, how assigned, iv. 132, 133, 140; vii. 167, 184.
- Navy Pension Fund, claim of Seth Harding on, i. 393, 396; x. 343.
- Navy Yard at Pensacola, vii. 67, 72. At Brooklyn, contested title to land, 308. (See *Chauncey*; *Lands*.) At Philadelphia, visit to, 331.
- Naylor, Charles, of Pennsylvania, in the House of Representatives, ix. 363, 405, 549; x. 14, 66, 69, 154, 156, 158, 185, 336, 394-397, 398.
- Neal, D., History of the Puritans, vi. 105.
- Neal, Rev. Mr., viii. 207.
- Neapolitan mission, x. 543. Applicants for the, 445, 448.
- "Near Observer, The," articles signed, in the National Intelligencer, vi. 66.
- Necker, M., i. 33.
- Nederburgh, Madame, i. 112.
- Needham, Marchmont, work entitled "Right Constitution of a Commonwealth," ix. 228.
- Negotiations, knowledge of past, useful, i. 110. Founded on compromise, vi. 153.
- Negro forts, destruction of, iv. 171, 179.
- Negroes, sale of, by British officers, iii. 26, 77, 92, 129, 132, 137; of free, for jail-fees, ix. 423, 470. Under criminal charges, v. 191. (See *Great Britain*; *Mulatto*.)
- Nelson, the author's servant, christening of, ii. 255, 256.
- Nelson, Hugh, of Virginia, in the House

- of Representatives, iv. 67, 470; v. 60, 61, 243, 254, 303, 434, 456. Appointed to the Spanish mission, vi. 123, 128, 138, 139, 141. Dispatches from, 258, 380, 430, 434, 459, 487, 506.
- Nelson, Jeremiah, of Massachusetts, in the House of Representatives, iv. 34; v. 4; vi. 313.
- Nelson, Thomas, General, succeeds Jefferson as Governor of Virginia; aids in the capture of Cornwallis, viii. 286.
- Nelson, Wolfran, a Canadian insurgent, transported to Bermuda by Lord Durham, x. 52, 55.
- Neptune, the, sails from Plymouth with Messrs. Crawford, Bayard, etc., iii. 226; v. 360, 413.
- Nesselrode, Count, Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, ii. 245, 342, 359, 370, 539, 599; iii. 322; iv. 389, 403; v. 24, 29, 33, 35; vii. 178; x. 47. Dispatches from, v. 139, 140; vi. 189; viii. 28. Circular relating to the Russian Army, vi. 500. To Russian Ministers, viii. 66. (See *Krudener; Russia.*)
- Netherlands, the, iii. 418; iv. 61; v. 49, 183. Slave-Trade Treaty of, with Great Britain, iv. 150; special limitations for, 151. Treaty with, 203. King of, vi. 139, 140; viii. 257, 258, 344. Umpire on the Northeastern Boundary question, 87, 160; decision of, 327, 337, 344. Revolution in, 257. Union of, with France, 257.
- Neuschâtel, Prince of, ii. 359.
- Neuffer, General von, inquiries of, concerning Würtembergers deceased in America, iii. 460, 461, 504.
- Neumann, Mr., Austrian Secretary of Embassy, iii. 415.
- Neutral rights, Mr. Madison's pamphlet on, i. 386. Property to be prize of war, vii. 227. Vessels, capture of enemies' property in, viii. 67, 70.
- Neutrality laws, iv. 64, 334.
- Neutrality to foreign wars, v. 46, 324.
- Neuville, Hyde de, Minister from France, iv. 9, 11, 29, 48, 68, 216, 288, 298, 304, 310, 400, 475, 502, 520; v. 61, 74, 88, 119, 125, 197, 230, 280, 352, 399, 448, 453, 459, 485, 518; vi. 29, 30, 112. Interviews with, iv. 11, 58, 64, 66, 78, 84, 87, 105, 106, 110, 112, 124-126, 160, 168, 172, 184, 190, 208, 216, 235, 237, 239, 244, 246, 247, 253-267, 287, 298, 302, 316, 329, 349, 357, 371, 388, 392, 418, 437, 448, 465, 475; v. 61, 73, 78, 79, 87, 93, 96, 107, 111, 123, 273, 282, 296, 302, 346, 413-416, 540; vi. 18-22, 28, 39. Desires reduction of duty on French wines, iv. 59, 160, 190. Urges concessions to Spain, 84, 106, 127, 161, 208. Efforts of, to procure a settlement with Spain, 84, 87, 106, 126, 161, 185, 232-475. Confers with Onís, 110-115, 124. His secret instructions to support Spain, 126. Claims privileges in Louisiana ports, 127, 160, 170. Objects to interposition of France, 169. Information on state of Mexico, 169. Insinuations against Portugal, 172. Fête given by, on evacuation of allied troops from France, 187-192. His party in France, the Ultras, 199, 453, 454. On commercial despotism of England, 200. On English influence in Congress, 200. Asks for pledge concerning South American independence, 200, 209, 465. Insinuations of Crawford, 214. Certifies to annulling the land-grants, 288, 289, 301, 330. Letter on, 302. Character of, 303, 331. Dispatches to, from the Marquis Dessolles, 316. Proposes renewal of Commercial Convention with France, 357. Threatening letter of, about the Baltimore pirates, 516, 518, 523. Audience of, to take leave, v. 130. Sails for France, 136. An emigrant, 136. Deputy to the Legislative Assembly, 136. Ultra

- royalist, 136. His irreproachable private life, 137. His wife, 137. Ambassador at Brazil, 263. Arrival of, at Washington, 273. Made a Baron, 273. Renews negotiations for commercial regulations, 273. Powers to treat, 282. Discussions on the seizure of the *Apollon*, 274, 296, 413, 417; demands satisfaction for, 336-339, 415, 422; imputes a grave error to the American Government, 336, 337, 414; defends Captain Edou, 339, 352, 414; instructions of, 413 (see *Apollon*). A tool in the hands of Onis, 290. Louisiana claims, letter on; instructed to renew negotiations on, 295, 296, 360. Proposes terms of commercial treaty, 340, 346, 347. On interposition in the case of La Jeune Eugénie, 378, 398. His substitute for right of search of slave-traders, 399. Gives unfavorable accounts to his Government, 424, 425. Opposed to right of search, 448. Altercation with the British Minister, 458-460. On the commercial negotiations with France, 485, 509, 511, 528, 540. Projet, 541. Proposes levy of discriminating duties, vi. 15, 21. Received by the King, 98. Insists upon the Louisiana claim, 198, 207. Proposes Slave-Trade Convention, 363. Publications on controversies with the Government of Louis Philippe, ix. 219. Anecdotes of, 219.
- Neuville, Madame de, v. 317.
- Neva, the, ceremony of blessing the waters of, ii. 98. The Quay of, 190, 214, 215. Breaking up of the ice on, 123; effect of, on occupations of the people, 123, 256.
- Nevins, Mr., vii. 334.
- Nevinses, the, involved in the failure of E. Thomson; their suit against the Collector at Philadelphia, vii. 187.
- Nevis, vi. 103.
- Newark, xi. 421.
- Newbold, Mr., agent of the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal Company, vi. 463.
- New Brunswick, encroachments by inhabitants of, on disputed territory, vi. 488; measures to prevent, 542. Duties exacted in contravention of the Ashburton Treaty, xii. 63.
- Newburgh Letters, the, v. 66. Authorship of; General Washington's letter concerning, 67.
- Newburyport, author delivers a Fourth of July oration at, ix. 357.
- Newcomb, Joseph Warren, Revolutionary pensioner, xi. 166.
- New Echota, Treaty of, ix. 536, 549. (See *Indians*; *House*, etc.)
- Newell, William, Rev., ix. 303.
- New England, condition of, during commercial panic, iv. 396. Books relating to the early settlement of, viii. 155. Indignities heaped upon, x. 539.
- New England Confederacy, iii. 72. Disaffection in, 101. Parallel between, and the North American Confederacy of 1774, xi. 377.
- Newfoundland piracy case, v. 357, 363, 386, 429. Papers relating to, 398, 429, 446.
- New Granada, iv. 138. Occupation of, 440, 441. Campaign in, v. 186. An independent State; an acknowledged treaty with the United States, ix. 143. (See *Venezuela*.)
- New Hampshire, memorial from, xi. 283.
- New Jersey, statutes of, relating to weights and measures, v. 185. Elections in, vi. 471, 480; vii. 154, 161; viii. 261. Controversy about the Pea-Patch fortifications, vii. 59; claims jurisdiction from the Government, 59. Address of citizens of, viii. 108, 111; reply to, 111, 131. Proceedings of the Governor and Council on the contested election, x. 153, 211, 218. (See *Contested Election*; *House*, etc.)

- Newman, —, Chief Clerk in the Post-Office at Philadelphia, viii. 12.
- New Orleans, vi. 377; vii. 201, 219, 253. Taking of, i. 290. Feudal militia in, 453. British defeat at, iii. 167, 174. Anniversary of the battle of, vi. 464. Corporation of, apply for land, vii. 303, 307.
- Newport, Sir John, iii. 208.
- Newspapers, channel for political discussions, i. 24. Articles, v. 57, 61, 76, 165, 359, 535; vi. 8, 9, 14, 24, 33, 39, 40, 46, 49, 56-59, 62, 94, 98, 151, 226, 227, 286, 288, 295, 302, 331, 335, 356, 368, 391, 467, 477. Freedom of political sentiment, v. 266. On replying to, 469. War of, 320; vi. 61, 64, 66-69, 76, 396, 412. System of support by, 56. (See *Press*.)
- Newton, Edward A., of Pittsfield, xi. 403.
- Newton, Thomas, of Virginia, in the House of Representatives, vi. 259; vii. 266, 366; viii. 431, 529. Chairman of the Committee of Commerce, iv. 503; v. 462; vi. 259, 333. Report of, reflecting on the British Government, v. 485. His triumphant support of the Navigation Acts, 519.
- Newton, Willoughby, of Virginia, in the House of Representatives, xii. 40, 46, 48.
- New Year's day, festivities on, in Russia, ii. 95, 96, 211-214, 562. Receptions and visits on, iv. 32; vii. 98, 394; viii. 451; ix. 341, 461; x. 82, 181; xi. 48, 467. Pretensions of the Russian and French Ministers regarding, vii. 99, 394.
- New York, city of, at, i. 32; iv. 3, 418; vii. 328; viii. 416-425; ix. 29; x. 118, 360, 386, 543; xii. 108. Fortifications in harbor of, appropriations for, i. 417; vii. 53, 157. Memorial of merchants of, i. 382-390, 402. Resolutions of Council on the death of John Adams, vii. 127. Colored citizen sold as a slave, 148. Memorial from, for the establishment of a warehousing system, ix. 89. Tammany resolutions against the Bank of the United States, 96. Custom-houses in, 137. Growth of, 237. Failures in, 356. Whig meeting; send committee to the President, 356.
- New York, State of, controversy with Virginia, iv. 495; v. 439; x. 401, 461-463. Divided against itself, v. 129, 432, 435. Inefficiency of her public men, 457. Governor advocates law for choosing the Presidential electors by popular vote, vi. 155, 340, 350. Election movements in, 371, 443, 470, 498; vii. 171, 177, 179, 181, 348, 351, 352, 356, 370, 371, 388, 404, 443, 470, 498. Legislature gives electoral vote for A. Jackson, 340, 391, 408, 453. Delegation in Congress, vi. 484; vii. 115, 235. Caucus nomination of A. Jackson, 427. Proceedings on the Texas question, x. 23. Petition from, 260, 451.
- New York American, the, letters published in, relating to the disunion project of 1804, viii. 141; relating to the Jackson controversy, 330.
- New York Courier and Enquirer publishes letters under the signature of "Spy at Washington," ix. 56, 493. (See *Telegraph*.)
- New York Evening Post, ix. 44.
- New York Herald, x. 383, 384; xi. 14-16.
- New York Historical Society, author accepts invitation to deliver address before, x. 108, 118. Fortieth anniversary of, xii. 108.
- New York National Advocate, vii. 55.
- New York Peace Society present petition to Congress for peace with Mexico, ix. 452, 457, 508. (See *House*, etc.)
- New York Philosophical and Literary Repository, attack on J. Monroe published in, v. 4, 5.

- New York Sentinel, v. 469.
 New York Spectator, viii. 393.
 New York Statesman, vi. 59.
 New York Union, xi. 299.
 Ney, Marshal, ii. 379. Defeat of, 422.
 Goes over to Napoleon, iii. 172.
 Niagara, military post at, vi. 537.
 Niagara Falls, visit to, xi. 393-396.
 Nicaragua, Lake of, vii. 145.
 Nicholas, Dr., iii. 275.
 Nicholas, W. C., of Virginia, in the
 House of Representatives, i. 301, 302,
 518; viii. 277.
 Nicholas, Prince of Russia, ii. 96,
 162, 285, 393. Grand Duke, iii.
 468, 472. Emperor, coronation of,
 at Moscow, vii. 178. Letter an-
 nouncing the death of the Empress-
 mother, viii. 96. His amiable char-
 acter, 164. Summary of events of
 his reign, 164. (See *Russia*.)
 Nicholls, Colonel, treaty of, with the
 Seminoles, iv. 102. Expedition of,
 163, 164. Letter of, to Earl Bathurst,
 184. (See *Seminoles*; *British Gov-*
 ernment.)
 Nicholson, J. H., of Maryland, in the
 House of Representatives, i. 300,
 352, 365. Non-Importation Act, 415.
 Nicolai, Baron, iii. 385, 468.
 Nicoll, Sir John, King's Advocate,
 speech of, against reform in Parlia-
 mentary elections, iii. 534.
 Nicolls, Colonel, proceedings of, in the
 Southern States, iii. 266. Makes a
 treaty with the Indians, 270, 289.
 Niederstetter, Mr., Chargé d'Affaires
 from the King of Prussia, presenta-
 tion of, vii. 25. Correspondence of,
 with J. Hopkinson, 494, 499. Author-
 ized to make a treaty, 495, 515, 519,
 530; ratification of, viii. 95, 96, 99.
 (See *Clay*; *Prussia*.)
 Niger, the British frigate, encounters
 a shock of earthquake, iii. 321, 354.
 Niles, Dr., seeks an office at Paris, vii.
 304. Commissioned to purchase
 books, 306.
 Niles, H., editor of Niles's Register, vi.
 46, 532; vii. 337; viii. 444; ix. 386;
 x. 51. Conversation with, on the
 Jackson controversy, viii. 330. See-
 retary of the Tariff Convention, 417.
 Nimble, the, a British armed schooner,
 captures a Spanish slave-trader, vii.
 417. (See *Slaves*; *Vessels*.)
 Nisbet, Eugenius A., of Georgia, in the
 House of Representatives, x. 390, 403,
 512, 528.
 Noah, M. M., editor of the National
 Advocate, iv. 63; vi. 66; vii. 55.
 Consul at Tunis; his project for colo-
 nizing the Jews, v. 173. (See *Clin-*
 ton, *De Witt*; *Robinson*, *E. W.*)
 Noailles, Vicomte de, i. 36, 102. Am-
 bassador of Louis the Eighteenth,
 at St. Petersburg, iii. 193.
 Noble, James, Senator from Indiana, vi.
 364, 374, 479, 521; vii. 263. His
 testimony on the Edwards-Crawford
 investigation, vi. 384, 387, 389, 393.
 Noble, Noah, appointed Receiver of
 Public Moneys at Indianapolis, vii. 85.
 Nobles, elections of, in Russia; inten-
 tion of, ii. 243; officers elected for
 the judicial tribunal of the province,
 244.
 Noël, François Joseph Michel, i. 122.
 Conversation with, on advantages to
 France of American neutrality, etc.,
 125, 185.
 Noland, Mr., x. 282.
 Nominations, viii. 188, 208. (See
 Office; *Appointments*; *Senate*.)
 Nones, A. B., Consul at Maracaibo, vi.
 406.
 Non-Importation Act, i. 466. Petitions
 for repeal of, 483, 488, 490, 491, 493,
 514. Suspension of, agreed upon,
 530.
 Norberg, General, ii. 621, 622.
 Nordberg, case of the ship, taken by
 privateer; carried into Savannah;
 entered under false papers; libelled,
 v. 151. (See *Collector of Savannah*.)
 Norfolk Argus publishes speech of A. H.

- Everett advocating anti-bank resolutions, ix. 361.
- Norfolk Resolutions, v. 472.
- Normal schools, establishment of, x. 35.
- Norris, Moses, of New Hampshire, in the House of Representatives, xi. 507; xii. 152.
- North, Lord, i. 4.
- North, the, condition of, in the case of dissolution of the Union, iv. 530. Question of slavery speculative to, 533.
- North American Review, vii. 218; ix. 309. (See *Everett, A. H.*)
- North Carolina, v. 169. Elections in, vi. 476. Resolutions of Legislature of, against removal of the United States Bank deposits, ix. 97.
- North Carolina, line-of-battle ship, vi. 442; vii. 310. Visit of the President to, vi. 482.
- Northeastern Boundary question, disturbances, vii. 478. On sending troops to frontier, 483, 495, 498, 499. Instructions concerning, viii. 31. Submitted to the umpirage of the King of the Netherlands, 87; xi. 196. (See *Boundaries; Maine.*)
- North Point, battle at, vii. 336.
- Northumberland, Duke of, ix. 29.
- Northwest Coast, disputed titles to; encroachments of Great Britain; negotiations with Russia; referred to arbitration, vi. 93, 100, 139, 157, 159, 189, 190; vii. 108, 111; settled, vi. 400; vii. 75; ix. 535.
- Northwest Passage, project of an expedition in search of, vii. 65.
- Northwestern Territory, proposals by Congress for laying out roads in, i. 335.
- Norton, Ebenezer F., of New York, in the House of Representatives, remarks on the Anti-Masonic movement in New York, viii. 191.
- Norvell, John, editor of the Franklin Gazette, vi. 245; vii. 537. (See *McLean.*)
- Norway, on the coast of, ii. 19-486.
- Norwell, Mr., x. 429.
- Notes on Virginia, by T. Jefferson, viii. 298.
- Nott, Samuel, Rev., sermons by, ix. 256. Views on slavery, 259. Vice-President of the Sabbath-Day Convention at Baltimore, xii. 111.
- Nourse, C. J., Major, vii. 239, 303, 308, 310; viii. 11, 33, 53.
- Nourse, Joseph, iv. 12, 28. Registrar of the Treasury, vi. 507, 538; vii. 490. Removed; prosecuted as a defaulter by President Jackson; acquitted, xii. 214, 215.
- Nova Scotia, letter from Governor of, on French plan of conquest of the British Provinces, i. 519. Legislature of, quarrelsome spirit of, iv. 95. House of Assembly of, x. 354. Little intercourse of, with the United States, 354. (See *British Provinces.*)
- Nowlan, James, vii. 160.
- Nuckolls, W. C., of South Carolina, in the House of Representatives, viii. 520.
- Nullification doctrines, x. 168.
- Nullifiers, the, viii. 478.
- Núñez, Fernán, Spanish Ambassador at London, on the South American insurgents, iii. 308, 421, 470, 495, 507, 516. Spanish Ambassador at Paris, iv. 86, 137; v. 97, 107. (See *Spain.*)
- Nursery of forest trees planted by the author, vii. 121, 126, 529, 538; viii. 7, 16, 23.
- Nuttall, Thomas, Curator of the Botanic Garden at Cambridge, Massachusetts, viii. 546.

O.

- Oakhill, in Loudoun County, Virginia, residence of James Monroe, v. 347; vi. 65.
- Oath of office of Territorial Governor, by whom administered, iv. 16; v. 317.
- Obregon, Don Pablo, Minister from

- Mexico, vi. 456; vii. 50. On American Congress at Panama, vi. 531, 536. Claims restoration of prize seized at Key West, vii. 514, 522.
- O'Brien, Captain, v. 15; vi. 231. Settlement of his accounts; Consul in Algiers; more claims, v. 163, 236; vi. 461.
- O'Brien, Jeremiah, of Maine, in the House of Representatives, vii. 382.
- Observations at sea, ii. 6, 7, 19.
- Observatory, Astronomical, at Washington, vii. 55; xii. 189, 219. At Cambridge, Massachusetts, raising funds for, 213, 215. (See *Smithsonian Bequest*; *Harvard College*.)
- Occupation, advantages of, viii. 88.
- Ocean, the ship, ii. 43.
- Oceana, a political romance, by Harrington, ix. 228.
- O'Connell, Daniel. (See *Stevenson, A.*)
- Odiome, George, ix. 18.
- Ofalia, Count, Spanish Minister of Foreign Affairs, vi. 380.
- Office-seekers, iv. 133; v. 24, 238; vii. 255; x. 445, 447, 448, 451, 452.
- Office-seeking no proof of merit, i. 344.
- Officers, French, in America, i. 78. Of the United States forbidden by the Constitution to enter a foreign service, vii. 52, 115. Public, on removal of, 163. Of the navy; of the army, 232. Double rations of staff, 230, 280. On mode of dismissing, 434. Diplomatic, on granting leave of absence to, 481. Of the Revolution, act for the relief of, viii. 15 (see *Congress*). Brevet, pay of, 37, 151. (See *Army*; *Brevet*.)
- Offices, accumulation of, in the same person, contrary to the spirit of the Constitution, iv. 141. Applications for, in Florida, v. 309. Act limiting tenure of, vii. 424; viii. 228. On appointing members of Congress to, 112. Appointments to, and removals from, 138, 144, 145, 149, 172, 176, 179, 189. Constitutional principle of removals from, 189. (See *White, J. M.*; *Jackson, A.*)
- Offley, Mr., Consul at Smyrna, viii. 5, 6, 60, 146, 151; xi. 67. His contempt for the Greeks; offers to make a treaty with the Turks, vii. 463. (See *Crane*; *Biddle*.)
- Ogden, Aaron, Colonel, viii. 63. Agent of the Revolutionary officers, vii. 198.
- Ogden, David A., iv. 494.
- Ogden, D. B., vi. 378, 507; vii. 234, 396; viii. 421.
- Ogden, S. G., and W. S. Smith, i. 437-440.
- Ogden and Troup, Messrs., purchasers of the Seneca Indian lands, viii. 53. (See *Indians*.)
- Ogilby, Mr., viii. 421.
- Ogilvie, Mr., Chaplain of the frigate *Brandywine*, vii. 49.
- Ogilvie, Mr., Lectures on Eloquence, iii. 542.
- Ogle, Charles, of Pennsylvania, in the House of Representatives, x. 106, 261, 264, 269, 277, 281. Death of, 472.
- Oglesvy, Francis, v. 138. (See *Speir*.)
- O'Higgins, Director of the Government of Chili, iv. 14; v. 114, 120.
- Ohio, representation of, iv. 513. Census of, 513. Elections in, vi. 476, 479; vii. 161; viii. 263. Claim of volunteers of 1812, 103. Disputes about boundaries between Michigan and, ix. 197-199, 214, 223; Legislature of, determines to seize disputed lands, 215, 221; Michigan retaliates, 221, 227; opinion of the Attorney-General, 227, 233, 237. Resolutions of Convention; of Legislature, xi. 8, 292. Legislature of, rescind resolutions of censure on the writer, xii. 181, 182. (See *House*, etc.; *Boundaries*; *Rush*.)
- Ohio River, vii. 217.
- Old age, ix. 52.
- Old Colony Memorial, viii. 239, 538.

- Oldenburg, Duke of, seizure of his territories by Napoleon, ii. 254, 285, 309, 310. (See *George, Prince of Oldenburg*.)
- Old Point Comfort, school of practice at, vi. 537, 538.
- Old Sarum, iii. 536, 538.
- Oleff, Bolk, Mr., Russian Minister to Brazil, iii. 362.
- Olin, Stephen, Dr., President of Wesleyan College, Middletown, Connecticut, sermon by, xii. 139.
- Oliveira, Mr., Secretary of Legation to the Brazilian Mission, vi. 456.
- Oliver, —, a Revolutionary claimant, ix. 227.
- Oliver, William M., of New York, in the House of Representatives, x. 521.
- Olmstead, Frank, Delegate from New York, on the Tariff Act; conversation with, viii. 503.
- "One of the Convention," articles published under the signature of, viii. 131, 132.
- Onís, Don Luis de, Minister from Spain, iii. 308, 321, 339, 495; iv. 26, 48, 115, 161, 168, 170, 172, 207, 208, 214, 216, 231, 264, 273, 274, 305, 315, 349, 437, 454; v. 69, 270; ix. 483. Interviews with, iv. 26, 37, 78, 105, 170, 218, 231, 248. Remonstrates against occupation of Amelia Island, 36, 38, 43-45, 51, 56, 143. On the sale of Florida, 37, 42. Tampers with Galabert, 47, 84. Insults offered to, 56. His pamphlet entitled *Verus*, 57, 59. Misrepresents British mediation, 62; denies soliciting, 79. Bitterness of, towards England, 79, 101, 143. On the French settlement at Galveston, 100. Remonstrates against Jackson's proceedings, 102, 105-107. Notes of, on the taking of Pensacola, 105, 107; reply to, 110-116. On treaty with Spain, 143-146, 173, 231; cancelling of the land-grants, 146, 171, 250, 256, 257, 261, 269, 271, 453, 455, 465, 475; declaration concerning, 287-291. Proposes ratification of Convention of 1802, 143, 171, 195. Instructions to, 143, 208, 216, 218, 247, 437, 466. Author's letter to, 152, 153, 251. Powers of, 247, 259. Projet of treaty of; counter-projet, 248-253. Declarations of, on annulling of land-grants, 288-291; disingenuousness of, regarding, 305, 309, 310, 376, 388, 419; v. 290; accused of speculations in; denial of, 305, 315, 328. Character of, 306. Account of the negotiations by, 320. Takes leave, 328.
- Ontario, Lake, x. 3. (See *Great Lakes*.)
- Ontario, the ship of war, iv. 24. Expedition of, to the Columbia River, 93, 94, 353; v. 246, 247.
- Ontario Messenger, the, vii. 512. Memorial concerning, v. 265. Hostile to the Administration, 266. Under the influence of J. C. Spencer and G. Granger, 266.
- Oran, iii. 380, 401.
- Orange, House of, i. 85, 208, 211.
- Orange, Princess of, i. 166.
- Orange, William the Fifth, Stadtholder, Prince of, iii. 33, 34, 132. Joins European Alliance, i. 30. Policy of, in American affairs, 31. Resigns his office, 31, 59. Retreat of, to England, 66. Character of, 66. Library of, seized by the French, 109.
- Oranienbaum, foreign Ministers embark from, 388. Visit to the palace of, 397, 398.
- Oration, author delivers Fourth of July, at Newburyport, ix. 357.
- Orations, vi. 77; x. 138. In honor of the Ex-Presidents Adams and Jefferson, by D. Webster, vii. 135, 137-139; by E. Everett, 139; by Samuel L. Knapp, 139; by Rev. Mr. Storrs, 140; by J. E. Sprague, 141; by W. Wirt, 164. Custom of delivering, introduced by the Boston massacre; standard of, raised by E. Everett, ix. 305.

- Oratorio, iii. 320.
 Ordener, General, ii. 166.
 Order, British, for seizure of vessels, i. 152, 159, 160.
 Orders in Council, British, ii. 176, 237, 359, 361, 364, 428, 429, 450; iii. 253, 306, 308, 315; interdicting trade between the United States and British Colonies, vii. 149. (See *British Colonies*.)
 Ordinance of 24th July, 1815, iii. 434. Of 1787, v. 7. Of 26th July, 1820, 346.
 Ordinances, for privateers, ii. 106.
 Opening navigation of the Baltic, 109, 110. Prohibiting vessels from Portugal, 143. Of Prussia, Mecklenburg, and Denmark, 147, 156, 157.
 Ordinance, purchase of, vi. 536, 541, 543; vii. 11.
 Oregon Territory, xi. 219. (See *Columbia River*.) Bill for the occupation of, 246. Compromise with Great Britain, 347. Proposal to annul the Treaty of 6th September, 1827, 490. Bill for the establishment of, xii. 131, 154, 155, 157; discussions on, 220, 228. Memorial, 223. (See *Polk*, *J. K.*; *House*, etc.)
 Orkney and Shetland Isles, i. 245; ii. 18.
 Orleans, Duke of, Louis Philippe, iii. 163, 169, 198, 202, 261. Return of, to England; reason for, 298. Settles in France, 509.
 Orleans Government bill, i. 352, 353, 354.
 Orleans Territory, i. 382. Bill for defence of, 424.
 Orloff, Count, iii. 325.
 Orme, Rezin. (See *Birch*, *J. H.*)
 Orme, Henry, editor of the *American Statesman*, vi. 40.
 Orphans' and Widows' Asylum at Philadelphia, vi. 423.
 Orpheus, the allegory of, explained, iii. 441; applied as device for seal, 442.
 Osgood, Gayton P., of Massachusetts, in the House of Representatives, ix. 54.
 Osmond, Marquis d', iii. 299, 415, 436, 507, 511. (See *French Ambassador*.)
 Osprey, the brig, taken by General Lecom at Montevideo; claims on the Portuguese Government for, vii. 85.
 Ostervald, his translation of the Bible, ii. 173, 192; comparison of, with French and English, 351, 352.
 O'Sullivan. (See *Langtree*.)
 Oswald, Mr., iii. 559.
 Oswegatchie, smuggling at, vii. 397.
 Oterbeck, Six d', conversation with, about Napoleon, viii. 40. (See *Six*.)
 Otis, George A., v. 14, 23. Solicits consular appointment, 24. His third Tusculan upon Grief; French translation of, by Brotier, x. 119.
 Otis, Harrison Gray, of Massachusetts, i. 441; iv. 315, 512; vi. 313; vii. 308; viii. 237; ix. 256, 263. On choice of United States Senator, i. 257-259. Letter to, 525. Elected Senator, v. 99. Opposes Eustis, vi. 418. Writes in defence of the Hartford Convention, 418. Letter of, viii. 78, 79. Enmity against the writer, 79. (See *Adams*, *J. Q.*; *Webster*, *D.*)
 Otis, James, iii. 372.
 Otis, James F., editor of the *Brother Jonathan*, x. 176, 177.
 Otis, Samuel Allyne, Secretary of the Senate, i. 264, 363.
 Otis, William, claim of heirs of, xii. 150, 179, 180.
 Otis, W. F., viii. 426.
 Ottoman Porte, adjustment of difficulties with the Emperor Alexander, vi. 229. Negotiations with, for treaty; price demanded for, viii. 61, 146. Secret correspondence with, 110, 117. (See *Turkey*; *Offley*; *Crane*.)
 Oudinot, Marshal, defeat of, ii. 424.
 Ouradou, Comte d', i. 20.
 Our Lady of Kazan, Church of, model of, in Academy of Arts, ii. 171; consecration of, 310, 311.
 Ouseley, W. Gore, Secretary of the British Legation, vii. 108; viii. 107.

- Ousley, Mr., gardener to the President's house, vii. 288.
- Outfit of foreign Ministers, vii. 171. (*See Missions.*)
- Ouvaroff, General, ii. 126, 247.
- Overton, John, proposed for District Attorney in Pensacola, vi. 284. Defends Andrew Jackson, vii. 274.
- Ovid, *Metamorphoses* of, quotation from, vii. 415; Garth's translation of, ix. 414, 415. Epistles of, viii. 354.
- Owen, Sir Edward. (*See Porter.*)
- Owen, G. W., of Alabama, in the House of Representatives, on the Edwards-Crawford Investigating Committee, vi. 317, 360, 364.
- Owen, Robert, of Lanark, iii. 551, 552; vi. 514, 522, 524, 527; xii. 116, 117. His community at New Harmony, vii. 491. Lectures on Reform; writings, xii. 133, 142, 155, 157. Visits England, 255.
- Owen, Robert Dale, of Indiana, viii. 414. In the House of Representatives, xi. 493; xii. 14, 31, 143, 157, 258.
- Owens, G. W., of Georgia, viii. 24, 25. In the House of Representatives, ix. 267, 299; x. 98, 106.
- Owens, —, in Alabama, killed by United States troops, ix. 94.
- Owsley, B. T., of Kentucky, in the House of Representatives, xi. 8.
- Ozarowsky, Count, ii. 295, 296, 507, 508.
- P.**
- Pabodie, Albert, ix. 266.
- Packard, Hezekiah, Dr., viii. 406.
- Page, Joseph, petitioner, ix. 334.
- Page, Mr., iii. 327. (*See Cook, George.*)
- Page, Mr., the artist, portrait of the author painted by, for Faneuil Hall, x. 42.
- Pageot, Alphonse, French Chargé d'Affaires, correspondence with the Secretary of State, ix. 274.
- Pagés, François, his *Cours d'Etudes Encyclopédiques*, x. 124.
- Pahlen, Comte de, Minister from St. Petersburg to the United States, ii. 66, 87, 125, 126, 147, 269. Mission to Brazil, 280, 281, 339.
- Pahlen, Count Nicholas, ii. 214; iii. 152.
- Paimbœuf, Mr., Consul at Curaçoa, vii. 341.
- Paine, Lieutenant, commander of the *Grampus*, x. 405. Correspondence with the Secretary of the Navy, 450. (*See Amistad.*)
- Paine, R. F., of the Ohio Legislature, xii. 182.
- Paine, Robert T., ix. 358.
- Paine, Thomas, work of, on Rights of Man, i. 25. Prosecuted for libel, 26. Paintings for the rotunda of the Capitol, ix. 379.
- Pakenham, Richard, British Minister, xi. 518, 529; xii. 9. Negotiations for settlement of the Oregon question, 9; his rejection of J. Buchanan's offer for division disapproved, 248. On the annexation of Texas, 9. Conversation with, 65.
- Palaces, vii. 101.
- Palacio, Leandro, Consul-General of the republic of Colombia in the United States, vi. 142, 144. On the Constitution of Colombia; opposed to the federal system and liberty of the press, 146.
- Palafox, the brig, ii. 215.
- Palais Royal, iii. 173, 176.
- Paley, his *Natural Theology*, ii. 463, 581. His *Moral Philosophy*, x. 118.
- Palfrey, Cazneau, Rev., viii. 433.
- Palfrey, John G., Dr., editor of the *North American Review*, viii. 408. Unwilling to publish author's lecture on British and Chinese war, xi. 31. Secretary of the State of Massachusetts, xii. 29.
- Palgrave on the British Constitution, viii. 542.
- Pallas, P. S., his voyages; work on *Russian Dialects*, ii. 115.
- Pallas, the Netherlands corvette, conveys the Duke of Saxe-Weimar to America, vii. 52.

- Palm Sunday, ii. 119, 248.
- Palmella, Count, Portuguese Minister, iii. 475, 504, 507, 553, 561. Empowered to arrange the affair of Montevideo, iv. 86. On the occupation of Amelia Island, 86. Letter to the Congress at Aix-la-Chapelle, 329.
- Palmer, Aaron H., contracts to open passage from the Sea of Antilles to the Pacific Ocean, vii. 144.
- Palmerston, Lord, dispatch to Mr. Fox, ix. 520.
- Palmyra, the. (See *Panchita, the.*)
- Pamphlet published by the author on the Russell controversy: Reply to Hon. A. Smyth; speech of author, on the Louisiana Treaty; and letter of T. Jefferson on the cession of Louisiana, vi. 120. On the Patronage bill, not by him, ix. 262.
- Panama Mission, vii. 16, 55, 75, 82, 101; viii. 95, 103. Nomination of Ministers for, sent to the Senate; debates and resolutions on; papers relating to, 95, 96, 99, 102-106, 107, 111, 116.
- Panchita, the, Spanish privateer, capture of, vi. 64, 85.
- Panin, Count, i. 213, 228; ii. 125.
- Panorama of Athens presented to Harvard University by Theodore Lyman, x. 467.
- Paper currency, speculations in, the scourge of the country, v. 128. (See *Paper Money.*)
- Paper money, depreciation of, in England, ii. 278. Bearing interest is private capital, 278. Evils of, iv. 370, 396, 401, 499; vi. 57.
- Papers, arrangement of, viii. 155. Relating to foreign missions, custody of, iii. 130.
- Papineau, Mr., of Canada, conversation with; urges expression of sympathy with Canadians; their desire for annexation with the United States, x. 52-55. An agent to the British Government; interviews with Lord Bathurst, 53.
- Paradise Lost, criticism upon, i. 184. (See *Milton.*)
- Paraphrase of Isaiah lxi. 1, 2, xi. 151, 159.
- Pardo, General, ii. 62, 70, 71, 76, 116, 130, 131, 219, 244; iii. 326. On recall of the French Ambassador, ii. 245. On the danger of war between France and Russia, 254; change of Ministers probable, 254. A phenomenon of human character, 265, 311, 329. On the Iliad and Odyssey, 342. On Spanish successes, 343. On the war with France, 376. Death of, 421.
- Pardons, imposition practised in obtaining, v. 168. On granting, vii. 204.
- Parella, M., Sardinian Minister, i. 213.
- Paris, i. 8. Tragical events in, 122. Bread-riots in, ii. 338. Internal commotions, 423. Capitulation of; rejoicings at, 597, 601, 605, 608. In the Hundred Days, iii. 145-198; agitation in, on return of Bonaparte, 169, 171; garrison of, loyalty of, doubted, 173; defection of, 176; the King's address to the army, 173; appeals and declamations against Bonaparte, 173; cries of "Vive l'Empereur," 173; arrival of Napoleon, 176. Inhabitants of, attached to no party, 190. Fortifications of, cannot be defended, 205.
- Parish, Isaac, of Ohio, in the House of Representatives, x. 307.
- Parish, Jasper, agent to the Seneca Indians, vii. 484.
- Parish, Mr., v. 187; vi. 92, 123.
- Park, —, on claims, v. 362.
- Park, Lieutenant, his plan for a National Institute, viii. 421.
- Park, Mungo, iii. 275.
- Parker, Amasa J., of New York, in the House of Representatives, ix. 463.
- Parker, Cortland, Consul at Curaçoa, vi. 81.
- Parker, Daniel, General, v. 184; vi. 8, 14, 17; viii. 51; x. 300. Removed

- from the office of Paymaster-General, v. 527; vi. 3, 6. Conversation with, on General Armstrong's charge against J. Monroe, 4-6. Accounts of; claims double rations, 538; vii. 21, 280.
- Parker, Dr., missionary to China, urges the appointment of a Minister to China, x. 444. Returns to China, xi. 166. Conversation with, on mission to China, 166, 167.
- Parker, F. A., Captain, commanding vessel of war on the Northeastern coast, instructions to, vii. 17, 24, 26. Commanding the sloop-of-war *Fairfield*, viii. 61.
- Parker, Isaac, Chief-Justice, iv. 6. Death of, viii. 365.
- Parker, Samuel D., counsel in the case of Lieutenant Percival, viii. 56.
- Parkman, Francis, Dr., ix. 303; x. 118, 467.
- Parkman, George, Dr., viii. 407.
- Parks, Gorham, of Maine, in the House of Representatives, ix. 192, 205.
- Parliament, iii. 380; viii. 174, 238, 254. Bills pending in, i. 143, 148. Precedent for postponement of impeachment trials, 348. Acts of, for the preservation of the King's person, 143, 148; iii. 253, 295, 347, 445; on letters brought in merchant-vessels, 491; opening the ports of the British colonies to the United States, vi. 52. Reform in, viii. 266, 269. On the dissolution of, by the royal prerogative, 279, 280. Authority of, over the American colonies, 282. Address against the Ministers carried in the House of Commons, xi. 21. Debates on the right of search, 341, 344; on the Ashburton Treaty, 369. (See *Church*; *Slavery*.)
- Parmenter, William, of Massachusetts, in the House of Representatives, ix. 313, 389, 392, 444; x. 10, 27, 60, 196, 269, 495; xi. 293, 527; xii. 31, 41, 159.
- Parmentier, Mr., vii. 128.
- Parque, Duc del, i. 238.
- Parr, Samuel, Dr., classical attainments of; his writings reviewed in the *Quarterly Review*, viii. 194, 346.
- Parris, Albion K., Governor of the State of Maine, v. 478; vii. 206, 539. Interview with, concerning negotiations for the settlement of boundary between Maine and the British Provinces, 143, 460. Senator, 378. Second Comptroller, ix. 314.
- Parris, Virgil D., of Maine, in the House of Representatives, x. 93, 217.
- Parrott, J. F., of New Hampshire, in the House of Representatives; Senator, iv. 486. Recommended for Minister to Mexico, vi. 511.
- Parsons, Theophilus, i. 22; iv. 423; ix. 263; x. 437. Wholly devoted to British policy, i. 534.
- Parsons, T., son of the preceding, speech at the meeting of the Phi Beta Kappa Society of Harvard University, viii. 395.
- Parties in America, i. 142, 397; x. 182, 342.
- Partridge, Captain, v. 44. His military school pay a visit to the President, vii. 214.
- Party at the President's House, xi. 174.
- Party dissensions, viii. 179. Spirit, i. 282, 385, 392, 467; v. 238; vi. 296; ix. 22, 441; its effect in the House of Representatives, x. 297. Combination against the Northern States, xi. 55.
- Party, opposed to the Jackson Administration, viii. 456.
- Pasha, Capitan, the, overtures made by, for treaty, vi. 320, 358. (See *Turkey*.)
- Paskevitch, General, viii. 204.
- Pasley, C. W., Colonel of Royal Engineers of England, publishes a work on Weights and Measures, ix. 185.
- Pasquier, Baron, the French Minister of Foreign Relations, v. 424. Assertion of Vivés' authority, 78, 88, 97, 107.

- Passamaquoddy Islands, iv. 90, 92.
- Passengers to America, restrictions concerning, iii. 14. Act of Parliament concerning, 296, 305-307. Bill pending on, 476. (See *Robinson, F. J.*)
- Passports, in Holland; strict regulations concerning, i. 116. To France, difficulty in obtaining, iii. 233, 235, 238-240, 340, 347. Call of the House concerning withholding Indian, vii. 483, 489.
- Passy, i. 8.
- Past and the future, the, reflections on, v. 3, 16.
- Patent laws, in England, xii. 193, 194.
- Patent Office at Washington, viii. 483. Models at, and the inventors' use of, iv. 351. Destroyed by fire, ix. 326. Memoir on the history of, xii. 193, 197.
- Paterson, New Jersey, memorial to Congress from, ix. 118.
- Paterson, William, of New Jersey, plan of Constitution proposed by, in Federal Convention of 1787, ix. 350.
- Patience, v. 373.
- Patrick, Lieutenant, delivers up a British deserter, vii. 65.
- Patriotic Society, i. 186.
- Patriots, sham, at Amelia Island, their profligacy, iv. 75. Of the Revolution, their mutual oppositions and animosities, dissensions and antagonisms, v. 213.
- Patronage bill, pamphlet on the, ix. 262.
- Patterson, Captain, vii. 33.
- Patterson, Robert, Director of the Mint, ix. 332. Conversation with, 332.
- Patterson, Walter, of New York, in the House of Representatives, v. 537. Moves for displacement of Chaplain Sparks, 459.
- Patterson, William, of Baltimore, appointed a director of the United States Bank, vi. 469.
- Patterson, Mr., iii. 387, 469.
- Patterson, Mrs., iii. 387, 469.
- Patterson, ———, Agent of the Baltimore Railway Company, vii. 334, 336; viii. 35. Interview with, on the railway survey, vii. 466.
- Patton, J. M., of Virginia, in the House of Representatives, viii. 524; ix. 44, 48, 53, 97, 106, 201, 211, 266, 290, 375, 383, 392, 503, 517. Attempt of, to prohibit introduction of petitions against slavery from the House of Representatives, 454, 455. Speech on the Mississippi elections, 484. Acting Governor of Virginia; letter to W. H. Seward offering to surrender a forger, x. 455.
- Paul the First, of Russia, ii. 58. Court of, 65. Eccentricities of, 69. Murder of, 125, 126.
- Paulding, J. K., Secretary of the Navy, x. 177. Conversation with, on Navy Pension fund, 343. Instructions to J. S. Payne, 450.
- Paulucci, Marquis de, ii. 416, 435.
- Paulus, P., President of the Provincial Assembly of Holland, i. 73, 76. Conversation on exportation of specie and detention of vessels, etc., 86. Case of Houghton, 119, 123.
- Pauw, C. de, works of, i. 84.
- Paymasters, by whom appointed, vii. 293, 426. (See *Cabinet*.)
- Payne, William W., of Alabama, in the House of Representatives, x. 521; xi. 144, 195, 200, 303, 465, 492, 494; xii. 11, 31, 43, 127, 130, 139, 151.
- Pazos, V., iv. 53, 55, 57, 60, 472. Memorial of, 61, 75, 76.
- Peabody, Stephen, Rev., xii. 275.
- Peace, negotiations for, i. 13. In Portugal, dependent on the will of Great Britain, 89. Concluded between France and Prussia, 112. Between Russia and Sweden, ii. 33; France and Austria, 49, 57-60. In Europe, 51, 52, 82; dependent on England, 82, 106, 107, 290. With Sweden, 146; with Austria, 146. Of Tilsit, 358. With Turkey, 377, 393, 394. Russian mediation to procure, with

- England, 402-404, 471, 479, 486, 491; rejected, 501-506, 511-513, 544-547. Proposals by Denmark, 447. Commission at Ghent, 602-662; iii. 3-144. (See *Commissioners; Great Britain*, etc.)
- Peaco, Dr., agent in charge of negroes conveyed to Africa, death of, vii. 285.
- Peacock, the, capture of, ii. 469. (See *Hornet*, the.)
- Peacock, the sloop of war, cruise of, to the Sandwich Islands, etc., vii. 353.
- Peale, Rembrandt, portrait of Gérard, vii. 50; of the Governors of Maryland, 50. Paints portrait of the author, ix. 105.
- Peale, Titian, son of the preceding, vii. 50.
- Pea-Patch fortifications, controversy as to title, vii. 59.
- Pearce, Dr., of Brookline, Massachusetts, viii. 365.
- Pearce, Dutee J., of Rhode Island, in the House of Representatives, vii. 127, 255, 453; viii. 252, 330, 508; ix. 46, 96, 123, 128, 154, 202, 230, 293, 327, 339. Address to the people of Rhode Island, 33. Leader of party for reconstituting the State Government, xi. 152. Arrested on charge of treason, 153; solicits the writer's aid in his defence, 248; conversation with, on the charges against, and trial, 253.
- Pearce, James A., of Maryland, in the House of Representatives, ix. 301; x. 524; xi. 306.
- Pearl, the Danish frigate, iii. 127.
- Pearl, the, claims for, vi. 530. (See *Bryant and Sturgis*.)
- Peasants, Russian, ii. 426, 611.
- Pechell, Edward C., of Florida, election to the House of Representatives contested; defeated, xii. 238. (See *Brockenbrough, W. B.*)
- Peck, James H., Judge of the District Court of the United States in the State of Missouri, xi. 291. Impeachment of, viii. 252, 289. Acquittal of, 306.
- Peck, Luther C., of New York, in the House of Representatives, x. 203. Denies Bynum's assertion that he is an abolitionist, 203.
- Pedersen, Peder, iv. 18, 195; Danish Minister, vi. 65, 514. Proposes Convention with Denmark, iv. 196; terms of, 196, 197, 204; vii. 52.
- Pedro, Don, Regent of Portugal, abdicates in favor of his daughter, ix. 36, 106. Expels Don Miguel; his alliance with Great Britain, 106.
- Peel Ministry, the, x. 168. On the choice of an opposition Speaker, 169.
- Peel, Sir Robert, speech on the Catholic question, iii. 524; on the Ashburton Treaty relating to the right of visitation, xi. 326, 327; at issue with President Tyler on, 326, 329.
- Pelham, a novel, viii. 120, 125; compared with writings of Scott, 127.
- Penalty, obsolete, revival of, i. 119.
- Pendleton, Edmund, i. 268.
- Pendleton, Edmund H., of New York, in the House of Representatives, viii. 444. On the appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court in criminal cases, 442.
- Pendleton, John G., xi. 428.
- Pendleton, Nathaniel G., of Ohio, in the House of Representatives, x. 530; xi. 147, 157, 226, 302. Moves resolution of censure on the writer, 78.
- Pendleton, Philip C., appointment of, as Judge of Western District of Virginia, vi. 530, 540.
- Penitentiary, the, at Philadelphia, visit to, vi. 423. At Washington, vii. 189.
- Pennington, John M., invents a flying-machine, ix. 494.
- Pennsylvania approves Jackson's course, iv. 314. Her political standing, v. 112, 298; vi. 243; viii. 222, 229, 474. Elections in, vi. 496; vii. 154; x. 69, 70. Coalition with the South, vi.

478. Petitions to Congress, viii. 434; ix. 96; xi. 231. Frauds in the Electoral College, ix. 314. Convention, 320. Legislature attempts to procure the revocation of Bank Charter, 320. Proceedings on the Texas question, x. 23. Tariff memorial, 328.
- Pennsylvania, the line-of-battle ship, vii. 331.
- Pennsylvania Bank of the United States suspends specie payment, x. 174.
- Pennsylvania Colonization Society, viii. 286.
- Pennsylvania Hall, Association of, invitation to author to deliver an address before, ix. 472. Destroyed by a mob, 536. History of, x. 56.
- Pennsylvania Hospital for the Sick and Insane, vi. 422.
- Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, vote of thanks to the author from, ix. 301.
- Pennybacker, Isaac S., of Virginia, in the House of Representatives, ix. 477; x. 5.
- Pensacola, letter from Governor of, iv. 42. Secret agent to, 97. Taking of, by General Jackson, 102, 103; remonstrances from the foreign Ministers on, 102, 105, 106; justification of, 105, 108-115. To be unconditionally restored, 110, 112, 116; orders for, 125. Governor of, charges against, 110, 114. Navy yard at, vii. 67. (See *Jackson*; *Amelia Island*; *Florida*.)
- Pension Act, v. 314.
- Pension Agents, x. 212.
- Pensioners, ix. 260. (See *Revolutionary Pensioners*.)
- Pény, Baron Freteau de, iii. 160.
- People, the, v. 401.
- Percival, Spencer, Prime Minister, ii. 362, 384. Expectation of an American war, 414; denied, 450. Murder of, by Bellingham, vii. 212.
- Percival's "Genius Waking," viii. 415.
- Percival, Lieutenant, Court of Enquiry concerning, vii. 449. Conduct at the Sandwich Islands, viii. 56.
- Pereira, J. Barroso, Consul-General from Portugal, vi. 31, 515; viii. 213. Resigns, 220, 221. (See *Torlade*.)
- Perkins, Thomas H., vii. 322; viii. 237. Railway at Quincy constructed by, viii. 322.
- Perkins, Rev. Mr., of Braintree, vii. 140; xi. 250, 252; xii. 95.
- Pernambuco, insurrection at, iii. 85, 554; vi. 311. Blockade of, by the Emperor of Brazil, 311, 314, 317.
- Perrine, Henry, Dr., x. 29. Murdered by Indians, 420. Bill in behalf of widow of, 420.
- Perry, James, editor of the *Morning Chronicle*, iii. 279, 430, 433.
- Perry, Matthew C., Captain, participation of, in affair of A. Stevenson and D. O'Connell, x. 48. Commodore; instructions to, iv. 367, 435, 506, 515. Commands expedition to enforce suppression of piracy and the slave-trade, 389, 394. Commander of the African Squadron, xi. 345. (See *Stevenson*.)
- Persia, war with Russia, viii. 168. Treaty of peace with, 170. (See *Russia*.)
- Persico, Luigi, the sculptor, vi. 543; vii. 189; ix. 201, 216. Design of, for the tympanum of the Capitol, Washington, D.C., vii. 20. His work on the Capitol from designs furnished by the author, viii. 45, 81, 123. Proposes statues of Peace and War, 85, 104, 120. His busts of Thomas Law and Charles F. Mercer, 120; of the author, 120, 123; ix. 194. Statues executed for the Capitol at Washington, 193; xii. 28, 158. Marble bust of President Jackson, ix. 194.
- Personal jealousies, v. 238.
- Peru, movements against, v. 114. Complaints from the Government of, against Captain Stewart, vi. 218. Minister from, 218. Blockade by,

429. Designs of Bolivar, vii. 483.
(See *Mexico; Colombia.*) Government of, a military despotism, ix. 355.
Declares war against Chili, 355.
- Pesaro, Professor, viii. 419.
- Peter the First, statue of, ii. 190, 239; viii. 198.
- Peterhof, palace and gardens of, visit to; Empress Elizabeth's kitchen; waterworks, ii. 171, 172. Annual fête at; illuminations; entertainments, 284-288.
- Peters, Judge, i. 284; v. 322, 378; vi. 421, 422; vii. 223.
- Peters, R., Jr., vi. 421; vii. 126, 297; viii. 203, 251, 323, 332, 337, 344, 453; x. 404, 441.
- Peters, T., viii. 542.
- Pétigru, J. L., ix. 182.
- Pétion, i. 33.
- Petitions, x. 295. Manner of disposing of, in Congress, vii. 97. Of women, x. 26, 36. For a Congress of Nations, 97. Precedents of legislative assemblies refusing to receive, 114.
- Petrified pear found in Monroe County, Illinois, viii. 3.
- Petriken, David, of Pennsylvania, in the House of Representatives, x. 15, 106, 160, 220, 266.
- Petry, Mr., French Consul-General, iii. 192, 194; v. 441; vi. 223. Account of quarrel between the Lees and Deane; proof of William Lee's disclosing signing of Treaty; letter to; Lee's challenge to, i. 104-106.
- Pettrich, Mr., the sculptor; his collection of casts of the Elgin marbles, ix. 468.
- Peyton, Bailey, of Tennessee, in the House of Representatives, ix. 77, 87, 88, 129, 131, 202, 282, 300, 327, 343; xii. 44.
- Pfeffel, Mr., the Bavarian Minister, iii. 438, 497.
- Pfuhl, General, ii. 72.
- Phædo, the, iv. 129.
- Phæton, the frigate, brings C. R. Vaughan, the British Minister, to Annapolis, vii. 46.
- Pharsalia, Rowe's translation of Lucan's, i. 174.
- Phelps, Abner, Dr., viii. 363, 366, 367, 416. Deputed with Mr. Odiorne by the Anti-Masons to offer Presidential nomination to the writer, 403.
- Phi Beta Kappa Society of Harvard University, meetings of; discussions on repealing laws and charters; changing mode of election to, viii. 382-386, 389-392, 394-399, 406, 409.
- Philadelphia, at, iv. 131; vi. 419; vii. 50, 126, 153, 329, 332; viii. 77, 425, 501; x. 360, 541. Museum at, vii. 50. Fraudulent practices at the Custom-House; removal of officers, 93, 96, 316. Troubles at the Post-Office, viii. 8, 9, 12. (See *Bache, R.; McLean.*) Memorial from Banks of, ix. 611. Visit to, 238. Memorial to Congress in favor of the Texans, 282.
- Philadelphia Anti-Slavery Society, ix. 301. Return thanks to the author for his efforts to oppose slavery in Congress, 301.
- Philanthropists, British, iii. 399, 400.
- Philaretus, the Archimandrite, ii. 318, 484.
- Philippon, Mr., a friend of General La Fayette, vii. 50.
- Phillips, George L., x. 108.
- Phillips, Isaac, Captain, case of, vi. 529; vii. 14.
- Phillips, John, i. 249.
- Phillips, Jonathan, x. 42. Conversation with, and others, on abolitionism and slavery, 39. Opposed to a national bank, 40.
- Phillips, Lieutenant, vii. 178, 203.
- Phillips, Sir Richard, editor of the Monthly Magazine, iii. 544, 545, 562. Erroneous views of the English regarding Americans, 545.
- Phillips, S. C., of Massachusetts, in the House of Representatives, viii. 394, 395; ix. 206, 308, 369; x. 27; xii. 275.

- Speech on Deposit Bank postponement, ix. 382. On the Treasury Note bill, 392, 394. Timidity of, 503.
- Phillips, Wendell, viii. 406.
- Phillips, William, Lieutenant-Governor, iv. 6.
- Philoclean Society of Rutgers College, New Brunswick, New Jersey, viii. 302.
- Philodemic Society of Georgetown College, entertainment by, xii. 67.
- Philosophical and Literary Repository, articles of General Armstrong published in, v. 432.
- Phoenix, J. P., of New York, in the House of Representatives, xii. 139.
- Phrenological Societies, vii. 257.
- Physick, Dr., vii. 48, 375; ix. 244.
- Pichegru, General, commander of French troops in Holland, i. 30. Enters Amsterdam, 60. Rapid rise of, 68. Comparison between, and General Sauviac, 77-93, 98.
- Pichon, L. A., Chargé d'Affaires of the French Republic, on the cession of Louisiana, 272, 284.
- Pickens, Francis W., of South Carolina, v. 189. In the House of Representatives, ix. 202, 211, 325, 381, 398, 399, 405, 406, 421, 522, 548; x. 17, 64, 104, 144, 160, 172, 215, 217, 247, 308, 325, 328, 382, 410, 427, 493, 499, 506, 517, 524, 528; xi. 173, 184, 204. Conversation with, x. 313.
- Pickering, Jacob S., i. 298, 300.
- Pickering, John, Judge, impeachment of, i. 283-311.
- Pickering, John, viii. 408; x. 467.
- Pickering, Timothy, of Massachusetts, i. 132, 142, 522-525; iv. 264; ix. 263. As candidate for United States Senate, i. 258, 275, 287. Senator; his conduct and views on the Louisiana Revenue bill, 288, 289. Want of harmony with the author 288-29. On impeachment of Judge Pickering, 303, 304. Memorial from Boston, 400. Debate of Defence bill, 481. Letter to Governor James Sullivan on danger of war, 522. His reply to the Cunningham pamphlet, vi. 346. Attack on the writer in the Senate, vii. 104.
- Pickett, James C., Chargé d'Affaires at Lima, xi. 367.
- Pickman, B., i. 254, 258.
- Pickman, Benjamin T., ix. 163. (See *Harvard University*.)
- Piedmont, French establish government at, i. 225.
- Pierce, Franklin, of New Hampshire, in the House of Representatives, ix. 103.
- Pierce, John, Rev., of Brookline, Massachusetts, vii. 146; ix. 164; x. 11, 271. Secretary to the Board of Overseers of *Harvard University*, viii. 180. President of the Norfolk County Temperance Society, xi. 254.
- Pierpont, Mr., i. 45.
- Pierpont, John, Rev., hymn by, viii. 238, 369, 370, 398. Ode by, xi. 252. Address, 255.
- Pilgrim, the, viii. 538.
- Pillet, René, plundered by the French, i. 170.
- Pinckney, Charles Cotesworth, i. 191; iv. 365. His plan of the Constitution communicated to the Convention of 1787, viii. 224. (See *Sparks*, 7.)
- Pinckney, C. C., John Marshall, and Elbridge Gerry, Messrs., instructions to, in 1797, on the right of selling prizes in American ports, vi. 159, 161.
- Pinckney, Henry Laurens, in the House of Representatives, ix. 49, 77, 97, 107, 109, 2, 283.
- Pinckney, Thomas, American Minister to Great Britain, i. 47, 48, 114, 516; iii. 215. In Spain, i. 121, 140, 141, 145, 161, 167. Correspondence with the Spanish Government, 280.
- Pindall, James, of Virginia, in the House of Representatives, v. 16.

- Pindar's Pythics, ix. 349.
- Pinkerton's Geography, ii. 6.
- Pinkney, Charles, Secretary of Legation at St. Petersburg, bearer of the Convention, vi. 90, 101; vii. 178, 481.
- Pinkney, William, of Maryland, memorial of the Baltimore merchants written by, i. 391. Minister to Great Britain, ii. 106. Mission to Naples unsuccessful; expenses of, iv. 72, 347, 411; vi. 365. Counsel for the Baltimore pirates; urges the appointment of Bland, iv. 319, 372, 373, 413, 416. Consulted on the United States Bank business, 344; v. 175. Senator, iv. 506, 510, 511; viii. 296. Consulted on Spanish claims, v. 362.
- Pinkney, William, Collector of Customs at Thompson's Island; at Key West; difficulties with Mexican privateers; correspondence with Admiral La Borde concerning, vii. 203, 418, 519, 522, 523. (See *La Borde*; *Privateers*.)
- Pins, duty on, x. 214, 405.
- Pipkin, Colonel, vii. 274.
- Piracies and privateers, iv. 164, 299, 389, 393, 520; v. 56, 80, 171, 381; vi. 64, 84-86, 148, 160, 380-386, 460. Of Porto Rico, 9, 10; of the Barbary States; of Cuba, 109, 404, 433, 445, 453, 520, 521. Slave-Trade Act, iv. 298, 475; viii. 509. On the Convention of October, 1818, iv. 315, 316. Punishment of, x. 134. (See *Privateers*.)
- Piracy Act, iv. 298, 389.
- Piracy bill, vi. 459, 487, 491.
- Pirates in Amelia Island, Florida; Mexico, iv. 42. On execution of, at Baltimore; efforts for release of; fourteen reprieved, v. 20, 55, 63-66, 138, 145-150, 155. Right of pursuing, on foreign territory, authority and precedents on, vi. 479. (See *Piracies*; *Privateers*.)
- Piratical vessels, v. 395. (See *Privateers*.)
- Pisa, Aide-de-Camp of General Pepe, saved from execution by J. J. Appleton, of the Legation at Madrid, vi. 443.
- Pitcher, Nathaniel, of New York, in the House of Representatives, refuses to advocate appointment of Van Rensselaer, §. 482. Lieutenant-Governor, letter of, implicating the conduct of Hyde and Colquhoun, vii. 530.
- Pitkin, Timothy, of Connecticut, in the House of Representatives, iv. 81. His work on Statistics, v. 134. History of the United States, viii. 216, 382.
- Pitt, Loudon King, Chaplain, ii. 73.
- Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, visit at; reception; addresses, xi. 433-437. Manufacturers, v. 411.
- Pittsburg Statesman receives commission for printing the laws, vi. 459.
- Pittsburg Times publishes correspondence with J. Moorhead, ix. 69.
- Pittsfield, visit to, xi. 403.
- Pizarro, the Spanish Prime Minister, iii. 462. Propositions for treaty with Spain, made to G. W. Erving, iv. 26, 37, 106. States to Great Britain the subjects of dispute, 49; prevents settlement, 184. Manifesto against Jackson's invasion of Florida, xi. 360. (See *Onis*; *Erving, G. W.*; *Spain*.)
- Pizarro, Attaché of the mission of Onis; sent to Spain, iv. 78.
- Place, Francis, political influence of, iii. 541, 562.
- Plague in the Forest, the, fable of, ix. 26, 27.
- Plaisance, Duc de, iii. 152.
- Plaisance, Duchesse de, iii. 156.
- Planta, Mr., iii. 443.
- Plants and seeds, on naturalizing foreign, vii. 258, 267, 269. Correspondence relating to, 267-269, 293.
- Plaster laws, repeal of, by the Legislature of Nova Scotia, iv. 95.
- Plaster of Paris Proclamation, the, importance of, iv. 81.

- Plato, ii. 314, 323, 324; iv. 129.
- Platt, Jonas, Colonel, an officer of the Revolutionary War, vii. 314.
- Platt, Mr., his report of the origin of Commodore Porter's affair at Porto Rico, vi. 479.
- Platt, —, Postmaster at Utica, viii. 192.
- Plattsburg, taking of, iii. 52; v. 351.
- Plattsburg, the schooner, case of the pirates and murderers on board of, delivery of, according to the practice of the different nations, v. 358.
- Pleasanton, Stephen, iv. 10, 366, 369; vi. 461; vii. 395.
- Pleasants, James, of Virginia, in the House of Representatives, Commissioner for distribution of slave indemnities, vii. 309. Named as candidate for the Vice-Presidency, 374, 378, 382. (See *Commissioners*.)
- Pleasants, John H., co-editor of the Richmond Whig, viii. 441. Attachment against, for contempt of court, ix. 40.
- Pienti, Mr., Chargé d'Affaires from Sardinia, i. 59.
- Plessig, P. J., ii. 61. Deposition of, in case of Harris *vs.* Lewis, vi. 419.
- Plumer, William, of New Hampshire, Senator, i. 287, 305.
- Plumer, William, Junior, of New Hampshire, in the House of Representatives, iv. 529, 530; v. 205, 279, 469, 477, 478; vi. 264, 306, 442, 453, 473; vii. 262; viii. 531. Consulted on appointment of District Judge in New Hampshire, vi. 279. Conversation with, on politics, 279, 291, 342, 478; ix. 187. On the Edwards and Calhoun controversy, vi. 330, 351, 355. On the Slave-Trade Convention, 357. Correspondence with, viii. 78, 96, 114.
- Plutarch, Life of Lysurgus, ii. 5, 6. Life of Solon, 6. Translations by Count de Maistre, 296, 297; x. 123, 124. His criticism on the Philippics of Cicero, viii. 135.
- Plymouth, petition from, ix. 448.
- Plymouth County Association for the Improvement of Common Schools, meeting of, x. 32. Addresses; proposals for establishing a Normal School, 32, 33, 35.
- Plymouth District, meetings to nominate the author as Representative to Congress, viii. 239, 241, 242, 243, 245.
- Poems by the author, viii. 125, 339, 340, 345, 347, 354.
- Poindexter, George, of Mississippi, in the House of Representatives, viii. 464. Correspondence with Hoffman, 478. Senator, ix. 129. Conspiracy charging him with plot to assassinate President Jackson; exonerated by the Senate, 226. Fêted by the Philadelphia Whigs; speech, 229, 230. Commissioner on the New York Custom-House investigation, xi. 144. Report of, 145, 146, 158. Letters, 175.
- Poinsett, J. R., of South Carolina, ii. 55, 56, 59; iv. 143, 301, 388, 475. In the House of Representatives, v. 458, 480; vi. 335, 360, 366, 477, 479; vii. 223, 277; viii. 202. On the Greek question, vi. 227, 230. Proposed for the mission to Naples and Greece, 365. To replace N. Edwards, 394. Recommends Benton for the Mexican mission, 485, 522. On the Cuba piracies, 489. Nominated for the Mexican mission, 522. Nomination of, for the mission to Tacubaya, vii. 223, 224, 277; instructions to, 239, 240, 351, 353; his recall demanded, 312, 341; his letter of vindication, 328; dispatches from, 462; treaty concluded by, 473. Dispatches from, viii. 17. His recall demanded, 159. On South Carolina politics, 237. A candidate for the State Legislature, 237. Address to Indian chiefs; presentation of silver medals, ix. 415. Political enmity of, 462. Conversation with, x. 57, 112,

- 462, 464. Secretary of War, 113.
377. President of the National Institute for the Promotion of Science, xi. 173. Concludes two treaties with Mexico, 364. (See *Mexico*.)
- Poland, revolution in, viii. 308.
- Pole, Wellesley, iii. 508.
- Poletica, Pierre de, Secretary of Legation, ii. 406. Conversation with, on American affairs, 406; iv. 68, 231. Minister from Russia, 370, 371, 401, 403-407, 441, 491, 505, 519; v. 24, 103, 230, 354, 445, 485; vi. 190; viii. 170. Interviews with, iv. 370, 373, 376, 378-381, 394; v. 33, 34, 139, 156. Instructed to promote adjustment of the Spanish difficulties, iv. 371, 373, 379, 446, 458; v. 104, 140. Conduct of, approved by Russia, 140. Order of St. Anne conferred upon, by the Emperor, 360. Account of the quarrel between De Neuville and Canning, 460. Takes leave, 498.
- "Political Disquisitions," an attack upon the author, by W. B. Giles, vii. 104.
- Political meetings, x. 351, 352.
- Political opinions, viii. 161.
- Political prisoners in Spain, v. 102, 142.
- Politics, remarks on the American system of, v. 315.
- Polk, James K., of Tennessee, in the House of Representatives, vii. 527; viii. 455, 465, 467, 471, 472, 505, 528; ix. 44, 46, 77-83, 102, 108, 145, 387; xii. 167. On the Deposit question of the Bank of the United States, ix. 51, 53, 55, 59, 61, 64, 111. His qualities as an orator, 64. Speaker of the House, 270, 277; re-elected, 366, 453, 543; x. 4. Nominated for the Presidency, xii. 38; elected, 102, 103. Inauguration, 178. Views on the occupation of Oregon, 218, 239.
- Pollock, James, of Pennsylvania, in the House of Representatives, xii. 15, 43.
- Polotsk taken by storm, ii. 416.
- Pomerania, Swedish, occupation of, by French troops, ii. 341. Expedition to, 379.
- Ponsonby, Mr., opposition leader in the House of Commons, iii. 483, 484.
- Pontois, Mr., French Minister, entertains the Prince de Joinville, ix. 542.
- Poole, Samuel G., convicted of piracy, and pardoned, v. 146. Letter from the sister of, 148. Religious sentiments of, 148, 149.
- Pooley, Samuel, mathematical instrument-maker, vi. 537.
- Poor, Moses, viii. 433.
- Pope, Alexander, his Messiah, v. 219; viii. 341. Quoted, v. 220. Ode of, vi. 78. Rape of the Lock, viii. 348. (See *Horace*.) First Psalm, 362.
- Pope, John, of Kentucky, Senator, ii. 519; v. 291. Electioneering for McKee, iv. 228. Letter of, 472. The rival of H. Clay, v. 121, 304. His part in the Kentucky Court of Inquisition, vii. 476. In the House of Representatives, x. 11, 89, 221, 310, 407, 523, 540; xi. 147, 168, 178, 207.
- Pope, N., District Judge of Illinois, v. 88.
- Pope, Patrick H., of Kentucky, in the House of Representatives, ix. 85, 145, 202, 400. Speech advocating Bank of the United States, 403. Supports election of Prentiss and Word, 485.
- Popular suffrages, viii. 233. Tumults, 237. Prejudices, ix. 233.
- Porcelain, collection of ancient, in Dresden, i. 235, 236.
- Port au Prince, appointment of Consul at, vii. 441.
- Port de Drake, v. 185.
- Porte, Sublime, v. 355. Steps for negotiating commercial treaty with, 198.
- Porter, Alexander, of Louisiana, Senator, ix. 291; xi. 500.
- Porter, David, Navy Commissioner, iii. 182. Commodore, iv. 185. Correspondence with Sir Edward Owen,

- vi. 317, 322. Instructed as to the Cuba piracies, 434. Lands at Porto Rico, 445, 453, 479. Recall of, 455. Court of Enquiry concerning, 529-547; appointment of officers for, 529, 530; proceedings of, 541, 543; vii. 5, 17-40, 78, 87, 93; pamphlet on, 17, 22, 24. Obtains furlough; purposes to enter the Mexican service, 115. His project of an invasion of Cuba; persuades officers to accompany him, 115. At Key West; annoys Spanish commerce; threatened with an attack by the Spanish Commodore, 227, 229, 269, 289. Violations of neutrality by, 289. Measures taken to restrain, 290. Consul at Algiers, viii. 206. Minister Resident at Constantinople, xi. 111. (See *Cabinet*; *Salmon*.)
- Porter, Dr., of Roxbury, Massachusetts, viii. 369.
- Porter, Peter B., General, vi. 340, 512, 531; vii. 474, 544, 547; viii. 4; xi. 393, 395, 396. Commissioner under the Treaty of Ghent, iv. 132; v. 456-464; vii. 66, 157, 160, 170; viii. 36. Secretary of War, 10, 11, 38, 41, 43, 67, 84; resigns, 104, 107. Suit against the Government, 205, 264. (See *Barclay*; *Vaughn*.)
- Portfolio, Dennie's, memoir of the author in, vi. 14.
- Portland Argus, the, vi. 61.
- Porto Cabello, vi. 9, 85.
- Porto Rico, vii. 88. Privateers fitted out at, vi. 9, 10, 85, 434. Expedition against, 81; broken up, 105. Blockade at, 85, 230. Governor of, 85. (See *Cuba*.)
- Ports and harbors, fortifying of, i. 417, 474.
- Ports of the British Colonies and of the United States opened to each other, vi. 52. Intimations of closing, 104. Restrictions on importations into, 53, 55, 82. (See *British Colonies*; *Trade*.)
- Portsmouth, New Hampshire, memorial from, ix. 95.
- Portugal, v. 183, 194; vi. 402. At war with France, i. 89; ii. 300. Occupation of Montevideo, i. 553. Vessels from, excluded from Russian ports, ii. 143, 146, 156, 273. King of, in Brazil, iii. 468; letter of, iv. 82. Molested by pirates; differences with, v. 171, 176, 177, 181; at peace, vi. 99; viii. 319. Disposed to recognize the South American republics, 99. Independence of Brazil proclaimed, 282, 283. Slave-trade treaties with Great Britain, 354. Death of the Queen-mother; her character; the instigatress of Don Miguel's career, viii. 213. Civil war in, ix. 36. (See *South America*; *Onis*; *Spain*.)
- Portuguese, the, viii. 213. Subjects imprisoned in Paris, ii. 69.
- Portuguese Colonies, ii. 184.
- Portuguese Government, neutral in American War, ii. 445. Treaty for abolition of the slave-trade, iv. 150. Relations of, with Spain, 173. Policy of, towards the United States, 173. Memorial presented by, to the Congress at Aix-la-Chapelle, 316, 342. American affairs with, at Rio Janeiro, mismanaged, 340. (See *United States*.)
- Post, Rev. Mr., vii. 120, 156, 182. Chaplain of the House of Representatives, viii. 479.
- Postage, on reducing rates of, xi. 485, 489.
- Postliminary claim, v. 311.
- Postmaster-General, has the appointment of all the postmasters, v. 481. Removable at pleasure of the President, 481; motion of Crawford and Monroe relating to, 482.
- Post-Office Department, v. 315; x. 13. Flourishing condition of, vii. 54. (See *McLean*, *John*.)
- Posts, evacuation of, i. 155, 159.
- Potočki, Count Severin, ii. 96, 148.
- Potomac River, vii. 258. Whether

- common to Virginia and Maryland, i. 331. Bridge, ix. 103. Junction of, with the Shenandoah, 141.
- Potsdam, visit to, i. 221, 223, 239.
- Potter, Elisha R., of Rhode Island, in the House of Representatives, xii. 10, 11.
- Potter, W. W., of Pennsylvania, in the House of Representatives, ix. 465; x. 24.
- Pottinger and Spence, claim of, vii. 350.
- Potts, David, Jr., of Pennsylvania, in the House of Representatives, x. 60.
- Pound sterling, on rectifying the value of the, viii. 462.
- Poussin, Captain, surveys of, for canal across the Florida isthmus, vii. 353. On disturbances in France, viii. 359.
- Powell, Cuthbert, of Virginia, in the House of Representatives, x. 527.
- Powers, Gershom, of New York, in the House of Representatives, viii. 170; ix. 423.
- Powers, Hiram, the sculptor, bust of the author by, viii. 123; xii. 283, 284.
- Pozzo di Borgo, the Russian Minister at Paris, iv. 199.
- Pradt, Abbé de, and the St. Helena manuscript; and Talleyrand, honesty of, iii. 509.
- Prairie du Chien, Indian disturbances at, vii. 310.
- Pratt, Julius, present from, to the writer, xii. 15, 182.
- Pratt, Orson, agent of Joseph Smith, the Mormon, xii. 3, 5.
- Pratt, Zadock, of New York, in the House of Representatives, x. 14; xi. 479; xii. 28, 35, 39, 45, 46.
- Pravody, battle of, viii. 195.
- Prayer composed on Christmas night, xii. 228.
- Preaching, character of Presbyterian, viii. 214.
- Preble, William Pitt, Agent on the Northeastern Boundary Commission, vii. 460, 483, 504, 529; viii. 32, 81, 85, 147, 327, 338, 344. Minister to the Netherlands, 316. (See *Gallatin, A.*; *Boundaries.*)
- Precedence, questions of, v. 125, 127, 204. Of signature, the alternative employed in ratification of Treaty with Spain, 289. (See *Etiquette.*)
- Pre-emption bill, x. 297.
- Premiums awarded for designs for the Capitol, vii. 5, 7.
- Prentiss, Samuel, of Vermont, Senator, introduces an Anti-Duelling bill, ix. 500.
- Prentiss, Sergeant S., of Mississippi, in the House of Representatives, x. 17, 23, 80, 98, 536, 537. Election to the House contested, ix. 457, 463, 470-487; sworn in, 547. Speech against the Administration, x. 78, 79. (See *Word, H. J.*)
- Presents, x. 307.
- Presidency, the, vi. 42, 114, 129, 324; vii. 185; ix. 311, 312. (See *Administration*; *Presidential Election.*)
- President of the United States, iii. 517. Proclamation of November, 1811, ii. 215. Messages, 396, 505; iii. 202, 501. Authority of, to authorize capture, by American armed vessels, of vessels sailing under the American flag, iv. 152; to dismiss army officers, 410. On limiting the terms of service of, 451. Power of, to commute punishment, v. 21, 392, 485. Discussion of the President's amendment to the Constitution authorizing internal improvements, iv. 462-464. British Colonial trade, 504; vi. 96-98, 141; vii. 174, 175; question of retaliatory interdict referred to Congress, 174, 235, 237. Duty of, to superintend the character of his public officers, v. 151; censorial power over, 158. To watch over the execution of the laws, 400. His right of nomination to office, how limited, 486, 488. Power of appointment during recess of Congress, 493, 514; vi. 25; viii. 261; to deliver up

- fugitive slaves, vi. 74, 75. Proclamation of 24th of August, 1822, 82. Change in mode of electing, 264; viii. 496, 505; x. 468. Power of, to transfer funds, vi. 378. Power of, to restore an officer to the service, vii. 14. And Heads of Departments, whether obliged to testify upon subjects relating to the discharge of public duties, 35. Constitutional powers of, 100. Power of, to order Courts of Enquiry, 271; to dispose of public lands, 283. Engravings of the five, from Stuart's paintings, 460. Access to, by the people, 465. Authority of, over officers of the Treasury, viii. 7. Power of, to remove from office, 189, 191; ix. 224. Re-eligibility of the, 245. Ex-, as members of Congress, 239, 246. Messages of, ix. 43. Power over the Treasury, 60. Patronage of the, 127. Intercourse of, with Heads of Departments and Foreign Ministers, x. 45. Refuses aid to the Governor of Pennsylvania, 69. Not authorized to receive presents from foreign powers, 305. Issues warrant for conveying the *Amistad* negroes to Cuba, 405. Proclamation of, calling for an extra session of Congress, 448. Riotous demonstrations at house of, 541. (See *Constitution, the*; *Executive, the*.)
- President, the American frigate, ii. 281. Action with British sloop, 281.
- Presidential election, i. 265-271; v. 206; vi. 265, 295, 415, 470, 472, 474, 476, 484, 491, 501, 505, 518-548; vii. 281; ix. 311; x. 346, 351-357, 365; xii. 102-106, 110. Caucus nominations by Congress, vi. 191, 226, 228, 232-240, 242, 244, 247. Author's prospects in the, 357, 415, 470. Counting the electoral votes, xii. 165, 166.
- Presidential veto, law of the, viii. 230.
- Press, tyranny of the, iii. 545. Scheme for an American newspaper in England, 545, 546, 562. Free, in Spain, v. 101. Venality of the, vii. 262. Separation from Government patronage, xi. 107.
- Press warrants, iii. 389.
- Preston, J. A., of Maryland, in the House of Representatives, xi. 517.
- Preston, J. P., of Virginia, Governor, v. 281. Commissioner under the Creek Indian Treaty, 341; report of, 535.
- Preston, William C., of Virginia, Senator, ix. 67, 80; x. 300; xi. 173, 176, 249. Speech on the Sub-Treasury bill, 433. Approves suspension of specie payments, 433. Threatens to hang Northern Abolitionist, ix. 497. On nullification, 506. Conversation with, x. 59. Supporter of Clay, 116. As an orator, 396.
- Prevost, J. B., iv. 11, 159, 514; vi. 102, 111, 461; viii. 18. Agent to Chili, v. 157, 163, 164. Agent at the Columbia River, 247. Chargé d'Affaires at Peru, vi. 122, 462.
- Prevost, M., ii. 266.
- Prichard, Richard, Master of the brig *Gomer*, sued for bringing excess of passengers, vii. 280.
- Priestman, Rachel, Quaker preacher, xii. 42.
- Prigg, Edward, case of, x. 407; xi. 336. (See *Fugitive Slaves*.)
- Prince Eugene, viii. 198.
- Prince Henry of Prussia, project for making him King in America, vii. 55, 64.
- Prince, Marshal, letter of, soliciting pardon for the condemned pirate Rosewaine, v. 145; reply to, 147.
- Princess of Wales, iii. 438.
- Princeton, the war-steamer, xi. 515. Visited by members of Congress, 515. Bursting of the gun "Peacemaker" on board of, killing many persons, 523.
- Princeton College, v. 231. Petitions from, for exemption from duties, i. 317. Invitation to, vii. 145.
- Pringle, J. R., Collector of Customs at

- Charleston, South Carolina; solicits reappointment, vii. 390.
- Printers, State, and Printing, vi. 448, 459, 462, 473. (See *Public Printers*.)
- Prisoners, French, treatment of, ii. 529.
- Prisoners of war, repayment of advances for support of, how to be made, iii. 123. Sardinian and Neapolitan, 355, 357, 419, 443.
- Prisot, Chief-Justice, viii. 291.
- Private bills, x. 293, 294.
- Private interests, v. 238.
- Privateering, commissions for, iv. 134. (See *Privateers*.)
- Privateers, iv. 41, 60, 88, 162, 164; v. 171. French, i. 375; ii. 318. Danish, 106, 109. The General Armstrong at Fayal, iv. 135. On indemnities for captures by French, 161, 169, 252. (See *French Spoliations*.) Orders of French Government concerning, 393. South American, fit out and clear from Baltimore, 133, 298, 316, 377, 390; v. 19, 151, 171, 382; viii. 90; provisions for suppressing, iv. 134, 329, 456, 509, 523; viii. 3; enter New York, vii. 387; instructions to, 452. Memorial of Portugal to the Congress at Aix-la-Chapelle, iv. 316, 342. (See *Vessels; Piracy*.)
- Privateers, in the West Indies, vi. 9, 10, 85, 231, 337. The Colombian, the General Santander, captures United States vessels, 377. Mexican, sheltered in Key West; complaints of the Cuban Governor at; prizes taken; seized by Collector at Key West; protest against refitting in American ports, vii. 497, 504, 514, 522, 523. (See *Porto Rico; Cuba; General Santander; Piracies*.)
- Prizes, sale of, in United States ports, vi. 158; admission of foreign, into, 169. (See *Privateers*.)
- Proclamation of neutrality by Washington, ix. 455.
- Proclamations, vii. 238, 241, 291. (See *Parliament; Orders in Council*.)
- Profession of faith, ancient usage of, vii. 146.
- Proffit, George H., of Indiana, in the House of Representatives, x. 153, 162, 218, 222, 247, 277, 337, 518, 522, 536, 540, 542; xi. 56, 130, 141, 148, 193, 224, 226, 227, 233, 241, 243.
- "Progress of Poesy," ix. 349.
- Promissory notes, ix. 135.
- Propertius, translation of, xii. 103, 106.
- Protocols, vi. 123.
- Proverbs of Solomon, viii. 65.
- Providence, Rhode Island, ix. 29, 96. County of, memorial of, on bank deposits, ix. 128.
- Provinces, Spanish, of South America, ii. 339, 340. (See *South America*.)
- Provincial Convention, viii. 278. Instructions adopted by, 279.
- Provisional Assembly of Holland, i. 68, 82. System of finances pursued by, 86.
- Prussia, v. 216, 358. Mission to, i. 193-247. Tranquillity of, 111. Treaty with; expiration of old, 195; principles of, 198; renewal of, 199, 218; signed and sealed, 227. Order of the King excluding American vessels from ports of, ii. 147, 156, 157, 161. The preponderating power in Europe, 167. Queen of, 167. King of, iii. 264, 407, 462. Treaties with, vii. 25, 520, 530; viii. 95, 96. Crown Prince of, ix. 356. (See *Niederstetter*.)
- Prussians, the, iii. 177.
- Psalms xxxvii., remarks on, ii. 380; viii. 362, 383.
- Public buildings, vii. 200; x. 281. Circular letter of Commissioners on, to the Foreign Ministers, 260.
- Public debt, v. 264, 409; vii. 247, 249, 498; viii. 47, 273.
- Public deposits, viii. 532.
- Public grounds, expenditures on, xi. 225.
- Public lands, vii. 187, 188, 220, 225,

- 362; viii. 186, 229, 480, 503, 523;
ix. 260, 504; x. 16, 96, 297, 396,
424, 485; xi. 22, 171, 173, 181, 188,
228, 231, 242, 320. Movement in
the Massachusetts Legislature to lay
claim to, vii. 225. Surveys of, 263.
Power of the President to sell, 283.
Efforts of Western members to mon-
opolize, viii. 88; ix. 235, 259; xi.
19, 382. Distribution of proceeds, viii.
181. Act securing the right of pre-
emption to settlers; revised, ix. 149,
485. Salaries of registrars and re-
ceivers, 198. Sale system, xi. 29.
Public men, not to be defeated by hos-
tilities of the press, v. 361.
Public officers, removal of, for opposi-
tion to the Administration, vi. 546.
Public opinion, its great weight in Great
Britain, iii. 479. The queen of the
world, 480; v. 380; viii. 256.
Public printers, vii. 230. (See *Printers*.)
Public printing, vii. 413; ix. 201; x.
174, 175, 195. (See *Printing*;
House, etc.)
Public stocks, v. 409.
Public vessels of the Union, resolution
of Congress on the naming of, v.
122. On right of, to board merchant-
vessels of a foreign power, 388; de-
cision of Sir William Scott on, 388.
(See *Vessels*.)
Public worship, neglect of, ix. 543.
Importance of attendance on, xi. 340.
Publicola. (See *Adams, J. Q.*)
Pueyrredon, Supreme Director of the
United Provinces of South America,
iv. 14, 88. Letter of, to the Presi-
dent, 46, 47; on the appointment of
a deputy from La Plata to the United
States, 90, 117, 118.
Puritans, the, vi. 105.
Purves, Mr., British Vice-Consul in
Florida, decease of; question relating
to the administration of the estate of,
vii. 349, 351. (See *Vaughan*; *In-
erarity*, etc.)
Purviance, Mr., iv. 25, 159, 309; vi. 415.
Putnam, Daniel, vii. 53.
Putnam, George, Rev., colleague of Dr.
Porter, viii. 369; x. 33.
Putnam, Mr., vii. 136.
- Q.
- Quabeck, Viscount de, iv. 135, 136.
Chargé d'Affaires from the Nether-
lands, 135; v. 48.
Quaker meeting, v. 335. Missionaries,
xi. 183.
Quakers, vii. 122. Facilities granted
to, i. 110. Petition Congress, 336.
Deputation of, visit the President, vi.
375.
Quarles, James M., of Kentucky, in the
House of Representatives, vi. 461,
475, 476.
Quarles, W., notice of his appointment
as Greffier by the States-General, i.
81, 89, 92, 101, 123.
Quarterly Review, articles in, against
America, iii. 249; on the Barbary
States, 419.
Queen Dowager of Prussia, i. 208.
(See *Prussia*.)
Queen of England, iii. 251, 307, 318,
350. Her animosity to the Duchess
of Cumberland, 493, 494, 542.
Queen's drawing-rooms, iii. 321, 364,
414-418, 472, 473. (See *England*.)
Questions of property and trials for for-
feitures, difference between, v. 190.
Quetelet, Lanmeier, iii. 23, 24.
Quincy, Edmund, x. 43, 129; xi. 255;
xii. 275.
Quincy, John, public services of, i. 3.
Quincy, Josiah, i. 253, 314, 438, 537-
541; vi. 417; vii. 129, 322; viii.
405, 406, 546; x. 118, 142, 467; xi.
263. Secretary to the American
Academy of Arts and Sciences, v.
138. Mayor of Boston, vi. 532.
Fourth of July oration, vii. 129. Ex-
ecutor of the will of John Adams,
130. President of Harvard Univer-
sity, viii. 97, 180; has trouble with

- the students; conversation and proceedings relating to, ix. 157, 160, 161, 171, 173, 177, 309. Delivers oration at the Boston Centennial, viii. 238. Resigns office of President of Harvard, xii. 205. (See *Harvard University*.)
- Quincy, Josiah, Jr., Colonel, ix. 17; xi. 404. Mayor of Boston, xii. 272.
- Quincy, at, i. 313, 373; iv. 5, 129; vi. 175, 415; vii. 129, 316; viii. 154, 230, 240; ix. 3, 156, 239-260, 303-311, 356-363; x. 32, 118-142, 344, 358, 469; xi. 24, 250, 376; xii. 71, 200, 271, 281. Burial-ground in, vi. 417. Bequests of John Adams to the town of, vii. 130, 135. The writer's family estate in, 130. Stone-quarry and railway in, visit to, 322. Town meetings, viii. 363. Fourth of July celebration, 375.
- Quincy Lyceum, lecture to, x. 138, 141.
- Quincy Patriot, ix. 361.
- Quinsey, Daniel, vii. 132.
- Quinsey, Edmund, vii. 132.
- Quinsey, Joanna, vii. 132.
- Quintuple Treaty, xi. 175, 342. Protest against, by L. Cass, 175, 243. Course of the President concerning; advocates ratification of, 344-348, 356. (See *Webster, D.*)
- Quiroga, revolt of, v. 187.
- Quirpon Islands, vi. 161. (See *Fishes*.)
- Quotations, xi. 5-13.
- R.**
- Rabun, William, Governor of Georgia, v. 186. Message of, concerning negroes stolen by Creek Indians, iv. 443. (See *Georgia*.)
- Radcliff, Mr., xi. 83. On the practicability of a railway across the Isthmus of Panama, viii. 421. Petitions for a ship-canal, ix. 471, 479, 500. Confidential agent; claims recognition of the Isthmus as a State, xi. 63-103.
- Radcliffe, William, Consul at Lima, proposed for Navy Agent, vii. 389.
- Radical reformers, iii. 539.
- Radicals, vi. 119.
- Radziwill, Princess, i. 209.
- Ragsdale, x. 27.
- Raguet, Condy, viii. 525. Chargé d'Affaires at Rio Janeiro, vi. 285, 328, 520. Letters of, 308, 311, 319, 328. Instructions to, 530. Quarrels with the Government, vii. 270, 272, 276, 288; viii. 224. Offer of the British Minister to interpose, vii. 289. His rashness and want of judgment unfit him for public service, 401.
- Rahman, Abdel, a Moor enslaved at Natchez, Mississippi, emancipated and sent home, vii. 541. (See *Slaves*.)
- Railroad iron, duty on, x. 214.
- Railway constructed under the auspices of T. H. Perkins, at Quincy, Massachusetts, vii. 322.
- Railway accident, ix. 30, 31.
- Railway travelling, viii. 541.
- Railways, ix. 143.
- Raimbert, Mr., ii. 78, 258, 332, 333, 392, 406.
- Ramadani, Mr., Turkish Chargé d'Affaires, iii. 235, 261.
- Ramenu, islands of, iv. 236.
- Ramel, i. 116, 117.
- Ramsay, Alexander, of Pennsylvania, in the House of Representatives, xii. 20.
- Ramsey, William S., in the House of Representatives, x. 192, 247, 304. His death, 374.
- Randall, Aquila, vii. 337.
- Randall, Josiah, viii. 68.
- Randall, T., Colonel, vi. 161, 278; vii. 39, 188, 222. At the Havanna, vi. 404, 433, 435. On the piracies, 458. District Judge in Florida, vii. 247, 305. Counsel for Dr. Todson, 190, 209; warns writer against menaces of, 190, 192, 211. Secret agent to Cuba, viii. 20.
- Randolph, —, involved in accounts of Purser Timberlake, viii. 197.

- Randolph, Captain, vii. 156.
- Randolph, Dr., Acting Secretary of War, viii. 372.
- Randolph, Edmund, i. 31, 34, 36. Resignation as Secretary of State, 132, 139, 142. Attorney-General, vii. 278; viii. 216. The nineteen resolutions proposed by, in the Convention of 1787, ix. 350.
- Randolph, John, iv. 28, 478; v. 4, 36; vi. 297; vii. 366, 377, 417, 431; ix. 91, 263. Representative manager in the impeachment of Judge Pickering, i. 301; in that of Judge Chase, 310, 318, 319, 322, 323, 347, 364. Action on the protest of Alexandria, 320, 331, 341. Mr. Giles's opinion of, 342, 343. His influence in the House of Representatives, 416. Discontent with the Administration, 416, 418, 419, 435, 464, 487. Case of John Smith, of Ohio, 483-486. Quarrel with General Wilkinson, 495, 496. Complaints against Reynolds, iv. 410. Speech on the Slave question, 532. Action of, on votes of Missouri at the Presidential election, v. 276, 277, 278. Attacks N. Edwards and the Committee of Investigation in a letter to the Richmond Enquirer, vi. 360. On the committee for grant to La Fayette, 445, 448. Disgraceful conduct of, in the Senate, vii. 433. Elected to the House of Representatives, 433. His speech on retrenchment, 472. His enmity towards the author, 472. His attack upon Rush, viii. 64. Russian mission, conduct on the, 328. Candidate for Congress, 328.
- Randolph, Joseph F., of New Jersey, in the House of Representatives, x. 85, 142, 147, 151, 189, 219, 486, 494, 516. Speech on the Treasury Notes bill, ix. 532. Presents protest of members against exclusion from voting, x. 159.
- Randolph, Lieutenant, of the Navy, assaults President Jackson, viii. 543.
- Randolph, Peyton, viii. 278, 280.
- Randolph, Thomas Jefferson, vii. 204. Correspondence with, 96.
- Randolph, Thomas Mann, Sr., vii. 227. Commissioner for Georgia and Florida boundary-line, 179, 409; recalled, 273. Proposed as Agent to the Creeks, 294. Letters of, relating to the Presidential election, 360; to the Georgia Boundary question, 428.
- Ranelagh, iii. 530.
- Rantoul, Robert, Jr., x. 33.
- Rapatel, Colonel, ii. 406, 410, 532, 596.
- Rapid, the, ii. 235; from Bordeaux, brings Mr. De Barros, bearer of the Florida Treaty with Spain, v. 267.
- Rapp, Mr., founder of a German settlement at New Harmony, Indiana, vii. 491.
- Rariden, James, of Indiana, in the House of Representatives, ix. 516, 524, 534; x. 214; xi. 427.
- Ratcliffe, Mr., Mayor of New York, iv. 4.
- Rathbun, George, of New York, in the House of Representatives, xi. 528; xii. 30, 44, 151, 153, 173. Quarrel with J. White, 16, 18, 23, 26, 27.
- Ravenga, Mr., vi. 220. Imprisonment of, 221.
- Ray, Joseph, Consul at Pernambuco, iv. 353.
- Ray, Richard, viii. 410.
- Raymond, Daniel, a writer on political economy, viii. 129; x. 317, 319.
- Raynal, Abbé, i. 36, 90.
- Rayner, Kenneth, of North Carolina, in the House of Representatives, x. 167, 301, 414, 480, 497; xi. 99, 240, 298; xii. 148, 153, 156.
- Rayneval, Mr., ii. 382, 387, 388; iii. 216, 234.
- Razumofsky, Count Alexis, Minister of Public Instruction in Russia, ii. 364.
- Razumofsky, Count Gregory, ii. 126.
- Read, Captain, of the *Hornet*, iv. 404, 409, 411, 419. Arrival of, 447. (See *Hornet*, the.)

- Read, George C., Commodore, commanding East India Squadron, reports dysentery raging, x. 177.
- Read, Thomas B., of Mississippi, Senator, death of, viii. 179.
- Reading, advantage of a system of, i. 171. Object of, viii. 235.
- Real, Del, Mr., iii. 352.
- Rebello, Silvestre, *Chargé d'Affaires* from Brazil, vi. 279, 282; vii. 243, 284, 387. Question of receiving, 281, 308, 311, 314, 317, 328, 341, 348, 355. Interviews with, 283, 317-320, 354, 475. Information on the state of slavery in Brazil, 354. Proposals for a treaty of alliance, 475, 480, 484. On the affair of the Spark, 276, 281. Urges the appointment of a Minister to Brazil, 281, 283. Complaints of, 354, 356, 357, 501. Exchanges ratifications of treaty, viii. 116. Mission to Colombia, 116.
- Receivers of public moneys, vii. 8.
- Reciprocate, criticism on the term, v. 520.
- Reciprocity Act, v. 124, 345, 346, 353, 541. Principle of the, established in the Declaration of Independence, 340, 345, 349, 353. (See *Convention; Commerce.*)
- Reciprocity, rule of, compulsory, vii. 242.
- Reciprocity Treaties, on repeal of, xi. 321.
- Recommendations, practice of giving indiscriminate, condemned, viii. 212.
- Rector, General, vi. 273. Charges against, 251.
- Red Jacket, the Seneca chief, viii. 98.
- Red River, the, iv. 107, 110; ix. 151.
- Reding, John H., of New Hampshire, in the House of Representatives, xii. 142.
- Reed, John, of Massachusetts, in the House of Representatives, vi. 474, 536; viii. 513, 522, 539; ix. 151, 195, 516, 522, 537; x. 27, 60, 80, 272, 433. Claim of, on the Government of Mexico, vi. 312. Conversation with, on the elections, 312, 315, 346; x. 77. Nominated for Lieutenant-Governor, xii. 274.
- Reed, P., Colonel, iv. 43.
- Reed, T. B., of Mississippi, in the Senate, speech of, vii. 208.
- Reed, William B., clerk to the Examining Committee of the United States Bank, viii. 502.
- Reese's Encyclopedia, v. 185.
- Reeves, John, his doctrines of inalienable allegiance, iii. 432, 485, 514.
- Regencies feeble governments, ii. 211.
- Regency, to whom assigned in case of the Prince Regent's demise, iii. 435.
- Regent, Prince, of England, ii. 211; iii. 205, 214, 234, 235, 342, 408, 468, 477-483, 507. Speech of, ii. 337. Declaration of, 402; translated into foreign gazettes; likely to create false impressions, 456, 457. Closes Parliament, iii. 250, 251. Illness of, 281, 434. Address of the city of London to, 346. Marriage of the Princess Charlotte of Wales, 350. Speech of, at House of Lords, 382, 383, 406. High words with the Lord Chancellor, 435. Opens Parliament; is stoned by the mob, 464, 465. Addresses to, 478, 493. Pardons Mary Ryan, 521, 527. Character of, 529, 530. Issues warrant for delivery of the Passamaquoddy Islands, iv. 90, 200. Letters of, 243, 405, 407, 431.
- Reggio, Duke of, in Pomerania, ii. 379.
- Registers of public officers, v. 152. Of debates in Congress, ix. 130, 235.
- Regnard, J. F., citations from, ii. 142; v. 59.
- Rehausen, Baron, i. 89; iii. 235, 507, 527.
- Reid, R. R., of Georgia, in the House of Representatives, v. 314. Resolutions on Missouri, offered by, 236.
- Reis Effendi, the, Ottoman Minister of Foreign Affairs, vi. 320. (See *Turkey.*)

- Rejon, Manuel C., Mexican Minister of Foreign Affairs, correspondence with J. C. Calhoun and Shannon, xii. 127.
- Relfe, James H., of Missouri, in the House of Representatives, xi. 485.
- Relief laws declared unconstitutional, vi. 57.
- Religion, indifference to, ix. 543.
- Remembrancer, the, viii. 382.
- Remissions of penalties, vii. 209. Of forfeitures, 264.
- Renault, Philip, bill for relief of heirs of, xi. 294, 323.
- Rencher, Abraham, of North Carolina, in the House of Representatives, ix. 103, 190.
- Renfuer, Mr., i. 227.
- Renovalés, a mischievous intriguer in Spanish affairs, iv. 392.
- Renshaw, Captain, vi. 84, 85; vii. 153.
- Repetitions to be avoided in history, viii. 132.
- Reprisals, issuing of, equivalent to war, vii. 60.
- Republican government, guards personal security of individuals, v. 358.
- Republics, members of, tenacious of rank and place, 482.
- Requiem by Grenville Mellen, ix. 184.
- Requisitions, oppressiveness of, i. 64. To send home American seamen, 476.
- Residence in England, a work by R. Rush, ix. 35.
- Resurrection, doctrine of the, xi. 165.
- Retaliatory ordinances of the King of France, v. 295. (See *Duties; France*.)
- Retirement from public office, reflections on, x. 450.
- Retrenchment, spirit of, prevails throughout the Union, v. 231. Resolutions of State Legislatures recommending measures of, in Congress, 231.
- Reuss, Prince, i. 231.
- Reval, American vessels at, ii. 191, 194, 608, 614. (See *Vessels; Russia*.)
- Revenue bill in Senate, x. 283-288, 300, 329-335. (See *House*, etc.)
- Revenue cutter, seizure of, at Key West, viii. 84.
- Revenue of the United States, deficit in, iv. 500; v. 175, 237, 315, 408, 452; vi. 431, 435; vii. 266. Means for raising, vi. 451. Variations in, vii. 82. Increase in receipts of, 480. Laws regulating, 498; ix. 261. Reduction of, viii. 444, 507. Frauds upon, 446, 463. (See *Treasury*.)
- "Review of the Character of Jesus," an anonymous pamphlet entitled, ix. 183, 186.
- Revolutionary Age, the time of great men, x. 117.
- Revolutionary officers, claims of, vii. 370.
- Revolutionary Pension Laws, vii. 53.
- Revolutionary pensioners, ix. 124, 264, 508. (See *Pensioners*.)
- Revolutionary pensions, viii. 475; widows, xii. 28, 34, 37. (See *House*, etc.)
- Revolutions, sources of, i. 111.
- Rewbell, M., i. 117, 118.
- Reynolds, Dr., viii. 37, 106. Ordered on service of South Sea Expedition, 45.
- Reynolds, J. B., of Tennessee, in the House of Representatives, vi. 461.
- Reynolds, J. N., lectures of, on the Symmes theory, vii. 168. Memorial to Congress for a voyage to the Southern Ocean, 168.
- Reynolds, John, of Illinois, in the House of Representatives, ix. 195, 201; x. 340, 382, 414, 541; xi. 161, 332. Governor of Illinois, x. 340.
- Rhea, John, of Tennessee, ex-member of the House, v. 263, 538; vii. 23; viii. 250, 404.
- Rhett, Robert Barnwell, of South Carolina, in the House of Representatives, ix. 386, 396, 398, 451, 468, 485, 529; x. 23, 144, 149, 151, 158, 160, 171, 283, 287, 315, 402, 497, 499, 506,

- 509, 538; xi. 43, 50, 56, 141, 194, 464, 483; xii. 11, 91, 139, 156, 231, 233.
- Rhind, Mr., negotiates treaty with the Sublime Porte; claim of, x. 63, 66.
- Rhine, the, the natural boundary of France, iii. 177.
- Rhode Island, address to the people of, by Dutee J. Pearce, ix. 33. Resolutions of the Legislature against the annexation of Texas, x. 22. State Government controversy; Constitution held under charter of Charles the Second; efforts of party to substitute Constitution by universal suffrage, xi. 152, 160; report, xii. 67. Flight of T. W. Dorr, xi. 160. Petition from Legislature for enquiry into the conduct of J. Tyler in the Dorrite insurrection, 514, 528. Protest against the interference of Congress, xii. 10. Memorial, 54, 137.
- Rhoon, Bentinck van, Comte, i. 73.
- Ribeiro, succeeds Rebello as Chargé d'Affaires from Brazil, viii. 116.
- Rice, duties on, exacted by British Government, xii. 44.
- Rice, George M., Rev., installation of, xii. 75.
- Rich, Benjamin, memorial remonstrating against the imprisonment of colored mariners, xi. 298.
- Richard, Commissioner in Holland, discourses of exploits of French army, i. 93; of peace and war, 94, 96. Opinion of Genest, 97. On outlawed members, 97. On music, 99, 117, 118.
- Richards, B. W., Mayor of Philadelphia, viii. 542; ix. 94.
- Richards, Joseph, ix. 361. (See *Duties; France.*)
- Richards, Rev. W., missionary to the Sandwich Islands; conversation with, on subject of a mission from the King of the Sandwich Islands, xi. 274. (See *Webster, D.*)
- Richards, —, vi. 8, 59.
- Richards, Mr., vii. 137.
- Richards, Mr., of Braintree, x. 357.
- Richardson, Joseph, of Massachusetts, in the House of Representatives, viii. 238; resigns, 239. Supports the author's nomination, 239, 242.
- Richelieu, Duc de, Governor of Odessa, iii. 274. On American trade to the Black Sea, ii. 265.
- Richmond, Virginia, memorial from, ix. 97. Petition for protective tariff, xi. 198.
- Richmond Enquirer, the, v. 56, 155; vi. 50, 61, 135. Attack upon General Jackson, iv. 109; v. 359. Influence of, upon the President, iv. 118. Dictatorial spirit of, 120. Organ of the Virginia faction, v. 359; vi. 160. On the diplomatic controversy, 49, 50, 58. Attacks on the author, vii. 104, 186, 189. On Jackson's quarrel with S. L. Southard, 259. Articles signed "Algernon Sidney," published in, viii. 223. Publishes address of the Baltimore Van Buren Convention, ix. 255.
- Richmond Junto, vi. 357. (See *Virginia.*)
- Richmond Whig, viii. 441, 506.
- Ridge, John, the Cherokee, vi. 272, 373; vii. 227. Originator of charges against J. Crowell, 427.
- Ridgely, Commodore, commander at Pensacola, viii. 97; xi. 300.
- Ridley, Sir M. W., iii. 231.
- Riedesel, General, i. 211.
- Riga, American vessels detained at, ii. 191, 194. (See *Russia; Vessels.*)
- Right of petition, ix. 374, 454, 463, 563; x. 22, 114, 211, 268, 527; xi. 61, 62, 68, 161, 455. (See *House, etc.*)
- Right of search, ii. 505; iii. 395; iv. 150-152, 336, 354; v. 183, 232, 387, 389, 448; xi. 141, 342. Vessels under convoy, subject to, iv. 151, 152. Refused by France and Russia, 350, 389. Discussions on, at Aix-la-Chapelle, 390; of the British proposal,

- v. 189, 190, 192, 193; vi. 13, 35-37, 86, 140. Of French vessels, v. 378, 381. Conceded by Convention, vi. 321, 350. Controversy with Great Britain on, xi. 41, 47, 50, 56. (See *Slave-Trade*; *Canning, S.*)
- Right of suffrage, bill for extending the, in Mississippi, vii. 255.
- Right of visitation at sea, xi. 333. (See *Right of Search.*)
- "Right Constitution of a Commonwealth," by Marchamont Nedham, ix. 228.
- Rights of Governments, a pamphlet by J. Bailey, viii. 379.
- Rights of man, ix. 251, 344. (See *Slavery*; *Democracy.*)
- Rights of nations not affected by declaration of war, iii. 88. Neutral and belligerent, 394, 395, 423.
- Rights stipulated by treaty not abrogated by war, v. 518.
- Rind, Mr., vii. 159.
- Ringgold, J. G., District Attorney for Middle Florida, viii. 72.
- Ringgold, Tench, v. 8, 223, 509; vii. 120, 155, 199, 294, 296, 302; viii. 22, 46, 82, 98, 320. Dismissed from the office of Marshal of the District of Columbia, 307, 317. Accused of misapplying the public funds; judgment of the Supreme Court in his favor, 318, 319.
- Rio de Janeiro, mission to, iv. 187, 339-344; unsettled state of, vi. 3, 11; re-established, vii. 278. Expense of living at, iv. 343. (See *South America.*)
- Rio del Norte, iv. 110; v. 67, 68.
- Riots, anti-slavery, ix. 252, 253. (See *Mobs.*)
- Ripley, Dr., ix. 11.
- Ripley, E. W., General, of Louisiana, vii. 55, 58. In the House of Representatives, ix. 284, 300. Opposes Executive Departments investigation, 327.
- Ripley, Nancy, petitioner to Congress, ix. 448.
- Rip-Rap contract, vii. 226.
- Rip-Raps, members of Military Committee sent to examine, vi. 119.
- Ritchie, Thomas, editor of the *Richmond Enquirer*, iv. 227; vi. 160, 349.
- Ritner, Joseph, of Pennsylvania, ix. 170. Candidate for Governor, 372. Governor; Presidential Elector, x. 387.
- Rivadavia, Mr., refused a passage in a United States ship, vii. 451.
- Rives, F. E., of Virginia, in the House of Representatives, x. 107, 225, 234, 237, 356; xii. 36. Appointed Commissioner on Ohio Boundary dispute; declines, ix. 227, 493.
- Rives, John C., Printer of the House, examined respecting falsification of House Document No. 185, x. 377.
- Rives, W. C., of Virginia, Senator, viii. 517.
- Road from Wheeling to the Mississippi sanctioned by act of Congress, v. 155.
- Roads, in Russia, ii. 54. Power of making, given by the Constitution, vii. 80, 259. Surveys and appropriations for, viii. 34, 230.
- Roan, Spencer, Chief Justice of Virginia, iv. 109, 227, 469; v. 359. His lucubrations against the Supreme Court of the United States, 364. The author of pieces signed Algernon Sydney, 364. The champion of Virginia, 365.
- Robb, John, Acting Secretary of War, viii. 548.
- Robbins, E. H., memorial to Congress, xi. 146.
- Robbins, Thomas, Rev., x. 32.
- Roberdeau, Colonel, vi. 14; vii. 54, 341, 407; viii. 91. Historical memoir upon the Engineer Corps by, vii. 53. On the organization of the militia, 360.
- Roberts, Jonathan, of Pennsylvania, Senator, v. 111-113; vi. 5; vii. 466; viii. 417. Collector at Philadelphia; removal of, xi. 274, 296, 323.

- Robertson, —, captain of the steam-boat *Constitution*, vii. 51.
- Robertson, A., iii. 541, 542, 548.
- Robertson, Bolling, viii. 20.
- Robertson, David F., his life endangered by a Southern mob, ix. 256.
- Robertson, George, of Kentucky, conversation with, on the politics of Kentucky, iv. 228-231. In the House of Representatives, vi. 473. Candidate for Governor of Arkansas, 273. Proposed for the mission to Colombia, vii. 530; viii. 18.
- Robertson, John, of Virginia, in the House of Representatives, ix. 212, 279, 285, 286, 385, 390, 398, 401, 520, 530; x. 105, 107. Speech on the Pre-emption bill, 17, 18.
- Robertson, T. B., of Louisiana, in the House of Representatives, iv. 28. Governor of Louisiana; makes an attack on the Treaty with Spain, v. 285.
- Robespierre, i. 30. Execution of, 45, 92.
- Robins, Asher, of Rhode Island, Senator, viii. 306. Urges appointment of Mr. Cranston as Navy Agent in Rhode Island, vii. 255. Plan of, for a university, x. 108, 112. (See *Smithsonian Bequest*.)
- Robinson, Sir Christopher, King's Advocate-General, iii. 525, 526.
- Robinson, E. W., letter of, to Asahel Clark, iv. 63.
- Robinson, Frederick J., President of the Board of Trade; British Commissioner; appointed one of the negotiators of a Commercial Convention, iii. 205, 209, 220, 238, 253, 306, 366; v. 472. (See *Convention; Commissioners*, etc.)
- Robinson, Jeremy, vii. 494, 524; viii. 274. At St. Jago de Chili; complaints against naval officers and J. B. Prevost, vi. 101. Aversion of, to the South American revolutionists, 111.
- Robinson, Judge, a prisoner in Mexico, released by Santa Anna, xi. 355.
- Robinson, Orville, of New York, in the House of Representatives, xii. 151.
- Robinson, William D., imprisoned, iv. 144, 221. Claim of; an agent of Devereux, 251, 503. Letter on the Columbia River project, v. 260.
- Robinson, —, a missionary to Greece, viii. 209.
- Robson, Elizabeth, the Quaker preacher, vii. 148, 467, 470.
- Rocafuerte, Mr., President of the republic of Ecuador, ix. 492.
- Rochambeau, Count de, claim of heirs of, for Revolutionary services, ix. 153.
- Rochefort, the French frigate, sails with Hyde de Neuville, v. 263.
- Rochester, visit to, xi. 397.
- Rochester, W. B., accompanies J. Sergeant to Tacubaya, vii. 160. Letter of, 348. Chargé d'Affaires to Guatemala, 399, 477; viii. 42, 52.
- Rockwell, Julius, of Massachusetts, in the House of Representatives, xii. 222.
- Rodde, Christian, American Consul at Riga, ii. 194, 613, 616, 623.
- Rodde, Diederich, of Reval, iv. 283; v. 319.
- Rodgers, John, Commodore, vii. 15, 501; viii. 354, 540. Navy Commissioner, iii. 182; iv. 136, 141, 144, 185; vi. 358, 545. At Malta, vi. 442, 500; vii. 32, 266. Instructions to, 48. Letters from, 65, 253, 284. Complaint against, for hailing a King's ship, 284. Arrival of, at Norfolk, 310. Negotiations with the Capitan Pasha, viii. 17. Commissioner for the construction of breakwater in Delaware Bay, 28, 57. On the administration of the Navy Department, 354. Charges of speculation against, 540.
- Rodney, Caesar A., of Delaware, v. 56, 518. Representative at the impeachment of Judge Chase, i. 352-359. Attorney-General, in trial of Bollman

- and Swartwout, 448, 484. Commissioner to South America, iv. 21, 46, 118, 119, 144, 156, 159. Candidate for Speaker of the House of Representatives, v. 437, 438. Senator, vi. 51, 54. Proposed for the mission to Buenos Ayres, 123, 128, 141. At the Havanna, vii. 228.
- Roer, Vicomte de, i. 118.
- Rogers, Captain, of the steamship Savannah, iv. 486.
- Rogers, Charles, of New York, in the House of Representatives, viii. 93; xi. 518.
- Rogers, Samuel, the poet, iii. 207, 387.
- Rogers, Thomas L., of Pennsylvania, in the House of Representatives, vi. 42, 43, 241, 242, 495. Solicits support for Calhoun's election, 279. Offers to support the author's Administration, 505, 509.
- Roman Catholics, in Europe, indifference to religion pervading, ii. 294. Report on the regulation of, in foreign States, iii. 515. Bishop of Charleston, vii. 92, 101. Influence of, in elections, xii. 24.
- Romans, the, viii. 124, 135.
- Romanzoff, Count, interviews with, ii. 48, 49, 58, 61, 65-68, 72, 74, 81-87, 96, 100, 101, 105, 106, 109, 126, 143, 148, 151, 154, 156, 159, 168, 178, 182, 185, 191, 205, 206, 208, 217, 241, 248, 254, 318, 327, 333, 335, 361, 364, 401, 412, 419, 424, 426, 434, 438, 443, 444, 447, 453, 473, 482, 488, 499, 502, 518, 523, 529, 532, 541, 545, 562, 568. On relations with the United States, 65, 68. On sequestration of American property by the Danish Government, 81, 100. Minister of Commerce, 85, 156. On commercial restrictions and colonial trade, 101, 106, 109. American vessels detained at Russian ports, 105, 143, 144, 154, 156, 168, 191, 206, 208, 241; note on, 160, 194, 195; delays orders, 216. Letter to Baron Campenhausen; reply, 168. Russian settlements in America; trade with the Indians, 151, 159, 178, 206. On taxing importations in American vessels from the Spanish colonies, 182, 185. Suggests premiums to American vessels, 207, 208. On commerce and regulations of, 208, 211. Negotiations for Treaty of Commerce, 271, 274, 279, 282, 289, 295. Opinion on religion in France, 291, 295; relations with France, 295; French Academy, 293, 306, 311; French privateers and American vessels, 318, 319. On measures of Emperor Napoleon; commerce; state of Europe, 336, 340. On the difficulties between Prince Dolgorouki and the French Minister at Naples, 349, 350. (See *Duel*; *Dolgorouki*; *Durand*.) Interviews with, on relations between the United States, England, and France; Orders in Council, 361, 364. Accompanies the Emperor to the frontier, 364, 389. On mediation with England, 401, 404. On sending dispatches to America, 412, 415. On the American war with England; communicates the Emperor's offer of mediation, 426, 434. Marshal Soltykoff, 438. On war in America, 439, 440. Indications of his decline in favor, 438, 443, 454. Opinion of, on Prince Regent's declaration and French influence, 457, 504, 572. On Napoleon, his influence on the affairs of Europe, 458, 461. Dissatisfied with course of affairs, 458, 478. On Russian mediation; commissioners; the invitation to Wilna; Denmark, 473, 482, 488, 490, 491, 499, 529, 530. Disapproves of the armistice and Congress at Prague, 496. Council of Administration, 496. Negotiations for mediation, 502, 510, 518, 523, 532, 541, 545. Honorary propositions, 504, 506, 514, 515. Management of diplomatic affairs, 513. Submits Count Lieven's dispatches to the Commissioners, 516, 518. Prepares

- to resign, 520. Interview with Mr. Gallatin on audiences to take leave, 540. On memoir transmitted to Emperor's headquarters by the British Government, 545. Emperor's instructions to, on renewing the mediation, 545. Lord Walpole's accounts, 545, 547. New powers, 546, 562, 563, 568. Declines to transmit official documents to Mr. Gallatin, 569, 570, 573. His determination to resign, 568, 570, 572, 578, 579. Maritime law, 591, 593. On events in France, 597, 599. Lord Walpole and Count Nesselrode, 599, 600. (See *Russia*; *Great Britain*; *Alexander I.*; *Adams, J. Q.*) Appropriates the presents received in public office to the service of the State, iii. 528. Correspondence on the Northwest Coast negotiations, vi. 157.
- Romeus and Juliet, tale of, the source of Shakspeare's tragedy, viii. 354.
- Romilly, Sir Samuel, iii. 536, 537.
- Rönne, Denmark, ii. 42.
- Roosevelt, James J., of New York, in the House of Representatives, x. 519, 524, 528; xi. 51-63, 145, 234, 242.
- Root, Erastus, of New York, xii. 24. Member of the State Legislature; Speaker of the House of Assembly; Lieutenant-Governor; Member of the Convention to alter the State Constitution, viii. 288. Conversation with, on State politics, 288. Commissioner to negotiate with the Green Bay Indians, 289. In the House of Representatives, 442, 461, 489-491, 493, 496, 519.
- Rope-walks in Boston, viii. 446.
- Rosamel, Captain, commander of the corvette Favorite, ix. 543.
- Roscio, Dr., article by, on influence of the Revolution in Spain on South American Independence, v. 115.
- Rose, G. H., British Envoy, i. 503, 511. His negotiation, viii. 121.
- Roseberry, Earl of, iii. 207.
- Rosen, Count, Governor at Stockholm, ii. 643.
- Rosenkrantz, Baron de, i. 209; iv. 196. Death of, vi. 514.
- Rosewaine, the convicted pirate, v. 145. Messenger dispatched to obtain the President's reprieve for, 145; referred to members of the Administration and rejected, 146, 147.
- Ross, General, vii. 336, 338.
- Ross, James, Captain, viii. 320.
- Ross, James, applies for office of United States Judge in Pennsylvania, viii. 351.
- Ross, John, Cherokee chief, visit of, vi. 373; x. 491. (See *Indians*.)
- Ross's resolutions in the Senate on the purchase of Louisiana; Livingston's regret that they had not passed, v. 444.
- Rossi, the sculptor, iii. 548.
- Rosslyn, Lord, iii. 208.
- Rostro, Puñon, Count, grant of land to, iv. 287; v. 85. (See *Spain*.)
- Rotation in office, v. 287; vi. 521.
- Rotch, Mr., proposes a new projectile to the American Government, iii. 446.
- Roth, Mr., French Chargé d'Affaires, v. 136, 153, 191, 273, 274, 280. On the seizure of the Apollon, 197, 230.
- Rous, Dr., iv. 53.
- Rouse's Point, vii. 144. Within the British boundary-line, v. 547.
- Rousseau, J. J., viii. 203. Odes of, 341, 362.
- Rousselin, —, Judge at Amelia Island, iv. 75.
- Roux de Rochelle, Minister of Charles Tenth, from France, viii. 158. Receives credentials from Louis Philippe; superseded, 256. His collection of paintings and antiques, 342.
- Rover, the, Captain McVicar, ii. 20.
- Rowan, John, of Kentucky, Senator, vi. 413, 514; vii. 378; viii. 55.
- Roxbury, Massachusetts, riotous demonstrations in, ix. 253.
- Royal Council of Commerce, opinion

- of, on admission of French vessels to Amelia Island and St. Mary's River, v. 291, 339.
- Rucker, Mr., i. 16.
- Rudolphe, M., a schoolmate at Passy, ii. 133.
- Ruggles, John, of Ohio, Senator, iv. 513; v. 67, 68. Jefferson's letter to, 523.
- Ruggles, Professor, x. 90.
- Ruggles, S. B., Canal Commissioner, New York, xi. 51.
- Ruiz, José (see *Montes*), x. 135.
- Rumford, Count, Benjamin Thompson, a member of the American Academy; his intended liberality to it, i. 136. Donation to it, viii. 429.
- Rumpff, —, Minister from the Hanseatic Cities, vii. 22, 348, 378. Audience of leave, viii. 26.
- Rumsey, Edward, of Kentucky, in the House of Representatives; his beautiful speech, x. 105.
- Rumsey, James, claim for the prior invention of steam navigation, xi. 136.
- Rush, Dr. Benjamin, conversation with, on foreign mission, i. 374. Secretary of Legation; bearer of dispatches, x. 317.
- Rush, R., iv. 4, 7–9, 11, 13, 93, 97; v. 131, 168, 254, 260, 395, 447; vi. 177, 428; viii. 15, 23, 42, 83, 542. Succeeds Mr. Adams as Minister to Great Britain, iv. 7, 10. Instructions to, 11–14, 203, 322, 407, 430 (see *Commissioner; Gallatin*). Proposals of, on impressment, 146. On state of public feeling in England, 310. Dispatches from, 312, 336. Interviews with Lord Castlereagh, 312, 334 (see *Dr. Thornton; McGregor*). Dispatches from, v. 18, 41, 59, 225; of the 3d January, 1820, 463, 519. Dispatches to, 129, 173, 232, 338. Prejudice against, 132. Dispatches from, vi. 52, 68, 70, 139, 142, 187, 188, 258, 484, 490, 498, 528, 531. Letter to, 93. Instructions to, 141, 143, 146, 148, 155, 159; on maritime, belligerent, and neutral laws, 164; concerning the Greek Envoy, 175; relative to the proposals of G. Canning, 179, 188, 192, 193, 196 (see *Cabinet; Canning, George*). On appointing a successor to, vi. 280, 309. Correspondence with G. Canning on admission of Consuls to British colonial ports, 295. Concludes Convention for suppression of the slave-trade, with S. Canning and Mr. Huskisson, 310. Proposed for the Vice-Presidency, 332. Printing of the documents relating to his negotiations, 466. Secretary of the Treasury, 515, 520, 544; vii. 38, 40, 58, 65, 75, 93, 109, 120, 123, 156, 170, 186, 187, 191, 228, 233, 247, 249, 267, 280, 302, 393, 394, 402, 427. Reports of, 82, 194, 203, 347. Advocates protection of home manufactures, 361, 377, 401, 402. His negotiations in England, 109. Death of his son, 170. Consulted with regard to raising a loan for the paying off of the six per cent. bonds, 173. Conversation with, on the Colonial trade interdiction, 239. Advocates immediate naturalization, 301; letter to C. J. Ingersoll on, 301. Letter to H. Clay on the subject of P. S. Markley's appointment, 380. Nominated for the Vice-Presidency, 398, 400. Reply to calls of committee on proposed reduction of duties, 402. Statement of, on reduction of officers in the Treasury Department, 432, 496. Mission to England, 403, 468. Statement of funds in the Treasury, 480. Conversation with, on the public receipts and the general appropriation, 498, 514. Conversations with, on the Post-Office frauds at Philadelphia, viii. 8, 9; on the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, 23, 26, 35, 44, 112; on the Spanish claims, 29, 31; on the new tariff, 60. His defence against at-

- tack of J. Randolph, 64. His annual reports on the finances, 77, 131. Resignation of, 104. Pamphlets and articles written by, 131 (see *Cabinet; Congress*). Employed to obtain a loan for the City Corporation and Chesapeake Canal Company, 131, 158. Removal of, to Pennsylvania, 222. Conversation with, 228. Articles on the revolution in Europe, 292; correspondence relating to, 292 (see *Adams, J. Q.*). Correspondence with, on Anti-Masonry, 364, 370. Letter to E. Ingersoll, 370; to the Anti-Masonic Convention, 379. Declines nomination of the Convention, 403. Involved in the United States Bank controversy, ix. 26, 35, 37, 38, 40, 48. Correspondence on, 35, 37, 40. "Residence in England," written by, 35. Instructions to, 78. Appointed Commissioner to appease the Ohio and Michigan boundary dispute, 223, 227; unsuccessful, 237. (See *Bank; Ohio*.) Recovers the Smithsonian bequest, x. 23, 44. Commended, 44. Blamed, 94.
- Russell, B., letter of Mr. Stedman to, i. 291; ix. 16. Publisher of the Boston Sentinel, 16.
- Russell, David, of New York, in the House of Representatives, x. 60, 222, 233.
- Russell, George, iii. 186.
- Russell, Jonathan, ii. 272, 289. Commissioner to Sweden, 583, 622, 634, 636, 643; iii. 5, 13, 14, 15, 23, 37, 48, 49, 54, 56, 63, 90, 91, 100, 113, 117, 119. Ascendency of Clay over, 121; iv. 74, 78, 99, 131; v. 17, 24, 452, 468, 496; vi. 176, 467, 508; vii. 490; viii. 111, 174; ix. 3. Personal relations with, v. 476, 477. On appointing to foreign missions, 477. His China diplomacies, 491, 504. Letters of, communicated to Congress, 515, 516, 518, 521, 522; published in the National Gazette, 526. Attack against the author, 496-535; vi. 8, 40, 44-49, 50-65; ix. 263. His letter denouncing the Ghent Commissioners and the altered duplicate, v. 496, 498, 499; remarks on, 534, 535, 537, 538, 541; the author's reports on, and remarks on to the President, 499-503, 507-509. Interview with; his false charges exposed, 504-507. Suspected of acting in concert with Clay and Floyd, 513. Prosecutes Seth Hunt, vi. 59. Cunningham correspondence, viii. 181. Pamphlet, 217.
- Russell, William, of Ohio, in the House of Representatives, xi. 8.
- Russell, Mr., agent of Georgia land claimants, i. 381, 389; appears before committee, 390.
- Russia, iii. 505; iv. 86, 91, 505. Mission of F. Dana to, i. 12. Empress of, 12. Terms of peace with Sweden, ii. 33. Peculiarities of, 50. Climate, 54. Excellent roads made by frost and snow, 54. Immense extent of, 54. Trade of, with China, 152; mode of negotiating with, 153. Trade with America, 195, 202. Rumors of war with France circulated for party purposes, 245, 254, 258, 295; preparations for war, 299; no war likely, 300; hostilities commenced, 382. Her acceptance of a Prussian province; a cession from Austria, 358. Friendly relations with England resumed, 401. Peace party stronger, 414. Exports of, contraband of England, 438. Mediation of, 402-404; accepted by United States, 471; rejected by England, 479; renewed, 502. Alliance between, and Austria, 494. Emperor of, iii. 47, 181, 193, 195, 205, 206, 264, 323, 418, 506. Grand Duchess Catherine of, 318. Commerce of, to be protected from the Barbary States, 418; concert measures with European Powers con-

- cerning, 418. Mission to, iv. 76, 78.
- Emperor of, instructions to his Ministers on the origin of the European Alliance, 379; his humility, 379; denies special alliance with Spain, 381; his memoir on Napoleon addressed to the Congress of Sovereigns, 384; proposed for umpire, 430; policy of, in affairs of Spain, 446, 447, 458. Emperor Alexander of, vi. 140, 151, 201; solicitude of, concerning troubles with Spain, v. 24; umpire between Great Britain and the United States, 139; his substitute for armed neutrality, 141; his decision on the Anglo-Russian slave-question, vi. 45; refuses to receive Ministers from South America, 179; moderation of, and friendly acts towards the United States, 209; habit of interference in foreign affairs, 215. General policy of, v. 139; founded upon the basis of the European Alliance, 140. Relations of, with Persia, 139, 141; with Turkey, 139, 141, 449; with Prussia, 140; with the Porte, 140, 141. Letter of the Emperor to the Sultan of Turkey, 141; article concerning Turkey, 141; the circumstances of the violation of the Ghent Treaty represented to, 161; refuses to agree to treaty for suppression of the slave-trade, 216; pacific policy of, 354; aversion of, to commercial treaties, 430; ill-humor with England, 430; hostilities against the Turks, 430. On advantages of commercial treaty with, 430. Commerce of, 430. Pretensions of, on the Northwest coast, 485. Sends out Minister for settlement of the Northwest Coast question, vi. 93. Troubles with Turkey, 99, 102. Principles of, relating to affairs of Spain and Portugal; exultation of, over success of the French army, 190. Correspondence with, on Spanish affairs, 199-221. Intervention of, between Spain and South American republics solicited, vii. 8-10, 15, 88. Treaty with Great Britain of June, 1801, viii. 67, 70. Empress Catherine, 67. War with Turkey, 69, 167; relations with, 161, 168, 169. Emperor Nicholas of, vii. 387; letter announcing birth of Grand Duke Constantine, 392, 398; as arbitrator on the Northeastern Boundary question, 515. Policy of European allies towards, viii. 167. War between Persia and, 168. Mission to the Emperor Alexander, favorable results of, 168. Historical review of wars between Turkey and, 198. Rumors of war with France, 258, 261. Condition of, 328. Relations with Great Britain; with Prussia, ix. 356.
- Russian army, levy of men for, ii. 392, 398. Separated, 393. Rumors of disaster to, 393. Junction of, 397. Victories gained by, 416, 418 (see *Moscow*; *Benningsten*; *Koulousoff*, etc.), 422. Fresh victory of, 424, 467. Repulse of, 470. Contradictory rumors concerning, 468, 473.
- Russian campaign of 1829, viii. 194.
- Russian dispatches, opened in England, iv. 441.
- Russian Government, urged to prevail on Spain to recognize South American independence, vi. 544. Instructions of, for regulating intercourse with foreign vessels in the Mediterranean, viii. 66, 70.
- Russian houses, windows of, ii. 177.
- Russian manifesto, i. 510.
- Russian Ukase, vi. 139, 151, 157, 169.
- Russians, their dislike of the French, ii. 69, 423. Character of; their religious self-denial, 452.
- Rust, General, superintendent of the National Armory at Harper's Ferry, ix. 141.
- Rüstammer, collection of arms at Dresden, i. 238.
- Rutgers, Mr., iv. 133.
- Ruth, the, an American vessel, captured

- at Buenos Ayres, vii. 451. Restoration of, demanded, 452.
- Rutledge, John, President of the old Congress, iv. 386.
- Ryall, D. B., of New Jersey, in the House of Representatives, x. 158, 299. His seat contested, 158. Sworn in, 237.
- Ryan. (See *Harold*.)
- Ryan, Mary, tried and sentenced on the day of her husband's execution, iii. 521.
- Ryegate, petition from, ix. 376.
- Ryk, Captain, commander of the Netherlands corvette Pallas, vii. 52.
- Ryland, William, chaplain of the Senate, v. 452.
- S.**
- Saabye, Mr., ii. 32, 35.
- Saardam, Dutch town noted for ship-building, i. 190, 191.
- Sabbath, question of legislating on, ix. 531. On keeping the, xi. 491, 502.
- Sabbath-Day Convention, xii. 110-114.
- Sabine, the, iii. 321; iv. 106, 176, 185; v. 67, 68.
- Sabloukoff, General, ii. 64.
- Sacken, Baron, viii. 256, 261.
- Sacy, Sylvestre de, viii. 198.
- "Sagittarius," supposed to be written by Judge Johnson, iv. 512, 513; v. 319.
- Saint Alexander Newsky, fête of, ii. 162. Monastery of, 162. Symbolical service at, 163.
- Saint-André, Durant, succeeds Petry as Consul-General from France, vi. 223.
- Saint John's day, vi. 29.
- Saint-Julien, Count, iii. 299, 322.
- Saint-Leu, Count de, trial of, to obtain his son, iii. 153, 154.
- Saint-Leu, Duc de. (See *Buonaparte, Louis*.)
- Saint-Leu, Duchesse de, iii. 153, 154.
- Saint Paul, vi. 78.
- Saints in Parliament, v. 216.
- Saints, the, iii. 557.
- Salaries of foreign Ambassadors, ii. 132.
- Salazar, Ignacio Maria, v. 43; vi. 28. Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary from the Republic of Colombia, 142, 146, 223, 224, 380, 398, 498; vii. 14, 50, 337. Presented to the President, 144. Publication of his speech to the President, 144, 145, 154. On alliance between Colombia and Peru, 218. On treaty of commerce proposed by, 219. On the Canning proposals, 221. Colombian loan, 221.
- Salem, v. 361. Visits to, vi. 418; vii. 141. Ceremonies in memory of John Adams and Thomas Jefferson, 141.
- Sall, Captain, of the Monticello, vi. 420.
- Salmon, Mr., Secretary of Legation to General Vivès, v. 288; vi. 347, 528, 542. Chargé d'Affaires from Spain, 360. Complains of General Jackson, 373, 377; of the Consul at Tangier, 481; of D. Porter's proceedings at Key West, vii. 289. (See *Vivès; Porter, D.*)
- Saltonstall, —, forms a settlement in the island of Cuba; solicits letters of introduction to the Governor, viii. 212.
- Saltonstall, Leverett, of Massachusetts, in the House of Representatives, x. 60, 62, 68, 162, 250, 270, 433, 500, 516, 534; xi. 179, 192.
- Salvage, v. 446.
- Sample, Samuel C., of Indiana, in the House of Representatives, xi. 512, 541; xii. 31, 144, 145.
- Sampson, Schuyler, Collector at Plymouth, Massachusetts, applies for re-appointment, x. 424.
- Samuels, Green V., of Virginia, in the House of Representatives, x. 260, 344.
- San Carlos, Duke of, Spanish Ambassador in England. (See *European Allies; Lord Castlereagh*, etc.)

- Sanchez, secret agent from the Havana, vi. 69.
- Sanders, Prince, iii. 370, 385; vii. 228.
- Sanderson, John, his Biography of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence, v. 212; on the plan of, 213.
- Sands, owner of a privateer, iv. 413. His deposition against Judge Bland, 413-417, 427. Discredited by the author and by the President, 415, 417. Indicted, 417.
- Sands, Joshua, of New York, complaints of, regarding title to lands at Navy Yard, Brooklyn, vii. 287, 307.
- Sands, Joshua R., Lieutenant, son of above, suspended for assault on Commodore Chauncey, vii. 305. Trial of; penalty remitted, 353, 354.
- San Fernando, Duke of, Minister of Foreign Affairs in Spain, v. 79. Letter of, to Mr. Forsyth on delay of ratification of the Treaty with Spain, iv. 448. Resigns, 106.
- Sanford, J. T., of Tennessee, in the House of Representatives, vi. 463; viii. 333.
- Sanford, Nathan, of New York, Senator, iv. 273, 517; v. 45, 306; vi. 187; vii. 370, 388, 389. Proposed as Minister to South America, v. 496. Relations of, with the Administration party, vii. 406.
- Sanford Law, the, vi. 21, 330, 333.
- Sangster, Thomas, assault on the writer, xii. 126, 132-134, 140, 166, 184-186.
- San José, a piratical privateer fitting out at Baltimore, v. 381.
- San Juan d'Ulúa, castle of, vii. 9. Capitulation of, 88.
- San Martin, the, privateer commissioned at Buenos Ayres, seized by the Admiralty Court, iv. 153.
- San Martin, General, expedition of, to Peru, v. 114; vi. 111.
- Sans Souci, palace of, description of, i. 222.
- Santa Anna, General, xi. 351, 367. Proclamation of, vii. 9. Defeated and reported to be shot, ix. 282. Coming to Washington, 333. Intrenched in Mexico, 420. Will not cede Texas, xi. 355. Proposals of compromise, 361. Overthrow of, xii. 168.
- Santa Cruz, President of Peru, ix. 355.
- Santa Martha, appointment of Consuls to, vii. 245.
- Santangelo Attelis, Marquis de, claim of, xi. 229.
- Santander, Vice-President of Colombia, vi. 220.
- Santa Rosa, island of, proposal to build fortifications on, viii. 20.
- Santissima Trinidad, the, case of the, vi. 385.
- Sappho, viii. 235.
- Sardinia, King of, stripped of his dominions, ii. 64. Desires interposition of Great Britain, iii. 355, 380. Dissatisfied, 420. (See *Barbary States*.)
- Sargent, Daniel, Jr., i. 39.
- Sargent, Henry, Colonel, the painter, vii. 51.
- Sargent, Nathan, newspaper reporter for the United States Gazette; call for his ejection from the House, xi. 495.
- Sarmiento, petitions for remission of judgment of the United States, iv. 286.
- Sarsfeld, Comte, i. 17.
- Saunders, Romulus M., of North Carolina, in the House of Representatives, x. 520; xi. 197, 199, 465, 489; xii. 17, 23, 26, 28, 44, 153, 158.
- Saurin, sermons of, ix. 7, 10. A French refugee, 10.
- Sauvé, Mr., i. 321.
- Sauviac, General, i. 77. Remarks on officers and leaders of the French Revolution, 78.
- Savage, C., solicits Consulship at Guayaquil, vi. 260, 284, 285.
- Savage, James, viii. 397; ix. 163.

- President of the Massachusetts Historical Society, xi. 375.
- Savage, John, Chief Justice of New York, candidate for Treasurership of the United States, vii. 468, 529, 535; viii. 25.
- Savannah, affair of the Nordberg at, v. 150-152, 170. (See *Clintock; Nordberg.*)
- Savannah, the steamship, the first steam vessel to cross the ocean, iv. 486.
- Sawyer, L., of North Carolina, in the House of Representatives, vi. 406. On appointment of John Branch, v. 494.
- Sawyer, William, statement of the publication of the Cunningham correspondence, viii. 181.
- Saxe-Coburg, Prince of, i. 231.
- Saxe-Coburg, Princess of, i. 231.
- Saxe-Weimar, Duke of, vii. 50, 51. Tour through the United States, 53; review, viii. 181.
- Saxony, Electorate of, boundary-mark of, i. 228, 232.
- Saxony, King of, a prisoner, ii. 544.
- Saxton, Sir Charles, iv. 468, 471.
- Sayles, Mr., x. 469. (See *Stone.*)
- Sayre, Stephen, i. 463.
- Scallan, James, Lieutenant, his quarrel with Franklin Dexter, iv. 408; discussions on, 409, 410, 412.
- Schenck, Robert C., of Ohio, viii. 462. In the House of Representatives, xi. 479, 504, 521; xii. 30, 43.
- Schenectady, visit and rejoicings at, xi. 402.
- Schenk, Count, ii. 62, 95, 97, 162, 228, 264, 341; iii. 326.
- Schimmelpenninck, Mr., i. 63; ii. 648, 649.
- Schladen, Baron de, ii. 48, 63, 72, 75, 161.
- Schlegel, Mr., his pamphlet, "Du Système Continental," ii. 459.
- Schley, William, of Georgia, in the House of Representatives, candidate for Governor, ix. 250. Demands delivery of citizens of Maine for slave-stealing, 386. (See *Dunlap.*)
- Schlosser, attack by Canadian troops at, ix. 465. Petition for military force, 507. (See *Caroline, the; McNab.*)
- Schmitz, Mr., Attaché to the Portuguese Legation, vi. 101.
- Scholten, Mr., i. 66. Quotes precedent for arrest of Pensionary, 73. On Dutch Navy, 74. On changing names of Governments, 74, 75.
- School of Oratory, founded by the author, vii. 138.
- Schoolcraft, Henry, the Indian Agent in Michigan Territory, vii. 39; viii. 37.
- Schools, St. Catherine's (see *Institutes; Jesuits' Examinations*). Of Engineers, ii. 372-374; carried on by foreign teachers, 373. At Lancaster, iii. 555.
- Schubart, Baron de, i. 68, 75, 76. Danish Minister at the Hague, 87, 89, 104, 112.
- Schubert, Mr., ii. 115, 220, 566.
- Schubert, Popular Astronomy of, x. 124.
- Schuler, J. J., Lieutenant, vii. 325.
- Schuvaloff, Count, ii. 359.
- Schuylkill Water Works, vi. 423.
- Schwabe, Mr., iii. 362.
- Schwartz, inventor of gunpowder, i. 238.
- Schwarzenberg, Prince, disaster at fête given by, to the Emperor and Empress of France, ii. 142.
- Scoble, John, an English abolitionist, lectures upon abolition, x. 129. Visit of; travels in the West Indies; describes the effects of emancipation; his views rose-colored, 129, 130.
- Scotch nobility, iii. 373.
- Scott, A., letter of, to Crawford, vi. 390.
- Scott, Alexander, vii. 54.
- Scott, Alexander, Jr., a suspended officer; claim of, for pay, disallowed, vii. 225.

- Scott, —, son of the above, solicits midshipman's warrant, vii. 248.
- Scott, John, of Missouri, in the House of Representatives, vi. 443, 456, 473, 475; vii. 186, 447. On public lands at the West, 194. On lead mines of Missouri, 194.
- Scott, Judge, of Arkansas, vii. 222.
- Scott, Walter, his novels, iii. 373.
- Scott, Sir William, Lord Stowell, i. 148, 150; iii. 434, 449. Decisions of, on capture of American vessels; in favor of Lord Cochrane; in the case of *Le Louis*, i. 399; iii. 525, 526, 543; v. 388, 449.
- Scott, W., General, v. 321, 496, 510, 511, 517; vi. 6, 11, 42; vii. 157, 175, 177; viii. 360; xi. 101, 270, 544, 545. His pamphlet on Jackson, iv. 323, 331; opinion on, 331. His correspondence with the President; Secretary of War, 331, 434. Candidate for Congress, vi. 21. On internal improvements, 22. Medal, 512. Controversy with Gaines, 537, 547, 548; vii. 23, 205, 391, 456. Pamphlets on, 251, 252, 451. Order sending back the decision of Court-martial disapproved, 384. The compiler of the Army Regulations, 449. Candidate for office of Major-General, 506, 541. Controversy on rank, viii. 10, 11, 74. Claims precedence of General Macomb; demands his arrest, 10, 11, 13, 19, 20, 33, 41, 74; correspondence on, 75, 84, 90, 95; remarks, 82, 85, 91, 92. Controversy with, ix. 81. Visits from, 231. Commander-in-Chief, xii. 130, 131. (See *Macomb*; *Gaines*; *Jones*.)
- Scott's Commentaries on the Bible, vii. 66, 97.
- Sealing speculations, v. 184.
- Seals, viii. 398.
- Seals-at-arms, iv. 233.
- Seaman's fund, i. 400.
- Seamen, impressment of, i. 160, 314, 386, 409, 449, 466, 491. American, at Campeachy, viii. 83. Bill for protection of, against their own sovereigns, i. 290. Impressed, forced to fight against their own country, ii. 506. Foreign, on excluding from the United States service, iii. 202, 206, 388, 395. British, enter foreign service, 284. Discharged from British navy, 285. High rate of wages of, in America, an inducement to, 397. American, destitute, discharged from British service, 284, 285; sent home by Consul, 425, 444; difficulties and restrictions offered by British Government, 476, 477. Deserting, delivery of, demanded by France, v. 177, 340, 346, 350, 529, 531; vi. 441; vii. 86. Shipping of foreign, prohibited in France, v. 533. Article of the French Convention on, vi. 19. Colored, sold by an American captain at the Havana, xi. 111; act of South Carolina on imprisonment of, correspondence relating to, 271, 298, 332, 338, 370.
- Sears, David, ix. 252.
- Seaton, W. W., vi. 50, 367, 368; viii. 539; ix. 224; x. 113. Deposition in the N. Edwards investigation, vi. 389. (See *Gales and Seaton*.) Mayor of Washington, x. 366, 416, 432. Presents petition of citizens respecting disorderly demonstrations following the bank veto, 541.
- Seaver, Ebenezer, viii. 402.
- Seaver, W. J., Consul at Santa Martha, vii. 245.
- Seawell, Henry, of North Carolina, arbitrator on the Slave-Indemnity Commission, vi. 269; vii. 309. (See *Commissioners*.)
- Secret journals of the old Congress, printing of, v. 174.
- Secretaries of Legation, salaries of, ii. 493. Presentation of, vi. 449, 450.
- Secretary of Foreign Affairs (see *Secretary of State*), conversation with, xi. 46.

- Secretary of the Navy, on abolishing the office of, iv. 133.
- Secretary of State, ix. 36, 219; x. 22, 421. Correspondence with the British Minister, 390. Interview with, xi. 50, 58, 111, 290.
- Secretary of the Treasury, i. 530; ix. 17, 261, 317, 367, 517; x. 45, 113, 337, 343, 391, 421, 473; xi. 290. Reports of, not to be submitted to the President, iv. 500. Laws concerning, 501. Message relating to the defalcation of Samuel Swartwout, Collector of Customs at New York, x. 58. Charges against, in the House, 74, 79. Correspondence with receivers of public moneys, 80. Annual reports of, 174, 371. Conversation with, 213. Report of, on State stock investments, 239, 256. Letter on revenue frauds, 251, 263. Interview with, 367. (See *Burke, T. N.; Smithsonian Fund.*)
- Secretary of War, on choice of, iv. 132, 136. Refusal of, to communicate documents to the House, xi. 168.
- Sedgwick, Theodore, correspondence with A. Hamilton on the disunion project of 1804, viii. 145. (See *Disunion Project; Hamilton.*)
- Sedgwick, Theodore, Jr., vi. 314. Reply to Pickens's article on the Amistad case, x. 403.
- Sedition Act. (See *Alien and Sedition Act.*)
- Sedition law, constitutionality of, questioned, vii. 398.
- Seebohn, Louis, solicits passports, i. 108.
- Seeds and plants, project of the author for naturalizing foreign, vii. 258, 267, 444. Of budded trees, 323. (See *Plants.*)
- Seely, Horatio S., petition of, ix. 468.
- Segur, M. de, disappearance and reappearance of, ii. 165.
- Seizures within foreign jurisdiction, v. 419, 420.
- Selden, Dudley, of New York, in the House of Representatives, ix. 53, 61, 74, 135, 152.
- Selectmen of Boston, complaint of, on conduct of Lieutenant Scallan, iv. 408, 409, 410.
- Self-examination, i. 276.
- Selkirk, Lord, iv. 29.
- Seminole War, open hostilities, iv. 28, 31, 42. Progress of, 87. The author draws up account of, 168. And Jackson's proceedings, agitation on; rallying-point of political parties, 197. Review of, 210, 213. (See *Florida; Jackson, A.*)
- Semple, Mr., imprisoned at fortress of Silberberg, iii. 207.
- Semple, Matthew, ix. 301.
- Senate, Massachusetts, i. 248, 251, 262.
- Senate, United States, i. 248. Action of, on nomination of the author as Minister to Lisbon, 195; his election to, 259. Debates in, 265, 551. On rules of, 268, 323, 345, 369, 370, 384, 386, 421, 435, 448, 450. Amendment to the Constitution on elections of President and Vice-President, 265, 273, 274, 275, 276. Bill for taking possession of Louisiana, 268, 270, 275, 277, 279, 281, 287, 290, 292, 294, 295 (see *Louisiana*); to introduce our revenue system into, 279, 280, 281, 283, 284. Resolutions by the author, 286, 289. Bill for declaring war against the Emperor of Morocco, 273. Impeachment of John Pickering, 283, 297, 310; plea of insanity, 298, 299, 300, 302, 304, 305, 307. Resolution on disqualification for acting in court of impeachment, 297. Bill for protection of foreign seamen, 290, 337, 360, 364; for indemnification of seamen impressed by the British, 386, 387, 391, 393, 414. Impeachment of S. Chase, 309, 364. (See *Chase.*) Mediterranean Fund, 311, 431, 435, 439, 458, 459, 464, 502. Georgetown Dam bill, 328, 331. Clearance of armed merchant-vessels,

330, 340, 346, 347. On appropriations for roads, etc., 335. Articles of war, revision of, 338, 349, 420. Preservation of peace in harbors, 368. Characteristics essential to, 371. Firmness of, 372. Yazoo lands petition, debates on, 381, 389, 392, 403, 406, 414, 418, 424; on trade with St. Domingo, 383, 413, 414, 458, 459. Qualification for President of, 385. Appropriation for purchase of the Floridas, 386; secret bill, 387, 392, 393, 405. Author's bill for preventing abuse of the privileges of foreign Ministers, 402, 407, 409, 410, 412, 416, 418. Empowered to punish for counterfeiting of current coins only, 416, 417. Charleston tonnage, 420, 422. Fee bill, 424, 433, 448, 451, 458. Hamet Caramalli bill, 425-432. Salary bill, 426, 427. Tripoli Treaty bill; debates in secret session, 430-436, 500. (See *Mediterranean Fund*; *Salt Bill*.) Potomac Bridge bill, 430, 433, 444, 447, 505. Salt, repeal of duty on, 435, 453, 458, 459, 464, 502. On presenting petitions, 437. Attempts to obliterate records of, 440. Slave bill, 444, 447. Clay, Henry, on additional circuit to the United States courts, 444, 446, 515; on suspending writ of habeas corpus, 445. Coast Survey, 446. On business in, 448, 450. Delaware and Schuylkill Canal bill, 452. Chesapeake and Delaware, 453, 462. Mississippi suffrage, 459, 490, 493, 500. Non-Importation Act, 466, 483, 487, 488, 489, 493, 514, 530. Special session of, 469. Committee on defence of ports and harbors, 476, 481. Gunboat bill, 477, 485. British aggressions, 477, 480, 484, 485. Embargo bill, 491, 492; signed by the President, 493; supplementary, 500, 502, 504; third, 517, 520, 530. Enquiry into conduct of John Smith of Ohio, 482, 500; report unfavorable, 496, 499; debate on, by Bayard, 500,

501, 526; the writer, 527, 528; Mr. Smith resumes his seat, 529. Penal laws, 504. Levying of war, 505, 507, 521. Army messages, 516, 517. On submitting the Florida Treaty to, v. 269, 271, 279; vote to ratify, passed, 284. Passes bills for the adjustment of Florida claims, and for occupation of Florida, 303. Adopts resolution for conditional admission of Missouri, 307. Resolution of, to send Minister to Rio de Janeiro, 312. Rejects nominations of army officers by the President, 486, 488. On the right of, to confirm military nominations, vi. 34, 35. Debates on mode of electing President, 264. On the Slave-Trade Convention, 314, 317; debates and proceedings on, 348, 350, 352, 428; on publication of, 352, 356, 361; opposition to the ratification, 322, 328-330, 336, 338. Members of, hostile to the Administration, 338. On rule of, forbidding publication of documents, 356. Special call of, 466, 467, 471, 476, 527. Resolutions of, on the piracies, 468; on nominations, 528. Refuses consent to ratification of the Slave-Trade Convention with Colombia, 528. Resolutions on Commercial Treaty with Colombia, 528; with the Creek Indians, 528. Election of Secretary of, vii. 75. Messages to, 76, 77, 95, 110, 220. Action of, on the Panama Mission; resolution of Mr. Branch declaring the author's appointment of Ministers to Panama unlawful, 96; message nominating Ministers to, laid on the table, 113, 114. Power of, on nominations to foreign missions, 96-100, 116, 117, 278. As a secret tribunal, 100. Committee of Foreign Relations, proceedings of, 103, 104, 107. Call of Tazewell for confidential papers, 103. Report against the mission, 104, 105, 106. Workings of the opposition, 116. Resolution of, requesting infor-

mation on the interposition of Russia in the Spanish question, 111. Rules of, on confidential communications with the Executive, 117, 207. On maintaining order, 433. Disorders of the, 207. Nominations sent to, 379. On amending rules of, 429. Calls for report of A. Ellicott, etc., on the Georgia and Florida boundary, 429. Bill for modifying processes in the courts, 455. Opposition majority in, 455. Papers relating to Indian affairs communicated to, 465. Action of, on the assault upon John Adams, 514. Consent of, to Treaty with Mexico, 527; with the Eel River Indians, 527. Call of, for army inspection returns, 527. Messages to, viii. 6, 8, 9, 10, 83. Passes the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal bill, 6. Appropriation for the Delaware River breakwater, 7. Advises ratification of Treaty with Mexico, 57. Decision on nominations, 91, 191. Calls for statement of expenses, etc., of the South Sea Expedition, 95. Rejects bill for South Sea Expedition, 106. Proceedings of, on the Brazilian Treaty; on the Panama instructions, 116. Debates on nominations, 179, 222, 321. Discussion on Jefferson's minute of the offer to S. Smith, 187, 199. Debate on Foote's resolution concerning public lands, 190; on attack of T. H. Benton and R. Y. Hayne, 191, 193. Action of, on nomination of I. Hill, 217, 222. On the Eaton affair, 222. Proceedings in, on the Turkish Treaty, 321, 328. Proviso, 329, 334. Censure against the President, 329. Character of the, 329. Bill for repeal of duties on tea, coffee, wines, etc., 445. On nomination of M. Van Buren to the British Mission, 461, 462, 464. The Apportionment bill, Webster's speech on, 483, 499; passes, 494. The Enforcing bill, Webster's speech on,

526. Clay's Tariff bill, 526. Messages, ix. 51, 57, 108. Debates, x. 441, 442. Speeches and debates on the Bank question, 57, 59, 60, 80, 83. Veto, 533, 537. British Colonial Trade question, 67. Report of the Committee of Finance, 87. Clay's resolutions of censure on the President, etc., 116. Protest of the President, 129, 130, 132. (See *Jackson, A.*; *Clay*; *Bank*, etc.) Bill on Ohio and Michigan boundary sent to the House, 197. Executive Patronage bill, ix. 218, 220, 226, 232, 235. On power of the Executive to appoint Ministers during a recess of the Senate, 234; report of T. Jefferson concerning, 261. On public lands, Foote's resolution, 235, 236; Webster's speeches, 236. On the bequest of James Smithson, 268, 270. Bill on Boundary Treaty with Mexico, 282; on the Spanish Convention, 292. Debates on the right of Congress to call the Michigan Convention, 342; on publication of works of J. Madison, 404. Slavery debates in, 465. Independent Treasury bill, 516. Rescinds the specie circular of 11th of July, 1836, 548. Debates on the Public Lands bill, x. 396, 402. Bankrupt bill, 320. Revenue bill, 325, 337. Florida volunteers, 337. Fiscal Corporation bill, xi. 4. Bill to prevent investment of public funds in State stocks referred to Committee of Finance, 4. Assembled, 32. Debates on Walter Forward's Board of Exchequer, 45. Tariff bill, 245. Message of the President in answer to call for correspondence on the Quintuple Treaty, 337. Debates on McDuffie's Anti-Tariff bill, 510. Passes resolutions on the death of the two Secretaries Upshur and Gilmer, 523. Sensible, the frigate, conveys the Chevalier de la Luzerne and Mr. Adams to America, i. 10; and Mr. Adams

- back to France, 10. Springs a leak; puts into Ferrol, Spain, 11. To Europe, ii. 4.
- Serapis, the, v. 109.
- Sergeant, John, of Pennsylvania, in the House of Representatives, v. 116, 202, 204, 267, 322, 355, 462; vi. 187; vii. 126, 154, 416, 531, 539; viii. 9, 79, 82, 97, 251, 425; ix. 363; x. 9, 148, 181, 284, 286, 319, 320, 321, 388, 489, 499, 515, 530, 532. His abilities and eloquence, v. 116. Political views of, 117. Refuses to oppose Findlay, 117. Proposed for the mission to Panama, vii. 54; accepts, 59, 160. Accompanies the author to New York, 126. Departure of, for Mexico, 183. Return of, 312. Elected Representative, 333. His speech on the reform movement, 419. Seneca Indian Conveyance bill, 234. Conversation with, on appointment of Postmaster at Philadelphia, 528. On proceedings of the Retrenchment Committee, 528. Conversation with, viii. 82. Argument of, on the injunction of the Cherokees against the State of Georgia, 343. Nominated for the Vice-Presidency; disappointed, 521, 524, 535. Speech on National Bank, ix. 385, 387, 389. Speech on admission of New Jersey members, x. 167. Speech in support of Bank bill, 520 (see *Wise, H. A.*). Moves substitute for Bank bill, 537. Speech, 538.
- Sergeant, Thomas, vi. 42. Postmaster at Philadelphia, vii. 509, 528, 531-534, 537. Removal of, viii. 8, 9, 12. (See *McLean*; *Ingham*.)
- Sermons, on the death of John Adams, vii. 129, 131, 134. By Massillon (see *Massillon*). Of the English Preacher, 374, 379, 388.
- Serna, Mr. de la, iv. 290. Chargé d'Affaires from Spain, 313, 468, 471.
- Serra Capriola, Duke de, ii. 75, 500.
- Serrurier, Mr., French Minister to the United States, ii. 260; iii. 194; viii. 256; ix. 207. Correspondence with J. Forsyth, 209, 219.
- Settlements, projected French, on the Tombigbee, iv. 19, 40. British, on the Northwest coast, iv. 24. American, destruction of, by the British, 25.
- Sevalla, Mr., Governor of the State of Mexico; in exile, viii. 237.
- Severance, Luther, of Maine, in the House of Representatives, xi. 513; xii. 159.
- Severin, Mr., his collection of coins, ii. 367, 368.
- Sevier, A. H., Delegate from the Arkansas Territory in the House of Representatives, vii. 516; viii. 533; ix. 195, 207, 296.
- Sewall, Dr., conversation with, on modes of warming rooms, viii. 429.
- Sewall, S. E., xi. 265.
- Seward, William H., of New York, viii. 412. Governor, x. 152; xi. 27, 28, 51. Correspondence with the Governor of Virginia, x. 456. Opposed to the Slavery party, 463. Visit to, xi. 399.
- Sewell, Charles, Rev., claims a devise in Germany, x. 465.
- Seybert's statistical tables, v. 134.
- Seymour, David L., of New York, in the House of Representatives, xi. 486; xii. 28, 37, 62.
- Seymour, Horatio, of Vermont, Senator, vi. 268, 269, 363, 467, 484; vii. 106, 540; viii. 91.
- Seymour, Thomas H., of Connecticut, in the House of Representatives, xi. 531.
- Shaddock, Anthony, prisoner of war, accusation of mutiny brought against, iii. 232.
- Shakspeare MSS., i. 133. Gallery of paintings, 165.
- Shakspeare, William, viii. 115, 156, 235.
- Shakspeare's tragedy of Romeo and Juliet, viii. 423; Othello and Desdemona, 423.
- Shaler, Charles, vii. 126.

mation on the interposition of Russia in the Spanish question, 111. Rules of, on confidential communications with the Executive, 117, 207. On maintaining order, 433. Disorders of the, 207. Nominations sent to, 379. On amending rules of, 429. Calls for report of A. Ellicott, etc., on the Georgia and Florida boundary, 429. Bill for modifying processes in the courts, 455. Opposition majority in, 455. Papers relating to Indian affairs communicated to, 465. Action of, on the assault upon John Adams, 514. Consent of, to Treaty with Mexico, 527; with the Eel River Indians, 527. Call of, for army inspection returns, 527. Messages to, viii. 6, 8, 9, 10, 83. Passes the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal bill, 6. Appropriation for the Delaware River breakwater, 7. Advises ratification of Treaty with Mexico, 57. Decision on nominations, 91, 191. Calls for statement of expenses, etc., of the South Sea Expedition, 95. Rejects bill for South Sea Expedition, 106. Proceedings of, on the Brazilian Treaty; on the Panama instructions, 116. Debates on nominations, 179, 222, 321. Discussion on Jefferson's minute of the offer to S. Smith, 187, 199. Debate on Foote's resolution concerning public lands, 190; on attack of T. H. Benton and R. Y. Hayne, 191, 193. Action of, on nomination of I. Hill, 217, 222. On the Eaton affair, 222. Proceedings in, on the Turkish Treaty, 321, 328. Proviso, 329, 334. Censure against the President, 329. Character of the, 329. Bill for repeal of duties on tea, coffee, wines, etc., 445. On nomination of M. Van Buren to the British Mission, 461, 462, 464. The Apportionment bill, Webster's speech on, 483, 499; passes, 494. The Enforcing bill, Webster's speech on,

526. Clay's Tariff bill, 526. Messages, ix. 51, 57, 108. Debates, x. 441, 442. Speeches and debates on the Bank question, 57, 59, 60, 80, 83. Veto, 533, 537. British Colonial Trade question, 67. Report of the Committee of Finance, 87. Clay's resolutions of censure on the President, etc., 116. Protest of the President, 129, 130, 132. (See *Jackson, A.*; *Clay*; *Bank*, etc.) Bill on Ohio and Michigan boundary sent to the House, 197. Executive Patronage bill, ix. 218, 220, 226, 232, 235. On power of the Executive to appoint Ministers during a recess of the Senate, 234; report of T. Jefferson concerning, 261. On public lands, Foote's resolution, 235, 236; Webster's speeches, 236. On the bequest of James Smithson, 268, 270. Bill on Boundary Treaty with Mexico, 282; on the Spanish Convention, 292. Debates on the right of Congress to call the Michigan Convention, 342; on publication of works of J. Madison, 404. Slavery debates in, 465. Independent Treasury bill, 516. Rescinds the specie circular of 11th of July, 1836, 548. Debates on the Public Lands bill, x. 396, 402. Bankrupt bill, 320. Revenue bill, 325, 337. Florida volunteers, 337. Fiscal Corporation bill, xi. 4. Bill to prevent investment of public funds in State stocks referred to Committee of Finance, 4. Assembled, 32. Debates on Walter Forward's Board of Exchequer, 45. Tariff bill, 245. Message of the President in answer to call for correspondence on the Quintuple Treaty, 337. Debates on McDuffie's Anti-Tariff bill, 510. Passes resolutions on the death of the two Secretaries Upshur and Gilmer, 523. *Sensible*, the frigate, conveys the *Chevalier de la Luzerne* and Mr. Adams to America, i. 10; and Mr. Adams

- back to France, 10. Springs a leak; puts into Ferrol, Spain, 11. To Europe, ii. 4.
- Serapis, the, v. 109.
- Sergeant, John, of Pennsylvania, in the House of Representatives, v. 116, 202, 204, 267, 322, 355, 462; vi. 187; vii. 126, 154, 416, 531, 539; viii. 9, 79, 82, 97, 251, 425; ix. 363; x. 9, 148, 181, 284, 286, 319, 320, 321, 388, 489, 499, 515, 530, 532. His abilities and eloquence, v. 116. Political views of, 117. Refuses to oppose Findlay, 117. Proposed for the mission to Panama, vii. 54; accepts, 59, 160. Accompanies the author to New York, 126. Departure of, for Mexico, 183. Return of, 312. Elected Representative, 333. His speech on the reform movement, 419. Seneca Indian Conveyance bill, 234. Conversation with, on appointment of Postmaster at Philadelphia, 528. On proceedings of the Retrenchment Committee, 528. Conversation with, viii. 82. Argument of, on the injunction of the Cherokees against the State of Georgia, 343. Nominated for the Vice-Presidency; disappointed, 521, 524, 535. Speech on National Bank, ix. 385, 387, 389. Speech on admission of New Jersey members, x. 167. Speech in support of Bank bill, 520 (see *Wise, H. A.*). Moves substitute for Bank bill, 537. Speech, 538.
- Sergeant, Thomas, vi. 42. Postmaster at Philadelphia, vii. 509, 528, 531-534, 537. Removal of, viii. 8, 9, 12. (See *McLean; Ingham.*)
- Sermons, on the death of John Adams, vii. 129, 131, 134. By Massillon (see *Massillon*). Of the English Preacher, 374, 379, 388.
- Serna, Mr. de la, iv. 290. Chargé d'Affaires from Spain, 313, 468, 471.
- Serra Capriola, Duke de, ii. 75, 500.
- Serrurier, Mr., French Minister to the United States, ii. 260; iii. 194; viii. 256; ix. 207. Correspondence with J. Forsyth, 209, 219.
- Settlements, projected French, on the Tombigbee, iv. 19, 40. British, on the Northwest coast, iv. 24. American, destruction of, by the British, 25.
- Sevalla, Mr., Governor of the State of Mexico; in exile, viii. 237.
- Severance, Luther, of Maine, in the House of Representatives, xi. 513; xii. 159.
- Severin, Mr., his collection of coins, ii. 367, 368.
- Sevier, A. H., Delegate from the Arkansas Territory in the House of Representatives, vii. 516; viii. 533; ix. 195, 207, 296.
- Sewall, Dr., conversation with, on modes of warming rooms, viii. 429.
- Sewall, S. E., xi. 265.
- Seward, William H., of New York, viii. 412. Governor, x. 152; xi. 27, 28, 51. Correspondence with the Governor of Virginia, x. 456. Opposed to the Slavery party, 463. Visit to, xi. 399.
- Sewell, Charles, Rev., claims a devise in Germany, x. 465.
- Seybert's statistical tables, v. 134.
- Seymour, David L., of New York, in the House of Representatives, xi. 486; xii. 28, 37, 62.
- Seymour, Horatio, of Vermont, Senator, vi. 268, 269, 363, 467, 484; vii. 106, 540; viii. 91.
- Seymour, Thomas H., of Connecticut, in the House of Representatives, xi. 531.
- Shaddock, Anthony, prisoner of war, accusation of mutiny brought against, iii. 232.
- Shakspeare MSS., i. 133. Gallery of paintings, 165.
- Shakspeare, William, viii. 115, 156, 235.
- Shakspeare's tragedy of Romeo and Juliet, viii. 423; Othello and Desdemona, 423.
- Shaler, Charles, vii. 126.

- Slave, the, a passage between Norway and Jutland, ii. 19.
- Slade, Mr., Proctor of the Admiralty Court, iii. 525, 526.
- Slade, W., vi. 502; vii. 75, 275. Clerk in the State Department; dismissed by President Van Buren, viii. 147, 150. Secretary of State of Vermont, 150. In the House of Representatives, 465; ix. 39, 114, 453, 454, 520; x. 60, 63, 198, 268, 390, 472.
- Slander well compounded; truth mixed with falsehood, v. 117.
- Slave and free representation, conflict between, inevitable, v. 308.
- Slavery, iv. 262, 293, 495, 531; v. 4, 68; ix. 23, 259. Superior abilities of the Slavery party, iv. 506; v. 307. Powers of the State and General Governments relating to, iv. 530. Advocates provision for excluding from Territories, 530; v. 5-10. Missouri bill not to be established by rightful power, 6, 8, 10, 11. Prophecies concerning, iv. 350, 492; v. 210. Effect of abolition of, on the British Colonies, viii. 269; on the slaves of the United States, 269. Petitions for the abolition of, in the District of Columbia, 434, 435, 454; elsewhere, ix. 49, 80, 206, 266, 334, 448 (see *House*, etc.; *Virginia*). And nullification, viii. 510. Abolished in Mexico; in the South American States, 510; xi. 356. Excitement about; activity of the abolitionists; inflammatory writings circulated; Thompson, the English agitator; mobs and insurrections of the slaves, ix. 251, 252-256. In Scripture times, 344. A defence of, by J. Smylie, 344. Dangerous to discuss, 349. Reports on, 423. Question of, produces schism in the churches, 544. Immediate abolition of, impracticable, x. 39. Effect of, on secession of Southern States, 39. Predictions concerning, 63. On preaching, 449. Men of the North truckle to Southern, 463. (See *Anti-Slavery: Abolitionists*.)
- Slave-holders, viii. 233. Influenced in their elections by fear of slave-insurrections, ix. 252.
- Slave-indemnity question, compromise proposed by Great Britain, vii. 157. Settlement of, 213, 517.
- Slave-owners, inquiry into number of, with a view to representation by, xi. 472.
- Slave-trade, i. 293, 294, 475, 479; iv. 292; v. 381, 388, 390, 398. African, abolition of, iii. 358, 427. Law for abolition of, not applicable to slaves taken in America, 399. Increase of, atrocities of, 454. Vessels for it fitted out in the Southern States under the flags of Spain and Portugal, 454. Lord Castlereagh's plan of trying slave-trading vessels, 454, 455. Mr. Wilberforce's plan for suppressing; objections to, 556-558. Proposals of Great Britain for the suppression of, renewed, iv. 140, 141, 150; v. 182, 216; rejected, 321. Spain, Portugal, and the Netherlands accede to, 183, 216. Discussions of, 189-193. Call for correspondence on, 214. Policy of the United States on, 223, 321. Papers relating to, communicated to Congress, 225, 232, 233. Proposals made by the American Government on suppression of, 225. Carried on under cover of Spanish and French papers, 388. At the island of St. Thomas, 447. Negotiations concerning, vi. 13, 35-37, 84, 152, 321. Made piracy by Act of Parliament; by Convention, 322, 350. In Brazil; efforts to suppress, 354. Carried on under the Portuguese and Brazilian flags, 354. Appeal of the Quakers for suppression of, 375. Cases tried in Baltimore, x. 284. Internal, prohibition of, within the power of Congress, ix. 418. Foreign, x. 249, 254, 255. Correspondence relating to,

- 440, 446, 455. Discussions on, 450, 454. Treaties on the, 455. From Brazil, xii. 195, 197. (See *Slavery*; *Privateers*; *Great Britain*.)
- Slave-traders, French, captured on the African coast, v. 447, 448. Fate of the fourth, 448. (See *Slavers*; *Vessels*.)
- Slave-vessels, under French and Portuguese colors, vi. 36.
- Slaves, in Barbary States, iii. 355, 358-360; ransom offered for, 355, 357; declaration of the Bey of Tunis relating to, 357; similar declaration demanded of the Dey of Algiers, 401; agreed to, 443; in Algiers delivered up, 443. Illicit introduction of, iv. 97. For sale in the State of Georgia, 322, 355. Not indispensable to cultivation, v. 68. Smuggled into Georgia, 212. Captured by the British; concerning indemnity for, 363, 535. Landed at Guadaloupe, 391. Decision by arbitration on the capture of, by British forces, vi. 45. Valuation of, 69, 77, 149. Fugitive, from St. Croix, 65, 74. Indemnity for, 139, 440. Number of, imported into Brazil, 354. Importations of, from Africa, 354. Plan for emancipating, 467. Captured and sold in Alabama, vii. 85. The Constitution, Louisa, and Merino importations, 171, 187. A subject of the Emperor of Morocco interceded for by the American Consul, 307, 541. Seizure of, at Key West, 413, 503, 509. Protest of the British officer against the Collector, 413, 423. To be sent to Liberia, 423. Claim to bounty for, 503. Emancipation of, in Virginia, viii. 463. Attempt of a slave to murder Mrs. Thornton and her mother at Washington, ix. 251, 255. Emancipation of, in the British West India Colonies, 251. Insurrections, 252. Captured from the Comet, Encomium, and Enterprise, indemnity for, 344. Sale of, in Washington, 417. Ignorance of, x. 91. Captured on board the Spanish ship *Amistad*; charged with murder and piracy, 132, 134; trial of, 134. Question of power of States to prohibit importation of, argued in the Supreme Court, 427. In Virginia, J. Madison's speech on, 430. In Massachusetts, 494. Captured by Creek Indians and sold, xii. 163. (See *Watson, J. C.*; *Fugitive Slaves*.)
- Slidell, John, of Louisiana, in the House of Representatives, xi. 465; xii. 18, 19, 34, 171.
- Sloane, John, of Ohio, in the House of Representatives, viii. 79, 107; ix. 114.
- Slocum, William A., letter to the Secretary of State, xi. 347.
- Small, William, Professor at William and Mary College, viii. 270, 271.
- Smith, Albert, of Maine, x. 140. In the House of Representatives, x. 150, 161, 189, 222, 247, 340. His right to vote challenged by Naylor, 156.
- Smith, Albert, of New York, in the House of Representatives, xii. 20.
- Smith, Alfred, vi. 517, 526.
- Smith, Caleb B., of Indiana, in the House of Representatives, xi. 533, 546; xii. 21, 142.
- Smith, Christopher, Alderman of London, iii. 430, 440.
- Smith, Colonel, nomination of, as a Judge in Florida, v. 491.
- Smith, Constantine, Lieutenant, Court-martial in case of, vii. 162, 164, 165.
- Smith, Ebenezer, petitioner, ix. 376.
- Smith, Edward, Rev., ix. 34, 95.
- Smith, F. A., Receiver of Public Monies at Franklin, Missouri, viii. 8.
- Smith, F. O. J., of Maine, in the House of Representatives, ix. 193, 314, 371, 375, 380, 466, 494.
- Smith, Gerrit, letter to the Rev. James Snylie, ix. 344.
- Smith, Israel, on impeachment, i. 322, 336.
- Smith, J. A., Secretary of Legation, iii.

- 275, 297, 299, 363, 365; vi. 477, 488. Transferred to France, viii. 25, 91.
- Smith, John, of Ohio, Senator, i. 266, 302; viii. 121. Indicted for complicity in Burr plot, 481; asks to be heard by counsel, 499-529. Oath of allegiance to King of Spain, 484, 489. The author's connection with case of, vi. 294.
- Smith, John, of Vermont, x. 249.
- Smith, John Spear, ii. 74, 75, 96, 124, 134, 202, 261, 284, 492.
- Smith, John Speed, v. 431; vii. 386.
- Smith, Joseph, a fanatic, claims protection, xii. 3.
- Smith, Joseph F., a slave-trading captain, case of, v. 397; sentenced to imprisonment petitions for pardon; 397.
- Smith, Joseph L., vi. 6.
- Smith, Judge, of Florida, iv. 34; viii. 31. Claim of, for services during the Seminole War, vii. 519.
- Smith, Linneus, Clerk in the Department of State, viii. 144, 147.
- Smith, R., correspondence of, vi. 158. (See *Northwest Coast*.)
- Smith, Richard, Lieutenant-Colonel, court of enquiry on, vii. 248. Court-martial on, 303.
- Smith, Richard, agent of the United States Bank, ix. 364.
- Smith, Robert, i. 330, 365. Letter to the writer, ii. 275. Law of, 493.
- Smith, Robert, Secretary of State, v. 134. Secretary of the Navy, vii. 15.
- Smith, Samuel, of Maryland, Senator, i. 269, 274, 284, 298, 340, 346, 362, 363, 376-391, 416, 421. Caramalli bill, 429-436. Ogden memorial, 440, 460, 461. Non-Importation Act, 489; iv. 38, 39, 44, 72, 174, 251, 325, 382, 396; v. 57-60, 202. On the mission to Brazil, 312-314, 332, 345, 353, 539; vi. 28, 232, 348, 425, 452. Letters to, 511, 527; on Colonial trade, vii. 71, 114-116, 228, 335-338, 367; viii. 113, 186-187, 442, 455. Controversy with H. Clay, 476. Letter to the Bayards, ix. 444.
- Smith, S. H., editor of *National Intelligencer*, i. 271; vi. 463. Commissioned to investigate the E. Thomson fraud, vii. 96. President of the Philadelphia Lyceum, viii. 430.
- Smith, Samuel W., antediluvian fancies, ix. 333.
- Smith, T. L., Registrar of the Treasury, viii. 222, 372.
- Smith, Thomas, of Indiana, in the House of Representatives, x. 338; xii. 137.
- Smith, Truman, of Connecticut, in the House of Representatives, x. 224, 530. On the New Jersey election case, 225, 234.
- Smith, Walter, ix. 427, 428. Director of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, viii. 35, 37.
- Smith, W., of South Carolina, Senator, v. 463; viii. 83.
- Smith, William, of Virginia, in the House of Representatives, xi. 7, 8, 184, 195.
- Smith, William S., i. 32, 39. Private Secretary to the writer, ii. 3, 22, 34, 162, 174; iii. 14, 46, 48-50, 154; iv. 9, 27; v. 267; vii. 229.
- Smith, Mr., ii. 55, 56, 59.
- Smith, Rev. Mr., viii. 355, 450.
- Smith and Buchanan, claims of, 251. Speculations; in debt to the United States Bank, 382. Failure of, 370, 382. (See *Smith, S.*)
- Smith and Ogden, case of, vii. 35.
- Smithfield, R. I., memorial to Congress, ix. 118.
- Smithson, James, his bequest to the United States, ix. 269. Family of, 269. Measures taken by Congress to secure the funds, 270, 272. Will, 269.
- Smithsonian Bequest, ix. 268; xi. 21, 22, 57, 65, 82, 102, 105; xii. 239, 245. Conversation on the application of; advises the establishment of

- an observatory; opposed in Congress; deprecates individual use of, x. 23, 25, 44, 45, 57, 90, 108, 473; xi. 112, 122, 336. Correspondence relating to, x. 44, 86. Documents sent to Congress, 58. Decree of Master of the Rolls concerning, 94. Robbins's bill to Congress, 112; apprehensions respecting, 139. Conversation with Poinsett on site for an observatory; letter to the Secretary of the Treasury, 464, 465. (See *Smithsonian Fund*.) Smithsonian Fund, xi. 21, 22, 57, 65, 82, 102, 105. To be vested in the United States Treasury; in Arkansas and Michigan State stocks, x. 94, 139, 462. Proposals to place the, under the management of the American Institution, 462-464. Meeting of Committee on; report, xi. 124, 132, 515. Corporation for management of, xii. 200, 235. Embezzlement of, 250. Smithsonian Institution, xi. 173. Smolensk, ii. 397, 399. Smollett and Scott, viii. 280. Smuggling on the Canada frontier, v. 42; vii. 446. Smylie, James, Rev., author of a book in defence of slavery, ix. 344. Stated clerk of the Presbytery of Mississippi, 344. Smyrna, American property at, exposed to seizure by the Turks, vi. 414. Smyth, Alexander, vii. 242, 308, 431. Letter of, to his constituents; author's reply to, vi. 120, 121. Attempts of, to charge the author with falsification of the journal of the Federal Convention, 124-127. Charges the author with favoring the slave-trade, 363; x. 88. Smyth, Charles, grant of land to, on Carleton Island, v. 394. His goods seized by the Collector of Kingston, 394. Suspected of smuggling; appeals to the Governor of New York, 394, 396. Appointed postmaster, 396. Snyder, Adam W., of Illinois, in the House of Representatives, x. 20. Snyder, John, of Pennsylvania, in the House of Representatives, v. 112, 113; x. 529; xi. 184. Snyder, Simon, Governor of Pennsylvania, iii. 511; iv. 132, 144. Sobieski, John, ii. 142. "Social Compact, the," an address by the writer entitled, xi. 258. Societies: English Bible, iii. 15. Of Fine Arts; of Agriculture and Botany, 58. Of St. Cecilia, 131. For the Propagation of the Gospel, 349, 350. British and Foreign School, 360. For the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, etc., 369. Of Friends of Foreigners in Distress, 375. For the Promotion of Domestic Industry, seventh address of, iv. 370; calls upon Congress for change of tariff and prohibitory laws, 370. For the Conversion of the Jews, ix. 191. Socrates, philosophy of, ii. 314, 315, 316; iv. 129. Solar eclipse, account of, i. 442. Soldiers, French, engaged on American ships, i. 181. Sollers, Augustus R., of Maryland, in the House of Representatives, x. 531. Solms, Princess of, iii. 231. Solomon, condition of human life in the days of, compared; his life, vii. 286. Solomon, Mr., applies for Surveyorship at New York, vii. 543. Solon, his ordinance for abolishing debts, ix. 414. Soltyskoff, Count Alexander, ii. 92, 96, 125, 133, 248. Minister of Foreign Affairs during the absence of Count Romanzoff, 363, 365, 377. On passports for the foreign Ministers, 381, 382, 386, 387, 388. Soltyskoff, Count Nicholas, ii. 133, 383, 405, 525. (See *Lauriston, Count*.) Somerset, Lord Fitzroy, iii. 152, 174. Somerset, case of the negro, xii. 69. Somerset House, iii. 341. Somerville, W. C., vi. 400, 533, 535;

- vii. 78. Passage of, in the frigate *Brandywine*, 48, 49. His early promise and death, 48.
- Sorrentino, Duke of, iii. 201.
- Sorrell, F., Portuguese Vice-Consul, x. 417, 419. (See *Antelope*.)
- Soublette, Vice-President of Colombia, vi. 111.
- Soul, the, reflections on the nature and immortality of, iv. 129, 130.
- Soult, Marshal, ii. 282, 291.
- South America, ii. 175; iii. 481. Policy of British Government towards, 352, 353; United States, 352. Mission to, iv. 7, 11, 71. (See *Commissioners*.) Agents to, 26, 158. Consuls from, 190, 223. Application of, for reception of Ministers, 223. Contest in, successful, 435, 441, 442. Memoir upon, 442. (See *Privateers; Spain; Buenos Ayres*.) Measures to secure independence, v. 114, 240. Their jealousy of the European Alliance; of Great Britain, 115. Views of, subsequent to the revolution in Spain, 120. Correspondence relating to, disheartening, 164. Do not contain the elements of freedom, 325. On recognition of, 489, 491, 492; vi. 13, 283, 487, 544. On sending Ministers to, v. 491, 496; vi. 101, 110, 113, 121, 122, 127, 414. (See *Spain; Buenos Ayres*.) Commerce with, 25, 111.
- South American Colonies, Graham's History of, viii. 220.
- South American independence, discussions and opinions on, iv. 11, 15, 28, 40, 84, 91, 103, 117, 119, 156, 159, 165-169, 186, 190, 199, 200, 205, 226, 381, 439, 453, 454, 465, 471; v. 82, 84, 94-96, 111, 154, 156. Mediations, iv. 40, 49, 62, 79, 103, 138, 161-168, 172, 186, 205, 209, 334, 335, 435. Reports and correspondence relating to, 49, 84, 103, 117, 119, 136, 159, 162, 204, 223, 224, 337, 353. (See *Spain; Buenos Ayres*.)
- South American insurgents, iii. 510, 561; iv. 11, 12, 13, 68, 200; v. 315, 324. British officers implicated with, iv. 16. Cause of, favored in England, 84. (See *South America; Buenos Ayres*.)
- South Sea, exploring expedition to, viii. 37; on fitting out of vessels for, 57. (See *Wadsworth; Southard; Senate*.)
- South Carolina Legislature, act of, prohibiting entrance of free colored persons, vi. 176, 279, 295, 297, 376; x. 451; remonstrance against, vi. 307. Policy of, in the election for President, 316. Contested support of Crawford and the author in, 353. Act of, pronounced contrary to the Constitution of the United States, 354. Course of the Legislature respecting complaints of the British Government, vii. 57. Nullification, viii. 410. Ordinance, 506, 507. Movements in, tending to civil war, 55, 227; ix. 182. Character and domineering spirit of, viii. 229; x. 295. Popular rage against the tariff, viii. 237.
- South American Republics, missions to, reduced to *Chargés d'Affaires*, vii. 454. (See *South America*.)
- Southard, Samuel L., of New Jersey, Senator; Secretary of the Navy, vi. 168, 173, 178, 181, 196, 204, 210, 225, 234, 252, 268, 277, 305, 337, 445, 485, 505, 509, 518; vii. 5, 18, 30, 33, 59, 115, 123, 167, 173, 181, 218, 220, 254, 284, 302, 308, 313, 329, 350, 351, 448, 486, 526; viii. 11, 12, 16, 19, 42, 50, 57, 68, 83, 104, 107, 202; x. 474. On election prospects, vi. 253, 478, 480. Movements of the Crawford party, 365. Relations of, with the author; with Crawford, 282, 283, 471, 486. Conversation with, on the Edwards-Crawford investigation, 366, 386; on the resignation or removal of Edwards, 370, 394; on the Court-martial of Commodore Stewart, 429. Report to the Senate, 460. Appointed Acting Sec-

- retary of the Treasury, 524; objected to, 525, 526. Interviews with, 529, 531. In favor of the American Congress at Panama, 542. Opposes trial of D. Porter by Court-martial, 544. Visit of, to J. Monroe, vii. 31. Letter of Mr. Haynes in relation to D. Porter, 40. Report of, 69, 70, 184, 196. On the appointment of pursers, 167, 293; of cadets of West Point as midshipmen, 167. Quarrel and correspondence with A. Jackson, 218, 220, 223, 225, 227, 228, 259, 260. Tour of Governor Barbour and, to Norfolk, etc., 239, 244. (See *Jackson*.) Letter of, relating to sentence of Master-Commandant Carter, 375, 378, 384. Delivers the anniversary discourse to the Columbian Institute, 393. On the appointment of Major-General, 456. Reply of, to General Scott's letter demanding the trial of General Macomb, viii. 20, 22. Consultation with, relating to harbor improvements, 27; on funds for public improvements, 30; on South Sea exploring expedition, 44, 45, 75, 79; on provisions in favor of naval surgeons, 66. Senator, 77, 79. Illness of, 83, 111, 250. Dissatisfaction with, 141. (See *Cabinet*; *Hamilton, C. B.*; *Jackson*.) Conversation with, on Jackson's controversy, 251; ix. 68. President of the Senate, x. 464. Death of, xi. 189.
- Souther, John, Captain, Representative from Quincy to the Massachusetts Legislature, viii. 363.
- Southern Convention in Georgia, ix. 420. Project of, to divide the Union, 421.
- Southern Literary Messenger, reviews the author's oration on La Fayette, ix. 222.
- Southern nullifiers, ix. 57. (See *South Carolina*.)
- Southern States, effect of a dissolution on, iv. 530, 532. Threats of disunion in, viii. 88. Coalition between Western States and; maintenance of slavery the object of, ix. 235, 259, 441.
- Southey, Robert, iii. 249.
- Southgate, W. W., of Kentucky, in the House of Representatives, ix. 398, 530.
- Southwick, Edward, an abolitionist, proposes to discuss the matter at the South; advised to return home, x. 513.
- Southwick, Solomon, Postmaster at Albany, removed, v. 479.
- Southworth, S. S., ix. 265; an author on hire, 265, 311.
- Sovereigns bound to maintain justice and morality, ii. 364. Accountability of, v. 80.
- Spaen, M., i. 112.
- Spafford, —, vii. 181.
- Spain, iii. 289, 292; iv. 150, 216, 335; v. 419, 489. King of, i. 80. Affairs in; war, ii. 62, 247, 273, 282, 363. Relations of, with America, 311, 560. Assurances of amicable intentions towards America, 516. Her hostility to Barbary States, 418. Contest with Portugal; asks for mediation, 495, 504, 505, 510, 511. Her boundaries in America, 550, 560. And the South American contest, iv. 13. Mediation of European Allies, 49 (see *South American Independence*). Relations with, 15, 26, 60. King of, 26, 454. Desperate condition of, 37. Asks for mediation of Great Britain, 49; denies, 79. Treaty with, iv. 26, 522; proposals and negotiations for, 26, 37, 40, 78, 84, 106, 110, 112, 124, 143-146, 152, 161, 168-176, 184, 208, 216, 219, 231; renewal of, 234-239, 244-273; grants of land on settlement of, 146, 171, 250, 256-271; reported frauds relating to, 287-291, 301-303, 315, 330, 388, 453, 465, 466, 475. Ultimatum, 161; rejected, 176. Interference of Portugal, 172. Dispatches relating to, 216. Dissatisfac-

tion about, and censures on, 237, 238, 372. Projet of Onís; counter-projet, 248-260. Mutual renunciation of claims, 250, 258. Signing of, 271, 274, 278. Remarks on, 274-276. Action of the Senate on, 274, 277, 290, 320, 326, 380, 418-421, 437, 512. Duplicate sent to Madrid, 309. Communications with Russia, 376. Ratification of, delayed; refused, 388, 393, 400, 404, 405, 432, 435, 447, 448. Dangerous crisis; advocates decided measures, 404, 412. Hostile measures deprecated in Europe, 448, 454, 464. Minister to be sent out from Spain, 453. On soliciting interposition of France, 474; action of Congress on the; intriguing, 495-498. Adverse influence of the opposition party, 496. (See *De Neuville*; *Onís*; *Spanish Grants*; *Florida*; *Cabinet*.) Offers to cede Florida, 79. Circular note of, to the European Allies, 138. Claims indemnities from France, 161, 169. Change of Ministry in, 184; v. 352; vi. 99. On sending Minister to, iv. 187, 190. Desires guarantee against recognition of South American independence, 200, 209, 465. Grandees of, 219. History of negotiations for purchase of Louisiana, 219, 220. King's Council, influence of the priests in, 259. Death of Queen of, 288, 312; her character, 328. Rejects interposition of European Allies, 334. Power of, in South America, extinct, 334. Negotiations about Cuba with Great Britain, 368. Insurrection, v. 23, 26, 29, 50, 83, 120, 142, 179, 355. King of, 72, 76, 79, 91, 106, 156; proclamation, 111, 126; accepts the Constitution of 1812, 106, 111, 132; change of title, 133; correspondence on the Florida land-grants, 228; his favorites, 290. Interest of the people of, in the subjugation of South America, confined to a small number, 120, 121.

Releases Americans imprisoned for participation in the South American revolt, 133. Difficulties, 179, 180. Her principles of government analogous to those of the United States, 269. Boundaries with the United States, 337. Threatened with a French war, vi. 60, 69, 137. Claims of the United States, 29, 31. Spanish claims in Florida, v. 361. (See *Commissioners*; *Spain*; *Spanish Consuls*.) Spanish constitution of 1812, v. 99. Accepted by Ferdinand, vii. 106, 111. Terms of, relating to Africans of South America, 114. Spanish Convention, i. 280. Ratified, 285, 312. Spanish fugitives from Tarifa, vi. 481. Spanish monarchy, the, ix. 351. Spanish officers, insulting conduct of, upon the affair of Callava, 368. Threatened with expulsion, 368, 372. Spanish prisoners, ii. 466. Spanish royal order prescribing capital punishment on foreigners taken in arms with the South American insurgents, iv. 327, 328, 337. Spanish subjects, claims of, v. 268, 270. In Mexico, vii. 227. (See *Spain*.) Spanish territory, alienation of, by the King, forbidden, v. 83, 100, 126, 133; by the Treaty, 268. To be respected, 85, 96. The two Floridas a part of, 100. Ceded to the United States; royal order to the Governor and Captain-General of Cuba for delivery of, 271. Spanish troops, transportation of, from Florida, v. 334. In Peru, vii. 9. Spark, the, vi. 91; vii. 276. Sparks, Jared, viii. 219; xi. 369. His publication of the correspondence of the old Congress, vii. 277. Conversation with, viii. 224. Contract with, for publishing the correspondence of United States Ministers, 152. Publishes Washington's letters, 187, 219.

- Sells the North American Review, 205. Conversation with, 219.
- Sparrow, Mr., ii. 46.
- Spartan festival of Lysurgus, x. 34.
- Spartan, the frigate, v. 181.
- Speaker of the British House of Commons has no right to appoint a substitute, ix. 134.
- Spear, Daniel, Deacon, viii. 240, 402.
- Specie, importations of, vii. 256.
- Specie payment, x. 113. Suspension of, condemned, 395, 396; ix. 433; x. 174, 415.
- Spedding, Mr., Attaché of the British Legation, xi. 150.
- Speight, Jesse, of North Carolina, in the House of Representatives, viii. 432, 487, 503, 521, 522; ix. 84, 110, 117, 133, 190, 205.
- Speir, Mr., of New York, v. 138.
- Speir, the nephew, convicted of piracy; pardoned, v. 138, 146.
- Spence, Captain, vi. 84, 85; vii. 32.
- Spencer, Ambrose, Judge, vi. 443, 472; vii. 474; viii. 4. Candidate for the Senate, vi. 453. Letter of, vii. 184. In case of Peter B. Porter *vs.* The United States, viii. 205. Election of, to Congress, defeated, 261. President of the Whig Convention, xii. 22.
- Spencer, Earl, viii. 291.
- Spencer, John C., of New York, in the House of Representatives, iv. 183; v. 37, 264, 266, 458; vi. 440; viii. 416; x. 293. Remarks on De Witt Clinton, vii. 230. Conversation with, xi. 31, 32, 203. Letter charging the Whig party with corruption, 279. Secretary of the Treasury, 335, 336. Conversation with, on the Smithsonian bequest, 336. Secretary of the Treasury, xii. 39. President of the New York Whig Association, 60. Secretary of War, 60. Nominated as Judge of Supreme Court, and rejected, 60.
- Speransky, Secretary-General, ii. 207, 216.
- Speyer, Mr., Letters of, ii. 536, 634.
- Spiridoff, Admiral, ii. 609, 611, 612.
- Spirit of the Age, compromises with, iv. 371.
- Spooner, Lysander, memorial of, x. 295, 298, 300.
- Spooner, William, Dr., ix. 176.
- Spots on the sun, end of the world predicted from, iii. 405.
- Sprague, Charles, poems by, viii. 238; ix. 432.
- Sprague, Joseph E., vii. 490. Conversation with, on subject of the Vice-Presidency, vi. 417. Eulogy upon John Adams and Thomas Jefferson by, vii. 141. Conversation with, viii. 400.
- Sprague, Peleg, of Maine, in the House of Representatives, vii. 351, 355, 528.
- Speech in reply to assault of Messrs. Benton and Hayne, viii. 191. Senator, ix. 67, 83, 87.
- Sprague, Seth, viii. 242. Conversation with, on the tariff and on slavery, xi. 117. Conversation with, 126, 127.
- Sprigg, James C., of Kentucky, in the House of Representatives, x. 534; xi. 185.
- Springfield, Massachusetts, opening of railway from Boston to, x. 133. Visit to armory, xi. 391. Lectures at, 412.
- "Spy at Washington," letters entitled, attributed to Matthew L. Davis, ix. 56.
- Squadron, American, at Gibraltar, iii. 274. (See *Mediterranean*.) French, destruction of, at Brest, vi. 252.
- Squatters, ix. 149; x. 16.
- St. Andrew's, New Brunswick, v. 446.
- St. Anne, Order of, conferred upon Mr. Poletica, v. 360.
- St. Augustine, town of, Governor of, iv. 38, 42; v. 336. Spanish documents at, vi. 138. Sale of lands in, v. 403. Distribution of buildings, 418. Seizure of public documents, 454, 461, 468, 473.
- St. Bartholomew's, Swedish island, iv. 317; vi. 81; vii. 428. Commerce of, with the United States, vi. 32. Proposal to sell, 528.

- St. Christopher's, island of, v. 463. (See *St. Kitt's*.)
- St. Clair, Lake, x. 3. (See *Great Lakes*.)
- St. Cyr, Marshal Gouvion, ii. 416.
- St. Domingo, bill for prohibiting trade with, i. 314, 346, 383, 401-414. Population of, x. 282.
- St. Eustatius, v. 463; vi. 83, 103.
- St. Genest, Mr., ii. 305, 306.
- St. Helena, island of, Napoleon banished to; ships excluded from, iii. 254.
- St. Helena Manuscript, the, authorship of, iii. 509. (See *Pradt*; *Constant*; *Las Cases*.)
- St. Helens, Lord, iii. 353.
- St. Isaac, church of, ii. 116; service in, 116, 117, 120.
- St. Jerome, translations of, ii. 127.
- St. Joseph, pretended port of, v. 195, 196, 197; vii. 353.
- St. Joseph, River of, petition for construction of a harbor at the mouth of, ix. 275.
- St. Julien, Comte de, ii. 72, 75, 96, 129. Minister from Austria to Russia, 203, 223, 248, 257, 311; x. 47. Prejudices of, against merchants, ii. 370, 371. Demands his passports, 381, 388. Death of, 636.
- St. Kitt's, island of, vi. 83, 103. Petition from Legislative Assembly of, to the British House of Commons, v. 463, 472.
- St. Lawrence River, vi. 91. Free navigation of, i. 392.
- St. Louis, festival of, v. 532.
- St. Louis Enquirer, a Missouri newspaper, letters of Senator Barton published in, v. 327.
- St. Mark's, Commandant of, 110. (See *Amelia Island*.)
- St. Mary's College, vii. 337.
- St. Mary's, district of, law defining, v. 418.
- St. Mary's River, v. 196. Claimed by Georgia as her boundary upon Florida, vii. 371, 378. Map of the resources of, by McBride, 385.
- St. Nicholas, church of, ii. 119, 120.
- St. Olympe, M. de, i. 15.
- St. Paul's Cathedral, monuments in, iii. 487.
- St. Petersburg, ix. 419. Mission to, i. 10, 12. Arrival in, ii. 47 (see *Adams*, *J. Q.*). Magnificence of, 53, 54.
- St. Salvador, Guatemala, deputies from, at Philadelphia, vi. 154. Desires union with the United States, 325.
- St. Thomas, island of, v. 113, 447; vi. 9.
- Stackelberg, Baron, iv. 431; the Swedish Chargé d'Affaires, v. 154, 459, 514, 533; vi. 32, 93, 222, 396; vii. 108, 158, 424; viii. 107. Claims privileges for Norwegian vessels, v. 360, 489. Desires remission of forfeiture on Swedish ships, 402. On the Treaty with Sweden, vii. 523 (see *Tacon*; *Clay*). Memorial by, in affair of Turner and the authorities of St. Bartholomew's, viii. 90.
- Stadtholder. (See *William the Fifth*.)
- Staël, Madame de, visits to, ii. 399, 400; iii. 152, 155, 156. Has investments in the United States, ii. 400. Enthusiasm for England; resentment against Napoleon, 401, 460, 461.
- Stagg, Peter, vii. 314, 543.
- Stanard, Robert, District Attorney at Richmond, v. 20.
- Standard unit for coin, viii. 293.
- Standing Committees, x. 298-300.
- Stanley, Mr., the late Earl of Derby, vi. 510.
- Stanly, Edward, of North Carolina, in the House of Representatives, ix. 521; x. 3, 80, 97, 98, 143, 181, 183, 196, 260, 261, 339, 419, 426, 427, 515, 521; xi. 7, 12, 14, 51, 140, 145, 148, 160, 226. Character of, 19, 33.
- Stansberry, Arthur J., newspaper reporter, viii. 474; ix. 127, 216; x. 32; xii. 237.

- Stanton, B., Jr., charges against S. J. Gholson, Judge of the District Court in Mississippi, sent to the House, x. 491.
- Stanton, Henry B. (See *Leavitt, J.*)
- Stanzas, by the author, viii. 125, 241, 260.
- Stark, Major, of Pembroke, New Hampshire, vii. 415.
- Starrenburg, Wassenaar, Count, i. 59.
- State Banks, corruption of, iv. 325. Injurious power of, 499.
- State debts, xi. 22, 229, 231, 273, 320. Rights of the bondholders, 288. (See *Johnson, W. C.*)
- State laws respecting people of color, v. 207; defect in, 311, 320.
- State Legislatures, iv. 499. Jealousies and insubordination of, 498. Right of, to declare acts of Congress unconstitutional, viii. 87.
- State papers, vi. 161; ix. 351.
- State rights *vs.* the Constitution, v. 6; vii. 57, 263; viii. 343. (See *Georgia; Troup.*)
- State sovereignty, x. 110.
- State statutes, measures taken for collecting, v. 168-170.
- State stocks, public moneys invested in, x. 239, 256, 486.
- Stately, the, British line-of-battle ship, ii. 25.
- States, number of, increased since 1800, v. 239. Border, authority of, to deliver up criminals, 449. South Sea, design of forming new settlement on, 243. (See *Columbia River.*)
- States-General. (See *Holland.*)
- Statesman, the newspaper, v. 394.
- Statesmen, philosophical, v. 221.
- Static chair, vii. 50.
- Statius, quotation from the Synephebi of, viii. 234.
- Statuary and paintings, duties on, x. 313, 317.
- Statute-book of New York, vii. 238.
- Statute laws, viii. 36.
- Staughton, Dr., vi. 444.
- Steamboat boilers, x. 288.
- Steamboats, invention of, vii. 315. Iron, xi. 157, 226.
- Steam carriages, viii. 467.
- Steam packets, proposals for line of, to France, xi. 193; to Chagres, 311. (See *Steamboats; House*, etc.)
- Stearns, Asahel, ix. 303.
- Stedingk, Baron de, ii. 49, 59, 60, 63, 64, 129, 131. Emperor Paul's treatment of, 64, 65, 75, 279.
- Stedman, Mr., letter of, i. 291.
- Stedman's History of the War of the Revolution, viii. 382.
- Steel, John, Collector at Philadelphia, vii. 163.
- Steele, W. F., District Attorney at Pensacola, vi. 235. His removal desired, 240. Recommended as Consul at Acapulco, in Mexico, 309.
- Steenrod, Lewis, of Virginia, in the House of Representatives, x. 261, 266, 508, 528, 541; xi. 11, 182; xii. 19.
- Stelle's Hotel, i. 277.
- Stenographers, xi. 453.
- Stephen, Master, iii. 557.
- Stephens, A. H., of Georgia, in the House of Representatives, xi. 507; xii. 13, 152, 153.
- Stephens, John, Jr., President of the Apprentices' Library Society of New York, viii. 419.
- Stephenson, Benjamin, President of the Edwardsville Bank, letter of, to the Secretary of the Treasury, vi. 331, 372, 374, 376, 384; receipt of, by Crawford, 388.
- Sterling, Ansel, of Connecticut, in the House of Representatives, vi. 490.
- Sterling, Micah, of New York, in the House of Representatives, v. 470.
- Sterrett and the Enterprise, vi. 86, 546.
- Stetson, Samuel, of New York, in the House of Representatives, xi. 536; xii. 142.
- Steubenville, Ohio, letter from citizens of, viii. 113.

- Stevens, Samuel, Governor of Maryland, his address to General La Fayette, vi. 425.
- Stevens, Thaddeus, ix. 373; x. 388. Correspondence with W. H. Harrison, ix. 273. Secedes from Anti-Masonic Convention, 273.
- Stevenson, Andrew, of Virginia, vi. 286, 376; vii. 369; viii. 428. In the House of Representatives; Speaker, vii. 70, 71, 105, 361, 367, 369; re-elected, viii. 107, 328, 431, 452, 454, 482, 517, 518; ix. 36, 39, 42, 64, 81, 109, 139; resigns, 140, 145. Vote of thanks to, viii. 532, 533. Nominated for Minister to Great Britain, ix. 140; rejected by the Senate, 156. Minister to Great Britain, 344. Controversy with Daniel O'Connell, x. 48, 52. Letters of J. Hamilton, 52. Correspondence with Commodore Hull; with Lord Palmerston, xi. 547. (See *Cass, L.*)
- Stevenson, James S., vii. 76. Of the Pennsylvania Legislature, recommends the Statesman newspaper to print the laws of Congress, v. 394.
- Stevenson, John, petition for recognition of Hayti, x. 92.
- Stewart, Andrew, of Pennsylvania, letter to R. Rush, vii. 355. Director of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, viii. 37, 46, 49. In the House of Representatives, 444, 456, 487, 520; ix. 103, 190; xi. 487, 490, 532; xii. 19, 38, 151.
- Stewart, Charles, Commodore, vi. 545. On the leaders of the South American revolutions, 111. Complaints against, 218. Court-martial ordered, 429, 449, 461. Trial of, vii. 40, 45.
- Stewart, Dugald, philosophical essays, ii. 315.
- Stewart, Gilbert, the artist, iv. 130; vi. 175.
- Stewart, Hugh, xi. 186, 188.
- Stewart, Lord, iv. 68.
- Stewart, Mr., v. 223.
- Stewart. (See *Fay.*)
- Stieglitz, Mr., ii. 235, 246.
- Stiles, Ezra, Dr., President of Yale College, vii. 321.
- Stiles, William H., of Georgia, in the House of Representatives, xi. 449.
- Stockholm, i. 12; ii. 633, 637.
- Stocks, Government, on payment of, vi. 533, 537.
- Stocks, London, fall of, iii. 414.
- Stockton, Rev. H. C., Chaplain of the House, ix. 49.
- Stockton, Richard, vi. 352. District Attorney of New Jersey, vii. 59, 313.
- Stockton, Robert F., Lieutenant, captures French slave-traders; charged with piracy, v. 447, 448. Captures Portuguese vessel, 472, 479. Complaints against, vi. 21, 23, 31. Writes letter to the French Minister concerning, 24, 27, 28, 29. Letter of vindication, 33, 39. Captain of the Princeton, xi. 515, 521.
- Stoddard, Ebenezer, of Connecticut, in the House of Representatives, vi. 490; ix. 103.
- Stoddert, Benjamin, i. 349.
- Stokes, M., of North Carolina, vi. 484; named for the mission to Mexico, 485.
- Stone, Alfred P., of Ohio, in the House of Representatives, xii. 152.
- Stone, Captain, ix. 359.
- Stone, Colonel, vii. 165.
- Stone, William L., editor of the Commercial Advertiser, viii. 542. Conversation with, on proposal of publishing a series of letters upon Masonry and Anti-Masonry, 424. Letter on animal magnetism, ix. 416.
- Stone, William W., xi. 158. (See *Lawrence, S.*)
- Stone, Mr., of Lowell, Massachusetts, visit of, to confer on manufacturing interests in Congress, x. 469.
- Storch, Mr., ii. 115.
- Store-ships, ii. 299, 307.
- Storer, Bellamy, vi. 463.

- Stormont. (See *Lord Mansfield*.)
- Storow, Samuel A., the Judge-Advocate in the case of Hall, iv. 142, 248. (See *Court-Martial*.)
- Storrs, Henry R., of New York, in the House of Representatives, iv. 470; v. 226, 235; vi. 295; vii. 247. Motion of, for inquiry into salary of agent under the sixth and seventh articles of the Treaty of Ghent, v. 227, 313. Disappointed in politics, 228. A federalist, 228. His attack upon the author, 228. Chairman of the Committee on Expenditures, 315. His career as a statesman blasted by the Missouri question, 314. On the author's censure of the British Commissioners under the fifth article of the Ghent Treaty, vi. 334. Letter to the Secretary of State on claim of P. B. Porter, viii. 264.
- Storrs, R. L., Rev., oration by, vii. 135, 140. Visit of, x. 130.
- Storrs, William L., of Connecticut, in the House of Representatives, x. 287; resigns, 322. Appointed Judge of the Supreme Court, 322.
- Story, William, Judge, iv. 6; v. 322; vi. 515; viii. 291, 384-387, 389, 392-397, 463; x. 403, 430, 431, 436, 467. Interview with the President, iv. 131. Consults with, viii. 98. Correspondence with, 157. Commentaries, xii. 145.
- Stoughton, Dr., Chaplain of Congress, vii. 156, 158. Address of, at Columbia College, 215.
- Stoughton, Mr., iv. 195.
- Stralsund claims, v. 17.
- Strange, Robert, Judge, of North Carolina, Senator, ix. 316.
- Strangford, Lord, v. 416; writes the Turkish notes, 450.
- Stratton, Charles C., of New Jersey, in the House of Representatives, x. 157; a contesting member, 157, 163.
- Strickland, —, Commissioner for making breakwater at the mouth of the Delaware River, viii. 28.
- String, Mr., of Sanda, Orkney Isles, i. 245.
- Strobel, D., Consul at Bordeaux, v. 132; x. 592. Letter from, announcing dispatches from J. Forsyth, v. 132.
- Strogofshikoff, Mr., ii. 452.
- Strogonoff, Alexander, Baron, ii. 74, 126. His pictures; gardens, 74, 96, 143, 313. Death and funeral of, 315-318.
- Strogonoff, Count Paul, son of above, ii. 315. Russian Minister, 634, 636. At Constantinople, v. 450.
- Strong, Caleb, Governor of Massachusetts, i. 251, 441, 467; iv. 423.
- Strong, James, applies for Governorship of Florida, v. 455, 456.
- Strong, Nathaniel H., United States Consul at Gottenburg, ii. 583, 590.
- Strong, Theron R., of New York, in the House of Representatives, x. 304.
- Strother, G. F., of Virginia, v. 456. In the House of Representatives, 60-62.
- Stuart, Adam D., Collector at Michilimackinac, vii. 446.
- Stuart, Alexander H. H., of Virginia, in the House of Representatives, x. 481, 520; xi. 193, 330.
- Stuart, John T., of Illinois, in the House of Representatives, x. 535.
- Stuart, Philip, General, vii. 120.
- Stuart, —, Rev., missionary to the Sandwich Islands, viii. 312.
- Studios idleness, reflections on, v. 136.
- Stump-speaking, x. 352-356.
- Sturge, Joseph, of Birmingham, i. 5; xii. 256.
- Sturgis, W., information by, concerning the establishment of a military post at the Columbia River, vi. 429.
- Sturt, Captain, of the Phaeton frigate, vii. 46.
- Sublime Porte, vi. 109, 110.
- Subscribers, list of, to Page's portrait of the author; meeting of; decide to present it to the city of Boston, x. 42.
- Substitutes for Heads of Departments, iv. 15.

- Sudermania, Duke of, King of Sweden, ii. 33.
- Sugar, manufactured in Louisiana, ii. 83, 175. Suspected frauds on, 181. Similarity of Havanna white, to refined loaf, powdered; relative duties on, 181, 182. Refined, imported as powdered raw, 182. (See *Havanna*.) Large importations of, to Russia, 182, 222.
- Sullivan, George, vi. 484, 510; vii. 7, 50, 127, 208, 313; viii. 377; ix. 244. Letter to Governor Eustis; the Massachusetts claim, vi. 226, 232, 259, 468, 478. Conversation with, on the affair of Lowrie and J. Monroe, 307. On private concerns of the President, 444. On Calhoun's threatened opposition, 506.
- Sullivan, James, Governor of Massachusetts, replies to author's articles in the Centinel, i. 27. Letter on the Embargo, 502, 542.
- Sullivan, Richard, Overseer of Harvard University, ix. 163. Agrees with the author on prosecution of students, 174. (See *Harvard University*.)
- Sullivan, William, General, viii. 237. Author of Moral Class-Book, 398. On the Massachusetts State Committee, ix. 20. Opposes author's nomination, 20.
- Sully, Thomas, his painting of General Washington crossing the Delaware, v. 3, 205.
- Sully's Memoirs, ii. 584-589, 613-617, 619, 620, 623, 625-629.
- Sulpicius, Servius, Cicero's panegyric on, viii. 122.
- Summers, George W., of Virginia, in the House of Representatives, xi. 7, 194, 507; xii. 44. Speech on the Apportionment bill, xi. 143; on presentation of Washington's sword, 312.
- Sumner, Charles P., viii. 378; xii. 272, 274.
- Sumter, Thomas, General, i. 381, 389, 403, 426, 427.
- Sumter, T., Jr., iv. 87. Minister at Rio Janeiro, 127, 340, 353.
- Sunrise and sunset at St. Petersburg, hours of, ii. 75, 78, 205, 227. Mingling of morning and evening light, 276.
- Superior, Lake, x. 3. (See *Great Lakes*.)
- Superior, the, ii. 276. (See *Adams; Vessels*.)
- Supreme Court, sessions of, i. 294-297, 459. Authority of, to issue writs of habeas corpus, 515. On piracy, iv. 363; v. 364. Sustains rights of belligerents to seize enemies' goods in neutral vessels, vi. 382. Admits the right of expatriation, 385. Decree of, pronouncing a statute of Georgia unconstitutional, viii. 486, 487, 492. The ultimate tribunal for the construction of the Constitution, ix. 243. Influence of Chief-Justice Marshall on decisions of the, 243. Saits in, proposed by foreign Ministers, x. 404. Decisions of, 436, 441, 444.
- Surveyors, of the boundary between Florida and Georgia, vii. 179. General, appointment of, 430.
- Surveyors of the Customs, ix. 136, 137.
- Surveys, viii. 18, 39; ix. 151, 154. Of exploring expeditions, xii. 36.
- Survilliers, Count de, iv. 20; vii. 330, 331, 342, 392. (See *Joseph Bonaparte*.)
- Suspicion apt to be deceived, v. 74.
- Sussex, Duke of, iii. 216, 302. Opposed to the property-tax, 303. No vocation for the church, 304, 317, 323, 332, 369, 414, 435, 438, 473, 543.
- Sutherland, Jacob, District Attorney, iv. 445.
- Sutherland, Joel B., of Pennsylvania, in the House of Representatives, vii. 126; viii. 428, 431, 465; ix. 48, 96, 137, 145, 212, 300.

Swan, Thomas, District Attorney, v. 485; viii. 255.

Swan, —, of New York, x. 395.

Swartwout, Samuel, Navy Agent, iv. 133; vi. 478; viii. 259. Defalcation of, x. 58, 279, 448, 457, 458.

Sweden, Regent of, pursues policy of the United States, i. 111. Treaty with, 197; vii. 398, 399, 424, 428. Ex-King, ii. 32, 33, 63, 158, 177, 295, 296; iv. 404; vii. 158, 164, 349. Peace concluded with Russia, ii. 33. Late war with, 63. (See *Treaties*.) Prince Royal of, candidates for, 158; Bernadotte elected, 158. Promises of indemnity, 484. Insists on recall of Dolgorouki, 485. Victory of, 525. Peasants of, 642. Delivers up pirates, v. 358. (See *Sudermania*, *Duke of*; *Holstein*, *Prince of*.)

Swedish Government at Aix-la-Chapelle, iv. 317. Claims of American citizens, 424. Refusal of, to admit a Consul of the United States at the island of St. Bartholomew, vi. 32. Propose commercial treaty with Colombia, 219.

Swedish officers, robberies of, on United States citizens, iv. 424.

Sweetzer, Seth, Consul at Guayaquil, republic of Equador, ix. 492.

Swift, Joseph G., Surveyor of the Port of New York, vi. 532. Indicted for cheating, vii. 163, 208, 224. Superseded, x. 447.

Swift, Mr., Portuguese Consul at Alexandria, vi. 372.

Swift's works, ix. 222.

Swinerton, Anna, petitioner, x. 8.

Symmes, John Cleves, Captain, his theory of the earth, vii. 168.

Symonds, Captain, ii. 144. (See *Adams*, *J. Q.*)

System, want of, vi. 374.

System of fortifying the coast, v. 331.

System of Penal Laws compiled by E. Livingston, ix. 33.

T.

Tabona, iv. 326.

Tacitus, translations of, by Murphy and Gordon, compared, vii. 356. Histories of, 365, 421.

Tacon, Don Miguel, Spanish Chargé d'Affaires, note of, concerning Mexican privateers, vii. 497, 522. (See *Obregon*; *Privateers*.)

Tacubaya, mission to, vii. 160. (See *Panama*.)

Taggart, John M., and workmen on the Treasury building, memorial from, x. 312.

Tagle, —, Secretary of State at Buenos Ayres, iv. 117.

Tait, Charles, of Georgia, Senator, iv. 240.

Talcott, Noah, ii. 390. (See *John Thomas*, etc.)

Taliaferro, John, of Virginia, in the House of Representatives, vii. 181, 182, 370; viii. 260, 267; xi. 7, 8.

Tallazan, Ben, a Creek chief, vii. 3. (See *Indians*.)

Tallazan, Jim, a Creek chief, vii. 3. (See *Indians*.)

Taller, Stephen, petitioner, ix. 537.

Talleyrand, Bishop of Autun, banished, i. 32. Dispatches from, iii. 192. Vilified, v. 433. Declines negotiating for Louisiana Treaty, 433, 444. Proposals to Livingston, 444, 445.

Tallmadge, James, of New York, in the House of Representatives, iv. 528; vi. 289, 293, 298, 407; vii. 370, 411; viii. 417. Lieutenant-Governor of New York, vi. 464.

Tallmadge, M. B., supports the Administration, iv. 198, 445.

Tallmadge, Nathaniel P., of New York, Senator, xi. 107.

Talma, Francis J., the actor, iii. 552.

Tampa Bay, munitions of war sent to, ix. 491.

Tancred, Mr., x. 168.

Taney, Roger B., vi. 499. Nominated

- to be Secretary of the Treasury; rejected, ix. 17, 156. Report on removal of deposits from the United States Bank, 41, 48. Chief Justice, 346; x. 115, 399, 431.
- Tangier Island, conduct of American Consul at, vi. 449. Slaves at, 544. (See *Mulronney*.)
- Tanner's Atlases, vi. 510.
- Tappan, Arthur, xi. 23.
- Tappan, Benjamin, of Ohio, Senator, x. 261.
- Tappan, Lewis, x. 135, 287, 358; xi. 405; xii. 66. Conversation with, xi. 23, 379.
- Tariff, of Napoleon, ii. 192, 198. Bills, v. 309; vi. 295; vii. 531; viii. 190, 218, 229, 513, 516, 517, 522. Debates on, v. 128, 410, 411; vi. 28, 264, 282, 291, 353, 451; viii. 438, 446-463, 476; xi. 245. Of 1816, v. 438. Private meetings to consider, 439, 444-449. Unpopular in England, viii. 85. Convention, 416, 438. Act, 503. Law, ix. 76. Petitions, xi. 138. (See *House*, etc.)
- Tarleton, B., Colonel, his History of the Campaigns of 1780 and 1781, viii. 286.
- Tarr, A. de Kalb, memorial of, xii. 65. Letter to, 67.
- Tasso, Hoole's Life of, i. 178, 181.
- Tatem, Mr., papers deposited by, at the Department of State, vi. 14, 15.
- Tatischeff, M., Russian Minister at Madrid, iv. 404, 446, 458, 459.
- Tatnall, E. F., of Georgia, in the House of Representatives, vi. 87, 481; vii. 127.
- Tauenzin, General, iii. 264.
- Tawast, Baron de, ii. 466.
- Taxes levied on dispatches, iii. 259. Property, 311, 313, 315. On recommending new, v. 408, 410.
- Tayloe, Edward T., Secretary of Legation to the republic of Colombia, vii. 159; viii. 16, 199.
- Taylor, Commodore, iv. 413, 414.
- Taylor, General, vii. 45.
- Taylor, John, Colonel, of Virginia, Senator, vi. 246, 263, 312, 344, 345. Account of the debates on the Slave-Trade Convention, 348. Views on the Presidential election, 356.
- Taylor, John Lewis, Chief Justice of North Carolina, proposed for a South American mission, vi. 128.
- Taylor, John W., of New York, in the House of Representatives, iv. 528; v. 315, 437, 443, 469, 523; vi. 512, 513; vii. 196, 367, 404, 535; viii. 461, 478, 524; ix. 197, 337; x. 64, 87, 94, 98; xi. 418. Candidate for Speaker of the House, v. 202, 431. Conversation with, 203. Speaker, 307, 314. Re-election defeated, 431, 438, 451, 474. Chosen, vii. 68, 69, 70, 72, 196, 363. Overtures to the writer, v. 428, 474. Pledges himself to the anti-Clintonian views, 428. Opinions on domestic affairs of the country, 428. Friendly to the Monroe Administration; repels charges of hostility to, 431, 438, 439, 440. Receives award under the Jay Treaty, 516. Candidate for office of Clerk of the House, vi. 113. On the Presidential election; favors the Northern candidate, 114. Conversations with, on elections of Vice-President and President, 216, 236-238, 246, 257, 265, 289, 290, 292, 371, 372; choice of Speaker of the House of Representatives, 217. On Committee upon the N. Edwards Memorial, 297, 352, 360, 363, 384, 386, 391. Unpopularity of, vii. 72, 368. Memorial for emancipation of slaves, 103. Attack upon, 103. Bitterness against Clinton, 146. Public and private character of, 368. On the election of Speaker Stevenson; message; state of politics in New York, 369, 370, 381. Political conversations with, viii. 89, 180, 210, 261, 263, 341. Views of, on the tariff, 181, 439, 440, 444, 448. Ap-

- points committee to review the President's Message, 263. Chairman of opposition meetings, 337.
- Taylor, William, Consul at Vera Cruz, charged with conveying intriguing papers by French agent, vi. 183.
- Taylor, William, of Virginia, in the House of Representatives, xii. 147, 148.
- Tazewell, Littleton W., of Virginia, Commissioner on the Spanish Claims, v. 361, 362; vi. 40, 347, 377. On claim of R. W. Meade, 377. Senator, vii. 103, 170, 216, 223, 249; viii. 83, 117, 179, 209, 222, 306, 321, 327. Objects to Conventions on the Boundary questions, vii. 389. In favor of ratifying the Northeastern Boundary Convention, 409. Animosity to the author, viii. 106. Governor of Virginia, ix. 73.
- Tchitchagoff, Admiral, ii. 472; iii. 223.
- Te Deum, at Notre Dame, in celebration of birth of Dauphin, i. 37. At the Imperial Chapel, St. Petersburg, in celebration of peace between France and Austria, ii. 57-60, 81. At the Kazan Church, 555.
- Telegraph and balloons, use of, in the French army, i. 77.
- Telegraph, the newspaper, viii. 301, 324, 371, 372, 387, 509. Controversy between the New York Courier and, 209. Approves action of Georgia defying the Supreme Court, 262. Letters of J. Forsyth and W. H. Crawford published in, 324. Van Buren's note, 329. Publishes J. Hamilton's report on Texas, ix. 333.
- Tellier, Abbé, ii. 32. Conversation with, 32, 33.
- Temple, donations for the erection of, made by John Adams to the town of Quincy, iv. 131, 147. Consultations respecting, 147.
- Temple, Sir William, i. 117.
- Temple, Mr., recommended for United States Treasurer, vii. 529.
- Ten Cate on negotiating drafts, iv. 118.
- Tennessee land titles, x. 422.
- Ternant, M. de, i. 69.
- Terra Firma, v. 187, 188. (See *Porto Rico*.)
- Terrill, William, of Georgia, in the House of Representatives, declines reelection, v. 318. Knows the author of "Sagittarius," 319.
- Territorial laws, application of, to States, v. 5, 6. Extent of, 6, 8, 446. Relating to the administration of estates, vii. 349.
- Territory, cessions of, by the States to the Union, v. 8, 9.
- Test, John, of Indiana, in the House of Representatives, vi. 521; vii. 263.
- Texan Congress, debate in, x. 23. Accedes to proposals for annexation; rejects the treaty with Mexico, xii. 201, 202. (See *Texas*.)
- Texas, v. 25, 67. Military expedition to, iv. 413, 453, 518; v. 75, 80, 84; ix. 278. Occupation of, advocated by T. Jefferson, v. 128. Proposals to Mexican Government for purchase of, vii. 239, 240; viii. 464. Slavery abolished in, 465. Relative positions of, and the Government of the United States, ix. 194. Annexation of; discussions and proceedings concerning, 298, 330, 377, 379, 431, 443, 537; x. 6, 11, 18, 22; xi. 29, 41, 347-370, 470; xii. 13, 18, 19, 21, 22, 26, 32, 33. Expedition to Santa Fé, xi. 61, 351. Growth of, 361.
- Texas newspapers, articles on the situation, xi. 361.
- Thacher, Peter, Judge, ix. 142. Judgment of, in case of the Council of the State against the Mayor and Aldermen of the city of Boston for false election returns, 18.
- Thanksgiving, day of public, vii. 53.
- Thaxter, John, i. 7, 10.
- Thayer, Minot, vii. 140; x. 130, 131; xi. 250, 251, 257, 269.
- Thayer, Sylvanus, Colonel, Superintend-

- ent of the Military Academy at West Point, iv. 375, 428, 429; vii. 44, 265, 325; viii. 540. Letter to the Secretary of War, iv. 431. Arbitrary acts of; appoints a court of enquiry; legality of, questioned, vii. 166, 260, 271. Communication to the President on the condition of the Academy, 298-300. On the trying of cadets by Court-martial, 299, 309.
- Thelwall, trial of, i. 53.
- Theological Institution at Cambridge, Massachusetts, transcendentalism first broached there, x. 348.
- Theophylact, Bishop, ii. 555, 556.
- Thierry, Mr., of the French Legation, v. 340.
- Thiers, M., his account of the murder of the Duc d'Enghien, ii. 166. Speech on policy of France towards the United States, xii. 249.
- Thomas, Captain, of the steamboat Constitution, vii. 126.
- Thomas, Francis, of Maryland, in the House of Representatives, ix. 122, 390, 392, 411, 522, 524, 541; x. 15, 26, 51, 80, 81, 85, 89, 94, 99, 157, 171, 382.
- Thomas, George, Cashier of the Bank of the Metropolis, ix. 517.
- Thomas, Harry, discharged from prison, vii. 124.
- Thomas, Isaiah, of Worcester, Massachusetts, ix. 16.
- Thomas, James, Colonel, vii. 391; viii. 51, 83; ix. 313, 314. Conversation with, upon politics, vii. 304, 391; viii. 300, 316, 324; x. 116. On the Northeastern Boundary question, viii. 337.
- Thomas, Jesse B., of Illinois, v. 207, 224, 304. Senator, vi. 284; vii. 427; viii. 10, 80. Commissioner to examine land-offices, and canvasser for Crawford, v. 483; vi. 246, 370. Appointment of, a violation of the Constitution, v. 483. Views of, friendly to the Administration, vii. 77, 91. Conduct of, on appointment of H. Clay, 91. On the Panama mission, 106. Conversation with, on Kentucky politics, 476. On the Tariff bill, 531, 536. Relations of, with Pope; with Kane, 476. On the removal of J. McLean, 536.
- Thomas, John, engaged in illegal trade with England, ii. 390, 392.
- Thomas, John, Major-General, of the Revolutionary service, ix. 419.
- Thomas, John and Nathaniel, petitioners, ix. 460.
- Thomas, Philemon, of Louisiana, in the House of Representatives, viii. 468, 470; ix. 56, 205.
- Thomas, Mr., Naval Architect, vi. 479, 502.
- Thomas, Hoffman, and Macauley, committee on behalf of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company, vii. 266. President of the Company, 466.
- Thomasson, William P., of Kentucky, in the House of Representatives, xi. 486.
- Thompson, Arad, viii. 245.
- Thompson, Captain, ii. 25.
- Thompson, Charles, viii. 274.
- Thompson, Dr., of Charlestown, Massachusetts, vii. 138.
- Thompson, Edward, of Philadelphia, fraudulent failure of, involving the United States Government, vii. 72, 93, 94, 98. Correspondence, transactions, and opinions relating to, 95, 120, 122, 124, 259. Sale of his ships, 120, 122, 124, 126. Security of the insurance companies involved, 122, 124, 126. In prison, 158; release of, 394. (See *Ingersoll, Charles F.*)
- Thompson, George, of England, visits the Southern States; preaches immediate abolition of slavery; excites popular tumults, ix. 252.
- Thompson, Gilbert T., messenger to Texas, xii. 58, 60.
- Thompson, Isaac, i. 251, 255.
- Thompson, Jacob, of Mississippi, in the House of Representatives, x. 307,

- 376, 404; xi. 59, 176, 182, 298, 325, 478, 507; xii. 157.
- Thompson, Jonathan, Collector at New York, vii. 314, 543.
- Thompson, Richard W., of Indiana, in the House of Representatives, x. 524; xi. 75, 221, 241. Speech in favor of Bank bill, 524.
- Thompson, Smith, of New York, v. 441; vi. 187; vii. 236, 314; viii. 304; x. 431. Secretary of the Navy, iv. 132, 136, 144, 162, 213, 252, 267, 300, 309, 409, 493; v. 9, 46, 64, 102, 122, 306, 308, 380, 381, 389, 396, 405, 418, 421, 425, 451, 479, 485, 487, 492, 507, 523; vi. 9, 11, 24, 33, 34, 137. On the ratification of the Florida Treaty; the land-grants, v. 85. The occupation of Florida, 100. On the right of search, 217. Advocates maintenance of the jurisdiction of Carleton Island, 396. Favors the writer's project for regulating belligerent rights, vi. 165. Appointed Judge of the Supreme Court, 168, 173, 366, 515. Decision in the *Amistad* case, x. 132, 134. Candidate for Governor, vii. 404. Death of, xi. 454.
- Thompson, Thomas, petitioner, ix. 515.
- Thompson, Thomas W., viii. 118.
- Thompson, Waddy, x. 369, 397. In the House of Representatives, ix. 283, 285, 287, 380, 382, 468, 475, 529, 533; x. 9, 24, 65, 80, 160, 164, 168, 206, 403, 415, 417. Iowa Territory; Texas, 10, 11, 18. Minister to Mexico, xi. 133, 353; return, xii. 41. Letter of, 68.
- Thompson, Wiley, of Georgia, v. 455. In the House of Representatives, 441, 468, 487.
- Thompson, —, of Ohio, appointed Judge of Arkansas Territory, v. 212.
- Thorndike, Colonel, viii. 28. (See *Commerce, the*.)
- Thornton, Major, petition for appointment of, to be Brigadier-General, vii. 387.
- Thornton, William, Dr., iv. 50; v. 335, 534; vi. 18, 144, 191, 400, 458, 476, 492; vii. 5, 7, 236, 295. His publications,—“*The Columbian*,” iv. 53, 54. Reproved for his transactions with McGregor, 54, 55. His invention of the steamboat prior to Fulton's, 351. Desires agency to South America, 527. Plan of, for going as agent to South America, v. 144. Solicits subscriptions for the Greeks, vi. 324. His electioneering paper against Crawford, 413. His mission to Guatemala, 438.
- Thornton, Mr., British Minister in Sweden, iii. 364.
- Thornton, Mrs., attempt to murder, by a slave, ix. 251, 255.
- Thoughts on the French Revolution, by Edmund Burke, i. 25.
- Thoughts, suppressed, vii. 169.
- Three Sisters, the ship, ii. 144.
- Thruston, Thomas L., Judge, v. 485; vii. 346; viii. 30, 147; ix. 40.
- Thulemeyer, Baron, viii. 303.
- Thurlow, Lord Chancellor, i. 150.
- Tiarks, Dr., the British astronomer, and Hassler, iv. 145; v. 457.
- Tibbatts, J. W., of Kentucky, in the House of Representatives, xii. 135, 136, 145, 158, 161.
- Tibbits, John G., xi. 136.
- Tierney, D., debate with Huskisson, iii. 522, 536.
- Tilden, Daniel R., of Ohio, in the House of Representatives, xii. 135, 151.
- Tilden, David, i. 250.
- Tilesius, Mr., Professor of Natural History, writings of, ii. 76, 110, 115; his press for coloring prints, 115.
- Tilghman, Chief Justice, eulogy on, by H. Binney, vii. 332.
- Tillinghast, Joseph L., of Rhode Island, in the House of Representatives, ix. 374, 389, 532; x. 22, 80, 85, 284, 286, 311, 315, 390, 425; xi. 189, 193.
- Tillotson, Robert, v. 322. District Attorney in New York, vii. 396.

- Timberlake, John B., Purser of the frigate *Constitution*, defalcation of, viii. 165, 179, 197. Correspondence with Eaton, 189. Transactions of, enquiry into, 209. (See *Eaton*.)
- Time, metamorphoses accomplished by, v. 235.
- Timmins, Mr., petitions for a remission of penalty, vi. 467.
- Tingey, Commodore, vi. 409, 545; vii. 30, 314. Commissioner, 296, 342.
- Tippett, Mr., vii. 255.
- Tipton, John, Indian Agent, viii. 35; accounts of, vii. 407. Treaty concluded by, 472. (See *Indians*.)
- Tithes, viii. 269. (See *Church of England*.)
- Titles of honor, iv. 381.
- Titus, Emperor, v. 162.
- Titus, Obadiah, of New York, in the House of Representatives, ix. 399.
- Toasts, iii. 301-303, 304, 331, 336, 342; iv. 398, 491; vi. 169, 457; vii. 335, 338, 445; viii. 50, 377; x. 496; xi. 200. On occasion of peace with England, iii. 131. By Skinner, the Postmaster, v. 137. English practice of, 330. By the writer, 459. Given by John Adams on the fiftieth anniversary of Independence, vii. 133. Instigating assassination, 239. At the Columbian Institute, 393. By the Governor of South Carolina, viii. 227. At the Jefferson dinner, 228. Of H. L. White, 331.
- Tobacco an article of export from Colombia; of Varinas, v. 188. Régie on, 350.
- Tobiesen, Governor of Christiansand, visit to, ii. 22, 23.
- Todd, C. S., agent to Venezuela, v. 49, 539. Instructions to, 129, 491, 495; vi. 111. Misunderstandings with Dr. Gual, 219, 220. Letter of, vii. 461. Charges against A. Jackson, viii. 64.
- Todd, John, of Pennsylvania, in the House of Representatives, iv. 15; v. 322. Leader of the tariff debate in 1824, ix. 373.
- Todd, Payne, iii. 14, 61, 154, 186, 191, 219; iv. 514.
- Todd's New Method of Induction, viii. 426.
- Todson, G. P., Dr., Surgeon in the Navy, cashiered, vii. 161, 183, 188, 245; viii. 31; x. 452, 473. Threat of, to kill the author, 190, 192, 210-212. Solicits reappointment, 209, 210. Interviews with, 209-212, 216, 239, 244, 248. Solicits clerkship, 282. Obtains position as ship's-surgeon, 285, 287, 289, 290. Return of, from Africa, 378. Interview with, xii. 154.
- Toland, George W., of Philadelphia, in the House of Representatives, x. 311.
- Toledo, memorial from, ix. 288.
- Tolly, Barclay de, Russian Minister of War, ii. 135, 398, 399, 527.
- Tolstoy, Count, ii. 212, 240, 262.
- Tombigbee River, French settlement on, iv. 19.
- Tomlinson, Gideon, of Connecticut, in the House of Representatives, v. 469; vi. 489, 490; vii. 229, 232; viii. 229.
- Tompkins, D. D., Governor of New York, iii. 275. Vice-President, iv. 493, 511; v. 37, 206. Re-elected, 277, 326, 479; vi. 235, 238. Prospects of, for the Presidency, 298, 299, 439.
- Tompson, agent from Buenos Ayres, dismissed, iv. 46, 47.
- Ton, quantities assumed as constituting the, vi. 18, 22, 28.
- Tone, T. Wolfe, vii. 312.
- Tooke, John Horne, trial of, i. 53.
- Töplitz, visit to, i. 231; ii. 526, 527.
- Torcy, Marquis de, *Memoirs*, i. 110; iii. 156; vii. 320.
- Tories, viii. 511.
- Torlade, Chevalier, Chargé d'Affaires from the King of Portugal, ix. 36, 106. Recognition of, denied, viii.

152. Proposes treaty of commerce, 153. (See *D'Azambuja*.) Interviews with, 174, 213. Accredited, 174, 319. His controversy with Barroso Pereira for possession of the archives of the Portuguese Legation, 213, 220-223. (See *Pereira, B.*)
- Tornel, General, Mexican Minister of War, xi. 360. Pamphlet by, 371.
- Torres, Manuel, Chargé d'Affaires from the republic of Colombia, v. 43, 491, 492; vi. 23, 27, 111. Interview with, iv. 440; v. 113, 116, 187, 215, 240. Applies for purchase of arms from the United States, 43, 44, 45, 115, 186, 187, 215, 240, 283. Proposes recognition of Colombia, 114, 186, 187, 240, 283. His account of the campaign in Caraccas and New Granada, 186; of the armistice between Bolivar and Morillo, 215, 240. Urges sending of a Minister to Colombia, 494. Audience of the President, vi. 23, 24. Proposes a treaty of commerce, 27, 219.
- Torrey, Charles T., Rev., imprisoned for enticing away slaves, xii. 68, 69. Petitions for release of, 209.
- Total depravity, vii. 268, 269.
- Totten, Colonel, iv. 145.
- Toucey, Isaac, of Connecticut, in the House of Representatives, ix. 326, 392; x. 24. Speech on the Duel Report, ix. 520.
- Toulmin, Judge, letter of, iv. 40, 42.
- Toulon, relief for sufferers at, ix. 152, 153, 156.
- Tour, Marquis de la, Sardinian Minister of Foreign Affairs, declaration of, concerning duties on Sardinian shipping, vi. 183, 184.
- Tour Maubourg, General de la, iii. 188, 189.
- Towers, John T., xi. 463.
- Town meeting in Boston, on the affair of the Chesapeake, ix. 217; to put down the abolitionists, 252, 253. At Quincy, to consider the slanderous report of Rev. W. Cornell, 246, 254; committee appointed; transactions of, 254-257; accepted and published, 258. (See *Cornell*.)
- Townes, G. W. B., of Georgia, in the House of Representatives, ix. 279.
- Townsend, Eleazer, chosen Sergeant-at-Arms of the U. S. House of Representatives, x. 476.
- Townshend, Charles, i. 4.
- Tracy, Albert H., of New York, in the House of Representatives, v. 264, 265, 469; vi. 453, 458; vii. 81, 84, 345, 388, 497; viii. 191, 412; xi. 415. On Presidential elections, vi. 292, 329, 439, 448, 484.
- Tracy, Count Destutt de, ii. 487, 488, 490, 492, 495, 522, 523, 529; iii. 155, 157, 183, 190, 194.
- Tracy, Frederick P., petition relating to the Cilley duel, ix. 503.
- Tracy, G. B., vi. 510.
- Tracy, Phineas L., of New York, in the House of Representatives, viii. 431.
- Tracy, Uriah, of Connecticut, in the House of Representatives, Senator, viii. 141. (See *Gould*.)
- Trade, balance of, ii. 86. Act regulating, iii. 253. With South America, China, and India, v. 115. With Mexico and Terra Firma, 188. British West Indies, evasion of law restricting, 196. British Colonial, negotiations for regulating, vi. 87-90, 104, 188, 295; interdiction of, by Great Britain, vii. 157, 166, 169, 213, 227; countervailing measures, 213, 215, 231, 237, 238; viii. 169. With the Black Sea, v. 198. With Colombia, vi. 220. (See *Great Britain; Commerce; Canning, S.*)
- Transcendentalism, x. 345, 350.
- Travelling, expense of, in France and in England compared, iii. 200. Increase of, between Washington and Boston, Massachusetts, vii. 315.

- Treadwell, O. W., anonymous correspondence of, viii. 119; ix. 168.
- Treason, trials for, i. 53.
- Treasury circular restricting payments for public lands, rescinding of, demanded, ix. 356.
- Treasury Department, vii. 73, 82, 195, 247, 359. Increased expenses of, v. 239. Management of the, vi. 387, 390, 394, 400, 438. State of, 431. Conflagration at, viii. 541. New buildings for, x. 13.
- Treasury order, issued in May, 1818, v. 336, 377, 391, 414, 418, 422, 423.
- Treasury Reports, vi. 439.
- Treasury warrants, vi. 399, 526. (See *Revenue*.)
- Treaty, of peace with Sweden, ii. 54. With Russia, 68. At Fredericks-hamm, 105. Of 1794 with England, American vessels admitted by, to British settlements; refusal to renew the article; to West Indies, 200, 201. Of commerce with Russia, proposals for, 271, 289. Of Tilsit, 349. Between France and United States, rumors of, 361. With England, 361. Of peace between Russia and Turkey, 401. Of commerce between England and Russia ended by war, 437. Of England with Portugal, 449. Of commerce with Russia, 491, 499. Of peace with Persia, 570. With Indians, iii. 8, 9. Of Greenville, 18, 42, 43, 44, 74. Of 1783, 42, 60, 63, 72, 84, 109, 127, 267; v. 356, 518; vi. 54. Of 1794, iii. 63, 106, 344; v. 402. Jay, iii. 74; ratification of, reserved to the President and Senate, 83. Of 25th of March, 195. Of Fontainebleau, 220. Of Paris, 224, 241. Of 1806, 244. Of Ghent, 3-126; iv. 93, 197; ratification received in England, 171-173; erroneous construction put upon the first article by the British Government, 204, 234, 237, 255-259; stipulations of, relating to surrender of posts, iii. 255; to slaves captured in war, restoration of; distinction marked between public and private property, 255-258, 292-295. Of commerce with England, 190; iv. 97, 98, 100, 146, 165; negotiations relating to, iii. 201; new, proposed, 388-403; declined by Great Britain, 422, 444; Cabinet councils thereon, 453. Of commerce, political articles included in, 228. Of 1786, usages of; mode of signing, 237, 238, 240-245. Of Chaumont, 238. With Algiers, 356, 359, 369, 380, 400, 401, 419; suspension of, 400, 419; modification of, 455. With Tunis, 369. With Spain, iv. 26, 36. (See *Spain*; *Florida*.) Alleged, between Austria and England, 68. Of 1783, 93, 333. Of 1794, 93, 333. Slave-Trade Abolition, between Great Britain and Spain, 95; Portugal, 150, 151. Commercial, with Sweden, 100. Power of making, 151. Supreme law, 151. The alternative in signing, insisted on, 271, 272. Of alliance between Great Britain, Austria, and Persia against Russia, v. 141; stipulations, 402. Of 1778, 349. Between France and Spain, 518. Of St. Ildefonso, 518. Principles of negotiating, 533. With the Creek Indians, conditions of, 538. Of neutrality of 1686, vi. 51. All, abrogated by war, English authorities on, 54. Expenses of commissions, 143. Negotiated by the Executive before being submitted to the Senate, 427. Construction of, dependent on the judiciary tribunals, 436. Tunisian, 436. Of Ackerman, viii. 162, 164. Of London, 164. Of Gulistan, 175. Martens's collection of, 175. Of Tourkmantchai, 175. Of Adrianople, 175. Florida, 186. Of peace with Great Britain, facts concerning, 293, 295. With Prussia, 303. With the Emperor of Morocco, 303. Two, with Algiers, 322. (See *Conventions*;

- Commissioners; Commerce; Great Britain; Tripoli.*)
- Trees, vii. 255, 256. (See *Forest Trees.*)
- Trenchard, Captain, of the *Cyane*, v. 174, 181, 229.
- Trendholm, —, proof-reader of the Globe office, examination of, as to corrections in the *Amistad* translation, x. 377, 392.
- Tribunal de premières instances, iii. 153.
- Tribunals, criminal, at Ghent, ii. 661, 662. Of the United States, v. 357. To carry into effect the ninth article of the Florida Treaty, vi. 91, 96.
- Trimble, David, of Kentucky, in the House of Representatives, v. 67–69, 462, 470, 471, 474; vi. 355, 460; vii. 281. Conversation with, on the call for T. Jefferson's secret message of 18th of January, 1803, 89. Stump-speeches, 255. Northwest Coast negotiations, 89.
- Trimble, Lieutenant, surveyor on the Baltimore and Ohio Railway, viii. 34.
- Trimble, Robert, Judge, death of, viii. 83, 95.
- Trimble, William A., of Ohio, Senator, v. 286. Funeral of, 452.
- Trinity, doctrine of the, vii. 228, 273, 477; ix. 507.
- Trinity House, duties levied by, iii. 307, 314.
- Tripier, M., counsel in case of the Count de Saint-Leu, iii. 153, 154.
- Triplett, Major, v. 455.
- Triplett, Philip, of Kentucky, in the House of Representatives, x. 299, 411, 486; xi. 157.
- Tripoli, iii. 355. Bey of, declaration agreeing to abandon Christian slavery, 401. (See *Barbary States; Tunis.*)
- Tripoli Treaty, i. 430–436, 475.
- Trippe, Captain, of the steamboat United States, vii. 312, 333.
- Trist, Nicholas P., Consul at Havanna, x. 255, 293. Trouble with; charged with aiding the slave-trade, 255, 283, 284; arrested, 300. Correspondence, 255, 403, 441, 443, 495, 499. Report of A. H. Everett, 440. Treatise to British Commissioners, 453. (See *Slave-Trade.*)
- Trolhättan, waterfalls and canal at, ii. 642.
- Troup, George M., Governor of Georgia, Senator, viii. 179. Difficulties with the Creek Indians; with the Cherokees; correspondence relating to, vi. 400; vii. 3–6, 11, 21, 118, 136. The State survey; stopped by the Cherokees; orders out the militia to protect, 49, 136, 219, 222. Sets the authority of the United States at defiance; orders resistance by force to the Government troops, 232, 233. Orders suspension of the survey for the boundary between Georgia and Florida, 274. (See *Georgia; Indians.*)
- Troy pound weight, imperial standard sent from England, vii. 330.
- Trubezkoi, General, ii. 375.
- Trumbull, John, the artist, i. 46, 100, 132; viii. 27, 80, 81. Paintings by, in the Capitol, iv. 4, 128; vii. 188.
- Trumbull, Joseph, of Connecticut, in the House of Representatives, x. 530.
- Tucker, Dr., vi. 18; viii. 68.
- Tucker, George, of Virginia, in the House of Representatives, Chairman of the Committee on the Beaumarchais claim, vi. 238. The writer of Crawford's reply to the Edwards address, 346. Professor at the University of Virginia, ix. 156. Life of Thomas Jefferson, 157, 158.
- Tucker, Samuel, Captain, of the frigate Boston, ii. 4; vii. 165; viii. 266.
- Tucker, Thomas T., Treasurer of the United States, death of, vii. 426; funeral of, 528.
- Tucker's Blackstone, v. 449.

- Tuckerman, Dr., x. 39.
- Tudor, William, i. 250, 253; v. 453; vii. 297. Minister to Brazil, 284, 341, 483; viii. 135. Instructions to, vii. 346, 495, 500. Dispatches; correspondence, viii. 57, 135. Life of Otis, ix. 157; xii. 266. Treaty, ix. 136, 224. Death of, 223; notices of, 224, 231, 311, 338. Bill for relief of heirs of, x. 103. (See *House*, etc.)
- Tuel, Mrs., vii. 159.
- Tufts, Dr., of Weymouth, viii. 385.
- Tufts, Mrs. Mercy, of Weymouth, xi. 378.
- Tuncal, the, a Buenos Ayres privateer, seized at Baltimore, viii. 3.
- Tunis, Great Britain proposes terms of peace to, with Naples and Sardinia, 355, 357. Bey of, abolishes slavery, xi. 370.
- Tunstall, —, Deputy Collector at Norfolk, vii. 85.
- Turin, seized by the French, i. 225.
- Turkey, relations with Russia; the Government charged with evasions of the treaty of peace; the Emperor's letter to the Sultan; reply, v. 141, 443, 449. Proposals for treaty of commerce with; opposition to, 198; vi. 320, 358; viii. 255, 261, 287, 321. The Sultan refuses intervention in the war with Greece, 167.
- Turkish Legation, appropriations for, viii. 497, 498. (See *Dragoman*.)
- Turkish manifesto, viii. 164.
- Turks, the, ii. 151; vi. 109; vii. 463. Failure of negotiations with, viii. 151. Expulsion of, from Europe, advocated, 164, 167. Character of the, x. 91. (See *Sublime Porte*; *Turkey*; *Russia*.)
- Turner, B., Captain, claim of, for prisoners from Jamaica, vi. 139.
- Turner, Captain, of the United States sloop-of-war *Erie*, cuts out the privateer *Federal* in the harbor of St. Bartholomew's; the act disavowed by Government, viii. 90; papers relating to, 97. (See *Federal*, the; *Stackelberg*.)
- Turner, James, of Maryland, in the House of Representatives, ix. 148.
- Turner, Lydia, claim of, ix. 491.
- Turney, L. Hopkins, of Tennessee, in the House of Representatives, ix. 550; x. 4, 154, 156, 157, 268, 344, 538; xi. 194. (See *Bell*, J.)
- Turreau, General, iv. 359. Conversation with, i. 410-412, 420. Losses, iii. 171, 172. Book on the United States written by, 182, 183.
- Tustin, Rev. Mr., Chaplain of the House, xi. 190, 294, 502, 507.
- Tutt, Mr., Commissioner to the Creek Indians, vii. 294.
- Tuyl, Baron de, Russian Minister, iv. 68; vi. 222, 408, 502, 527; vii. 7; viii. 169. Negotiations on the Northwest Coast question, vi. 93, 100, 101, 137, 143, 146, 151, 159, 162. Interviews with, 163, 165, 409, 435-437, 463. Exchanges ratifications, 465. Returns with Treaty to St. Petersburg, 480. On the Slave-Trade and Belligerent Rights questions, 165. On the Slave-Trade Convention, 455. On the United States squadron in the Pacific, desires conciliatory measures regarding, 169. Interviews with, on South American affairs, 182, 190, 212-215, 221, 229; vii. 8-10. Lawsuit of Harris and Lewis, vi. 410. On the Tonnage duties, 500. Correspondence with, on the South American question, 196. Instructions to, concerning indemnity to the Pearl, 409. Interviews with, on Spain and the South American republics, vii. 8-10. Conferences with Mr. Clay on interposition of the Emperor of Russia in affairs of Spain, 88, 95.
- Two Sicilies, iii. 355. Letter from the King of the, vii. 349.
- Tyler, B. O., v. 330; vii. 540.
- Tyler, John, of Virginia, in the House of Delegates of Virginia, his report

on the action of Tennessee postponed, vi. 226. Senator, vii. 433. Nominated candidate as Vice-President, x. 159; elected, 418. On the death of the President, accedes to the Presidency, 456. Inaugural address, 462. Styles himself President, 463. Visit to him, 464. Distrust of him, 469, 473. Veto of the Bank bill, 537. His policy, xi. 279, 338, 346. Reception at Boston; attends the celebration on the finishing of Bunker Hill Monument, 383, 386. Democratic candidate for the Presidency, xii. 22. Movement to impeach, 37. Censured by the House, 253. First Vice-President acceding to the Presidency, 176. Tyler, Mr., Agent to the West Indies, iv. 12. Tyrol, the, insurrection in, ii. 533.

U.

Ukase of Peter the Great, ii. 406. Ulysses, the, ii. 611, 625. Underwood, Joseph R., of Kentucky, in the House of Representatives, ix. 286, 323, 327, 388, 390, 392, 394, 396, 441, 525; x. 5, 19, 94, 105, 145, 286, 306, 333, 470, 495, 505, 508, 515, 530; xi. 75, 139, 148, 171, 173, 195, 275, 281. Underwood, Mr., Delegate from New York to confer with the Committee of Congress on the Revenue bill, x. 395. Underwriters, rights of, v. 361, 362. (See *Insurance Companies*.) Union Literary Society of Washington College, Pennsylvania; elected honorary member of, x. 131. Union of the United States, in danger, iv. 495. Prophecies of the dissolution of; condition of the South in the event of, 526, 530, 531; v. 12, 68, 210; viii. 479, 483; ix. 162; x. 39, 40. Revolution of fortunes in; wide-spread discontent in; cause of, v. 128. Distinctive characteristics of the great divisions of, 307. Power of, bears upon individuals, vii. 232. Judicial authority of, in danger, viii. 492. Unitarian doctrine, vii. 268, 324. United States, the, successes of, in Algerine War, iii. 250, 251. Hostility between, and Spain, 251; iv. 26, 120, 146. Commercial distress in, 385, 404. Suggests negotiations concerning trade with West Indies carried on in British vessels, 389, 391. Relations of, with Algiers, 455. Policy of, towards South American insurgents, 511; v. 47, 91, 92, 186, 190, 199, 200; vi. 201, 210, 281. Laws of, forbid levying of money for foreign expeditions, iv. 19. Declines to join the treaties of Europe for abolition of the slave-trade, 151, 335, 336. Offers general stipulations, 152. Question of authority of, to renounce the Slave-Trade Convention, vi. 350. Government of, remarks on, iv. 193. Critical state of commerce and finances of, 349, 370, 375, 395. Destiny of, 438. Foreign relations of, 497. System of, with regard to foreign States, ii. 51, 52; vi. 152, 413. Commerce of, ii. 59, 83, 157, 175, 178. Cultivation of cotton, 83, 175. (See *Cotton*.) Difficulty of enforcing laws along the coast of, 178, 179. Trade with Russia, 182, 197. (See *Russia Trade*.) The rival of England in the trade with India, 200. Produces neither gold nor silver, 207. Relations with France, 217, 278; iv. 498, 504. War with England imminent; preparations for, ii. 217, 267, 272, 278, 290. Insists on revocation of Orders in Council, 361, 362. War declared, 396, 448. Proposals for suspension of hostilities rejected, 412, 429, 437. Russian mediation, 412, 426-434; accepted by; opposed in England, 473. Designs

- against Canada defeated, 435; iii. 25, 28, 29. Meeting at Wilna, ii. 440, 441. Proposal of a Congress at Prague, 480. Elections, 426. Policy of, towards the Indians, iii. 8, 27, 28; iv. 120. Spread of, not to be restricted by treaties, iii. 28. Negotiations for peace with England; Government of, publishes dispatches of Commissioners, 69. Approves the rejection of British proposals; authorizes a peace on basis of the status ante bellum, 70. (See *Great Britain; Ghent Treaty; Peace.*) Cannot cede territory of States, 106. Claims of, against the Netherlands; against Naples, Sweden, and Denmark, iv. 498. Claims of Portugal, 498. Neutral between Spain and South American colonies, v. 75, 81, 86. Extra-European policy of, 182. Claims of, on Great Britain for captured slaves, 535 (see *Slave-Indemnity Convention*). Increase in population of, 239. Contests the right of Russia to territorial settlements, vi. 163. Organization of; control over Congress, 452. Sovereign authority of, rests in the people, vii. 354. Claims of citizens on Spain, 488. Claims of citizens for slaves, viii. 47. Corrupt administration of the Government, 189, 273. Control of, over the States, 273. Rapid establishment of, ix. 355. Title to territory west of the Rocky Mountains, 535. Institutions of, degenerating, x. 342, 458, 468. Case of, against Charles Gratiot; decision of the Court reversed by the U. S. Supreme Court, 436. Notes of, protested, xi. 108. Relations with the British American colonies, 170. Negotiations with Mexico and Texas; Butler's correspondence, 347-370. (See *Texas.*)
- United States Circuit Court, jurisdiction of, in case of piracy on the high seas, questioned, x. 132.
- United States Courts, decisions of, on the taking of privateers, vi. 381.
- United States Laws, acts, vi. 378. Publication of, xii. 39, 155.
- United States Marshal, correspondence with the Governor of New Providence relating to the surrender of negroes escaped from St. Augustine, xi. 503.
- United States Treasury, viii. 47.
- United States, the frigate, iv. 368.
- United States, the steamer, conveys General La Fayette to Baltimore, vi. 424.
- Universal mediocrity the basis of the nation's liberties, x. 79.
- University in the State of Ohio, vi. 500.
- Unnaturalized foreigners allowed to vote, x. 226, 232.
- Upham, Nathaniel, of New Hampshire, in the House of Representatives, iv. 215.
- Upshur, Alfred P., Secretary of the Navy, conference with, on revival of the rules and regulations of the Navy, xi. 157. Report to the President, 277. Conversation with, 277, 278. Secretary of State, xii. 61. Killed on board the Princeton, xi. 523; funeral, 525.
- Upton, Captain, iii. 483.
- Ursuline Convent at Charlestown, Massachusetts, destruction of, by a mob, ix. 169.
- Usages of nations respecting public ministers, ii. 26.
- Utica, reception at, xi. 399; waited upon by deputation of colored persons, 400.

V.

- Valdez, Governor-General of Cuba, xi. 354.
- Valenilla, Mr., of the Mexican Legation, vii. 50.
- Valerius Maximus, viii. 140.
- Valero, Mr., Secretary of the Guate-

- malian Legation, vi. 405. Presents copies of the Constitution of Guatemala to the President, vii. 55. (See *Cañaz, A.*)
- Valin, his Ordonnance de la Marine, vi. 479.
- Valverde, —, claim of, for slaves, vii. 187.
- Van Buren Convention, address to the Democratic Republicans, ix. 255.
- Van Buren, John, of New York, in the House of Representatives, anti-tariff speech, xi. 182.
- Van Buren, Martin, of New York, Senator, v. 479, 480; vi. 256, 366, 465, 487, 493; vii. 117, 186, 226; viii. 209, 231, 356, 482. Supports Crawford's election, vi. 273. His party losing influence, 284. Instigates opposition to the Slave-Trade Convention, 345, 348. Visit to Thomas Jefferson and James Madison, 365, 373. Influence of, in New York, vii. 179, 428. His electioneering tour; leader of the Jackson party, 203, 272. Resemblance of, to Aaron Burr, 272. Elected Governor of New York, viii. 77. Secretary of State, 99, 107, 128. Bitterness between partisans of Calhoun and, 116. His ambition, 129. Compared with Aaron Burr; political bargaining, 154. On succession to the Presidency, 166. Conversation with, on Jefferson's Memoirs and Correspondence, 199. Publishes denial of complicity in the Jackson controversy, 329. Resigns office of Secretary of State, 357. Nomination of, as Minister to Great Britain, 440; rejected, 461; debates on, in Senate, 461, 462, 464. Elected Vice-President, 525, 535. Conversation with, ix. 236, 425. Candidate for the Presidency, 242, 312, 318. Character of, compared with that of Jefferson; of Madison, 276, 369. Visits to, 356, 368. President, 366, 436, 437; x. 182, 342, 347, 356, 438. Relations with, ix. 437, 462. Conversations with, relating to use of the Smithsonian Bequest, x. 25, 44. (See *Smithsonian*, etc.) On disturbances on the Canadian frontier, 44. Reconciliation of Calhoun and, 182. Instructions to McLane in England, 536. Negotiations with Mexico, xi. 362, 363. Letter against the annexation of Texas, xii. 19, 21. Withdraws his name as Presidential candidate, 38.
- Vance, Joseph, of Ohio, in the House of Representatives, vi. 502; vii. 225, 530; viii. 93, 228, 257; ix. 136, 197; xi. 388; xii. 13, 33, 36, 149.
- Vandamme, General, taken prisoner, ii. 525, 526.
- Vanderpool, Aaron, of New York, in the House of Representatives, ix. 103, 195, 202, 282, 292, 325, 337; x. 144, 147, 149, 153, 175, 206, 286, 337.
- Vander Spiegel, Councillor Pensionary of Holland, i. 59. Arrest of, 73, 80.
- Vandeventer, Major, iv. 312, 431; v. 45; vi. 425, 507, 531; vii. 29, 49, 175, 226.
- Van Dyke, Midshipman, dismissed from the navy for requesting removal from his vessel, vii. 19, 64.
- Van Eeghen, M., i. 64.
- Van Hees, Mr., i. 81.
- Van Horne, Espy, of Pennsylvania, in the House of Representatives, vii. 369.
- Vanity of human life, meaning of the term in the Scriptures, vii. 285.
- Van Lelyveld, Mr., i. 59.
- Van Lennep, Mr., President of the National Assembly, Holland, i. 187.
- Van Leyden, Mr., i. 171. Conversation with, on custom of making presents to foreign Ministers, 191.
- Van Lynden, Mr., Minister from Holland to Denmark, i. 172.
- Van Ness, C. P., Governor of Vermont, vi. 466; vii. 77. Commissioner under the Ghent Treaty, iv. 375. Claims for salary as Commissioner, vi. 334, 516.

- Fails to become Senator, vii. 275. His argument in the case of Dr. Holmes; engaged with claims against the Mexican Government; Florida Treaty, x. 392. Minister to Spain, xi. 122, 136, 209.
- Van Ness, John P., iii. 275; v. 471; viii. 127. Moves exclusion of N. Edwards from the Fourth of July dinner, vi. 397. Mayor of Washington, 317, 540; ix. 140, 308.
- Van Ness, W. P., Judge, of New York, iii. 275; iv. 514; vi. 187.
- Van Rensselaer, J. Rutsen, letter of, on the disunion project of 1804, viii. 115.
- Van Rensselaer, Solomon, General, recommended as Postmaster at Albany, v. 479, 480; opposed by the Secretary of the Navy and Vice-President Tompkins, 479, 482; appointed, 484.
- Van Rensselaer, Stephen, of New York, in the House of Representatives, vi. 493; vii. 101.
- Vansittart, Mr., iii. 231, 274, 275, 277. (See *Baring*.) In the House of Commons, v. 485.
- Van Son, M., i. 119.
- Van Staphorst, N., efforts of, for release of Mr. Hubbard, i. 116, 117.
- Van Zandt, Mr., i. 470, 487; vi. 511.
- Vargas, v. 85. (See *Florida Land-Grants*.)
- Varnum, General, i. 534.
- Varnum, John, of Massachusetts, in the House of Representatives, vii. 189.
- Vattel, E. de, on contraband of war, i. 152. A protestant of political doctrines, 152. Law of Nations, iii. 23. On the right of search, 342; vi. 479.
- Vattel and Martens, v. 80, 373, 400. On the delivery of foreign criminals, 357.
- Vattemare, Alexander, memorial of, x. 211, 293, 313.
- Vaudoncour, a French officer, his account of the passage of the Beresina, iii. 223.
- Vaughan, Charles Richard, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary from Great Britain, presented, vi. 534; vii. 46, 236. Proposes a compromise under the seventh article of the Ghent Treaty, 160, 170. Maintains the claim of British Consul in opposition to the Territorial laws of Florida, 349, 351. Letters of Secretary of State relating to, 351; concerning Northeastern Boundary controversy, 356, 474. Opposes stationing of troops on the Northeastern frontier, 487.
- Vaughan, John, vi. 423.
- Vaughan, Sir Robert, iii. 547.
- Vaughan, William, i. 48, 51; viii. 256, 291.
- Vawter, John, Marshal for the District of Indiana, vi. 521.
- Velez, —, Consul-General of the republic of Colombia, vii. 198, 337.
- Venality in elections, vii. 262.
- Venezuela, deputies from, ii. 339. Patriots of, iv. 163, 388. Change in government, 439. Union with New Granada, v. 44. On separation from Colombia, viii. 190. Independence, ix. 143.
- Vengeur, the, iii. 232.
- Venus, the, ii. 256.
- Vera Cruz, French intrigues at, vi. 183.
- Vérac, Marquis de, ii. 48, 49.
- Vergennes, Count de, viii. 304. Memoir of, upon Louisiana, iv. 126.
- Verme, Count dal, the travels of his father and himself, vii. 321.
- Vermilye, Captain, iv. 403.
- Verplanck, G. C., of New York, in the House of Representatives, vii. 204; viii. 361, 467, 513, 516, 519; ix. 60; x. 462. His censorious remarks on Colonel Roberdeau, vii. 407. Discourse at Geneva College, ix. 32. Career of, 32.
- Verrine, General, i. 64.

- Verus, a pamphlet published by Don Luis de Onis, iv. 57.
- Vessels, American, in Dutch ports, i. 86. Taken by Danish privateers, ii. 21-35. Laden with provisions captured by the British, i. 152-154. Order for capture of, 159, 160. Neutral, 198. Armed merchant, clearance of, 330. Captured, 408, 409. Condemned by Commission of Neutral Navigation, ii. 105. Detained at Russian ports, 143, 144, 154-157, 160, 161, 168, 169, 191, 192, 194-202, 206, 207, 215, 217, 221, 224-227, 233-236, 241, 242, 246, 256, 257. Excluded from Prussian and Danish ports, 146, 198. Confiscated at Tenerife, 149, 235. Number of, in fleet of six hundred, 197. In France, 215, 336. Examination of cargoes and papers referred to the Imperial Council, 194, 201, 202, 226. Carrying prohibited articles, 276, 289. Seized by French privateers; false papers, 307, 319. Sail under false colors; seized by the Russian Government, 369, 390. Restrictions on passenger; distinction between British and, regarding, iii. 296, 305, 309, 312-315, 330, 386, 425, 477. Clearance of, from British ports, 343-346, 386, 421. Boarded by a British officer, 425. Articles of admission to, proposed by Lord Castlereagh, 492. Embargo of, at Havanna, iv. 43, 44. Fishing, decision on seizure of, 62. Orders to suspend captures of, 122; decision on the legality of, desired, 122. Number of, entering French ports, 123. On equalizing duties between French and, 287. Seized on the coast of Nova Scotia, v. 417. Condemned and sold, 446. In Sardinian ports, vi. 184. Of war forbidden to enter the port of Halifax, vii. 114. Captured at Buenos Ayres, 451. Seized by British cruisers on the coast of Africa, x. 409, 410.
- Vessels, under enemies' convoy to be considered enemies, ii. 359. British, restoration of, demanded by Great Britain, iii. 531, 532. French, captured by privateers, iv. 40, 58, 64. Piratical plundering of, 298, 310. Capture of five, by Lieutenant Stockton, v. 541. Armed, on the coast of Newfoundland, vi. 23. Portuguese, captured and brought into Boston, iv. 60, 85; v. 472. Libelled; restitution of, demanded, 479, 484. Armed, fitting out of, iv. 133, 143. Instructions to, regarding slavers, 152. Regarding privateers, 300, 509, 510. Public and private distinction between, 299. Sailing under the flag of Artigas, 133, 308. Sent to capture the *Louisa*, 362. Equipment of, for the South American war, v. 77. (See *Crawford*; *Correa*; *Piracies*.) Spanish, capture of; admission into the ports of Florida secured by treaty; slaves captured, iv. 162, 252, 260, 261; vii. 413, 417, 418. Duties on, ix. 151. British, buy false certificates, iv. 181; v. 319. Enter American ports after the proclamation interdicting, vii. 249, 256. From Bermuda, 264. Russian, sent to Cadiz, iv. 381. Seized at New Orleans under slave-trade laws, 486. Venezuelan, v. 115. Norwegian, privileges demanded for, 360. On right of boarding, at sea, 388-391. Pirates, may be boarded by a belligerent right, 389. On protecting, for breach of revenue laws, vi. 9, 10. Acts authorizing merchant, to defend themselves from piratical aggressions, 65. American, in British West Indian ports subject to export duties, 83; to payment of fees of admission, 88. Sardinian, 183, 184. Of war, 479. For the protection of fishermen, vii. 17, 24. Provision, sent to Gibraltar, 32. Dutch, terms of admission into American ports, 161. Engaged to carry negroes to the African Col-

- ony; held for demurrage, 284. Belonging to the subjects of the Pope, exempted from duties, 291. Seizure of slaves by British schooner *Nimble*, complaints concerning, 413. Cuban, taken by Mexican privateer, 497. (See *Ruth, the*.) Captured by Baltimore privateers, viii. 175. (See *Privateers; Frigates; Navy*.)
- Vethake, Professor, viii. 422.
- Vice-President, succession to the Presidency, 463. (See *President; Tyler, J.*)
- Vicence, Duc de, ii. 56, 59, 262, 265, 266. Interview with, on the return of Napoleon; misconduct of the Bourbons; policy of the Emperor, iii. 178-182. Appointed Minister of Foreign Relations, 180. On the treaty of peace, 180. Interview with, 192-194. Takes leave of, 194. Subserviency of Russian courtiers to, 322, 325, 326. (See *French Ambassador; Caulaincourt, M. de*.)
- Victor, Marshal, ii. 379. Defeat of, 424, 526.
- Victoria, Guadalupe, President of the Mexican Republic, vi. 456.
- Victoria, Queen of Great Britain, iv. 407; ix. 356, 368. (See *Great Britain*.)
- Vidal against Inerarity, the case of, v. 456.
- Vidua, Count, of Turin, vii. 22.
- Vienna, appropriation for mission to, 134.
- Vigilant, the revenue cutter, vii. 151.
- Vilain, Madame, country-seat of, iii. 45.
- Villa Nova, Count of, Portuguese Minister of Foreign Affairs, iv. 85, 87.
- Villars, Henry de, ii. 140.
- Villavaso, Spanish Consul at New Orleans, arrest of, v. 229, 306.
- Villehelio, Chevalier Courson de la, iv. 135.
- Villiers, Mr., iv. 20.
- Villiers, J. C., Mr., iii. 375, 515.
- Villiers, assassination of, by Felton, vii. 212.
- Vinson, Thomas, petitions for increase of pension, ix. 260.
- Vintemille, M. de, commands a French squadron in Boston harbor, iv. 135.
- Vinton, J. R., Lieutenant, vii. 447; viii. 17. His missive to Governor Troup, vii. 232. (See *Troup*.)
- Vinton, Samuel F., of Ohio, in the House of Representatives, viii. 444, 522; ix. 198, 205, 207, 292, 293; xi. 473, 487, 509; xii. 54, 164.
- Violette, le Père la, name given to Napoleon by his soldiers, iii. 193.
- Virgil and Horace, the Baskerville edition of, ii. 76.
- Virginia, iv. 234; v. 89, 169, 401. Politics in, iv. 120; v. 281, 365. Legislature supports Crawford, vi. 356, 450, 466. Governed by New York, 357; vii. 347; ix. 73, 233; xi. 6, 8, 527. Legislature refuses to censure Jackson, iv. 313. Claims interest on loans for militia service, vi. 275, 282. Law granting the right of expatriation, 385. Influence of, in the Union, 458. Elections in, 476, 498; x. 275. Constitution of, vi. 532. Convention of, agrees to a project of Constitution, viii. 173. State Government, 283. Revision of the laws by Jefferson, Wythe, and Pendleton, 284. Facts in the history of, 286. Constitution for, prepared by Jefferson, 299. Debates on slavery in the Legislature, 463; ix. 23. Internal disturbances of, viii. 474. Address of the Legislature to the people, ix. 224. Statutes against duelling, x. 51. Petition for banishment of free negroes, 515; from slave-holders of Orange County, 545.
- Virginia Times, the opponent of the *Richmond Enquirer*, vi. 160.
- Virtue, principles of, must be adapted to times and places, v. 224.
- Vischer, Mr., of Basle, vii. 22.

- Visger, H., American Consul at Bristol, iii. 445.
- Visits, New Year's, i. 59; vi. 226. Of ceremony, v. 207. Diplomatic, 265. (See *Etiquette*.)
- Visscher, M., Grand Baillif of the provisional administration in Holland, i. 60, 62.
- Vitringa, President of the National Assembly, i. 192.
- Vivés, Fernando D., Don, Envoy from the King of Spain, replaces Onís as negotiator of the treaty, v. 59, 62, 65. Presented, 66, 76, 78, 96, 110, 199, 266, 287, 288, 291, 347, 352, 360. Correspondence with, 70-76, 79, 103, 124. Powers of, 74, 78, 97. Letter of A. Gallatin, 107, 111. Negotiations with; the land-grants; retracts his declaration concerning; "verbal discussions," 80-105, 306. Dispatches messenger to Spain, 124. Delivers the treaty, 268. Governor of Cuba, vi. 433; vii. 497; viii. 212. Confidential correspondence with, 20. Character of, 227. (See *Spain*; *Onís*; *Florida*.)
- Volney, C. F. de, object of the Alien and Sedition laws, ix. 307.
- Voltaire, vii. 338, 365; viii. 367; ix. 354. His "General Correspondence," vii. 358, 365. On calumny, 379.
- Volunteers to march against Bonaparte, iii. 170.
- Von Hammer's History of the Ottoman Empire, viii. 198. An eminent Oriental scholar, 198.
- Von Raumer, Mr., visits America; writes books of European travel, xii. 18.
- Vortigern, a play alleged to be written by Shakspeare, i. 133.
- Voyage to St. Petersburg, ii. 3. Incidents of, 18-24. Passage blockaded, 26, 27. Tempest, 30. Contrary winds, driven back by, 39, 40. At Fleckerøe, Copenhagen, Elsineur, etc., 21-37. At Christiansøe, 41. Arrival at Cronstadt, 45.
- Vroom, Peter D., of New Jersey, Governor, viii. 201. In the House of Representatives, x. 158, 237.

W.

- Wadsworth, Alexander S., vi. 529, 530. Captain of the frigate Brandywine; appointed commander of the expedition to the Southern Ocean, viii. 37; declines, 44. Returns from the Pacific, ix. 354. Account of the Government of Peru, 355.
- Wadsworth, General, ii. 435.
- Waggamann, George A., of Louisiana, Senator, viii. 464.
- Wagner, Jacob, pamphlet compiled by, on the Burr conspiracy, vii. 535.
- Wagner, Peter J., of New York, in the House of Representatives, x. 98, 316.
- Wainwright, Rev. Dr., of New York, viii. 410, 418, 422.
- Wait, T. B., printer at Boston, Massachusetts, v. 174. His State Papers, vii. 453; viii. 261.
- Wakeman, T. B., agent of the American Institute, visit to the author, ix. 246-248.
- Walker, Amasa, viii. 414, 415.
- Walker, Freeman, of Georgia, Senator, iv. 519; v. 211, 291, 302.
- Walker, James, Rev. Dr., vii. 139.
- Walker, Robert J., of Mississippi, Senator, argues the Mississippi slave case, x. 423, 427; xii. 87, 173. On the Amistad case, x. 441. Pamphlet by, entitled "The South in Danger," xii. 87. Secretary of the Treasury, 181. Conversation with, 200.
- Walker, Mr., seeks advice in the case of the Nanina, iii. 459, 460.
- Wall, Garrett D., viii. 201.
- Wallace, Andrew, a survivor of the battle of Culloden, viii. 538, 540.
- Wallace, David, of Indiana, in the House of Representatives; speech on the tariff, xi. 202.
- Wallace, Dr., vii. 41, 253.

- Wallace, Lorenzo R., viii. 97.
- Walley, Samuel H., presides at the Whig Convention at Dedham, Massachusetts, xi. 257.
- Walpole, Horace, *Memoirs*, vi. 98. Letters of, to Sir Horace Mann, ix. 253.
- Walpole, Lord, Secretary of the British Embassy in Russia, ii. 417, 494, 515, 516, 533, 536; iii. 351, 352. Communications of, on rejection of mediation, ii. 539, 542, 543, 545, 551, 552, 578, 590, 591, 593.
- Walsh, Robert, editor of the *National Gazette*, Philadelphia, iv. 60, 65, 182; v. 461, 527, 529, 535; vi. 440; vii. 251, 312; viii. 116, 154, 251, 255, 283, 542. Life of Dr. Franklin, written by, iv. 186. Efforts of, to promote the writer's election to the Presidency, vi. 131, 133-137, 245. Conduct towards the Administration, vii. 491.
- Waltersdorf, General, iii. 151, 156, 175.
- Walther, Mr., ii. 608.
- Walton, George, viii. 410.
- Walton, William, i. 340.
- Walton, Mr., of Georgia, v. 291.
- Walton, Mr., Secretary of the Territory of Florida, letters of, on condition of Seminole Indians, vii. 65.
- Walworth, Count Jennison, iii. 216.
- Walworth, R. H., of New York, in the House of Representatives, v. 482. Chancellor, viii. 422.
- "Wants of Man," ballad written by the author, x. 302; xi. 9, 24.
- War, power of declaring, iv. 32.
- War Department, expenses of, trebled since 1800, v. 237. Attacks on, 314, 315, 326. Reports of, vii. 169, 186. System of accounts at the, viii. 39. Relations with the Indians, 58, 67.
- "War in Disguise," written by Master Stephen, iii. 557.
- "War in Texas," a pamphlet by Benjamin Lundy, xi. 292, 340.
- War of 1812, raised the tone of feeling in America, iv. 148.
- War with Great Britain imminent, i. 516.
- Ward, Aaron, of New York, in the House of Representatives, viii. 523; ix. 56; x. 514; xi. 161, 220.
- Ward, Henry Dana, of New York, viii. 412. Conversation with, ix. 170, 171.
- Ward, Robert, *History of the Law of Nations*, iii. 4; ix. 229.
- Warden, Mr., dispute at Paris on the death of Mr. Barlow, ii. 493.
- Wardwell, Allen, proposed for Surveyor at the port of Bristol, vii. 453.
- Wardwell, Daniel, of New York, in the House of Representatives, viii. 523, 524.
- Ware, Ashur, appointed District Judge in Maine, v. 516.
- Ware, Dr., ix. 178. (See *Quincy*, *J.*)
- Ware, Henry, Rev., Jr., viii. 365.
- Ware, Prof., i. 441.
- Warfield, Henry R., of Maryland, in the House of Representatives, vi. 499. Letter of, to D. Webster, on Presidential elections, 492.
- Waring, Morton A., vii. 77.
- Waring, Mr., i. 14.
- Warrants for exportation, iii. 443, 444. Requisition for, vii. 16; ix. 69.
- Warren, Admiral Sir John Borlase, ii. 433, 434, 542, 551.
- Warren, Joseph, General, death of, i. 5.
- Warren, Lott, of Georgia, in the House of Representatives, xi. 84-124, 166.
- Warren, Mrs., ix. 157.
- Warriner, Jeremy, hotel of, at Springfield, xi. 390, 411.
- Warsaw, taking of, ii. 447.
- Wasemsky, Princess, ii. 71, 92, 96.
- Wash, Judge, of Missouri, viii. 288.
- Washington, Bushrod, Judge, v. 322, 378; vi. 515; vii. 332; viii. 35, 187, 219.
- Washington, Colonel G. C., of Maryland, in the House of Representatives, viii. 219.
- Washington, Dr., vi. 168.
- Washington, George, General, i. 20, 28,

- 34, 61, 96, 110, 142, 193; iv. 206; vi. 427; vii. 321; viii. 245. Election of, unanimous, v. 224, 278. Opposition to Administration of, 225. His independence of Congress, 401. Letter to J. Armstrong on the Newburgh Letters purported to have been written by, vi. 67. Letters of, to Henry Lee, vii. 180, 217, 218. Papers of, viii. 187, 219. Letters to Congress, 382. Centennial celebration of his birthday, 468, 478. The battle of Monmouth, and Aaron Burr, ix. 434. Remarks on, x. 117. Greenough's statue, 530. On apportionment for representation in Congress; veto of, xi. 176. Presentation of his camp-chest to Congress, xii. 11, 12. Statue of, 35.
- Washington, John A., refuses request of Congress for removal of the remains of Washington, viii. 473, 479.
- Washington, Martha, Mrs., i. 36.
- Washington, Samuel T., presents to Congress the sword used by General George Washington in the Revolutionary War, xi. 310, 312.
- Washington, William H., of North Carolina, in the House of Representatives, x. 521.
- Washington Benevolent Society, vi. 423.
- Washington, city of, no religious services in, i. 265. At, 314, 376; v. 357; viii. 151-155, 328-339; ix. 260-301, 311, 356, 365; xi. 31, 271, 441. Taken by the British, iii. 45. New survey of, desired, viii. 55. Anti-slavery riots in, ix. 255, 256.
- Washington City Gazette, v. 76; vi. 9, 61, 288. Abuse of the writer, v. 469, 470, 475; vi. 56, 58, 368. Attacks J. C. Calhoun, 8, 56. Managed by the Treasury clerks, 47, 56. Attacks on J. Monroe, 285. Purchased by the Calhoun party, 510. Transformation of, into the United States Telegraph; a declared opponent of the Administration, vii. 113.
- Washington Library, vii. 283.
- Washington, Pennsylvania, visit to, xi. 438, 439.
- Washington Republican, vi. 60, 244, 291.
- Washington, steamer, vii. 314.
- Washington, the ship, iii. 542; iv. 4. The author embarks in, with his family, 566.
- Wasily-Ostrof, St. Petersburg, ii. 73.
- Waterhouse, Dr., vi. 176; vii. 14, 230; viii. 546; ix. 4, 308. Writings of, vii. 15.
- Waters, Isaac, vii. 322.
- Watkins, George, viii. 60, 62, 147.
- Watkins, Tobias, Dr., vi. 234, 488, 514; vii. 6, 14, 52, 68, 81, 104, 113, 120, 242, 254, 262, 277, 280, 297, 308, 523, 539; viii. 44. Secretary to the Commission on Spanish claims, v. 361, 362, 435; vi. 377, 378. Memoirs, 14, 17. Fourth Auditor; removed; trial for peculations, viii. 116, 141, 144, 151, 290.
- Watmough, John G., of Pennsylvania, vii. 313. In the House of Representatives, viii. 483, 522; ix. 96, 195. Conversation with, 41.
- Watson, Elkanah, letter to, vii. 277.
- Watson, James C., speculates in slaves, xii. 163.
- Watt, Robert, trial of, for treason, i. 53.
- Watterson, H. M., of Tennessee, in the House of Representatives, x. 196, 253, 481, 500; xi. 195.
- Watts, B. T., Chargé d'Affaires in Colombia, vi. 248, 384; vii. 328, 542. Complaints against, 337. Return of, 466.
- Watts, Dr. Isaac, his works, ii. 356, 360; Improvement of the Mind, 354; Sermons, 355.
- Watts and Doddridge, viii. 341. And Tait, 362.
- Watzdorf, General, ii. 174, 228, 254, 333.
- Waugh, Bishop, xii. 111.
- Wayland, Dr., President of Brown University, xii. 111.
- Wayne, General, i. 139.

Wayne, James M., of Georgia, in the House of Representatives, viii. 434, 467, 487, 489, 493, 494, 519, 528, 530, 531; ix. 48, 50, 58, 83, 103, 145, 195, 198. Judge of the Supreme Court, 198, 250; x. 430, 431, 436.

Weathersfield, Connecticut, present of a straw bonnet made at, from Mr. Hurd, v. 319.

Weaver, Lieutenant, vii. 58.

Webb, Christopher, viii. 363.

Webb, G. J., ix. 184, 308.

Webb, J. Watson, editor of the New York Courier and Enquirer, ix. 493.

Webb, Samuel, conversation with, on abolition movements, ix. 365.

Webber, Samuel, President of Harvard University, i. 441, 551.

Webber, Mr., in the House of Commons, iii. 524.

Webster, Daniel, of Massachusetts, x. 35, 43, 303; xi. 20, 28, 268; xii. 76. In the House of Representatives, vi. 227, 230, 297, 306, 313, 502, 511; vii. 129. Speech on the tariff, vi. 273. Views on the elections, 315, 332. Urges investigation of the charges against Crawford; his course in the controversy, 317, 330, 331, 351, 360, 364, 385, 386, 391, 392. A political partisan of Crawford, 391. Speech of, 395. Desires the mission to London, 442, 469. Visits T. Jefferson, 442. Relations of, with the author, 483. Conversation with, on the elections and the Federalists, 492. Letter of, urging election for Senator of Jeremiah Mason, vii. 14. Desires the Speaker's chair, 68, 70. Chairman of the Judiciary Committee, 83. His eulogy on John Adams and Thomas Jefferson, 135, 139. Conversation with, on the Colonial Trade bill, 231. Senator, illness of, 377. Return of, to Senate; speech of, on the bill relating to the United States Courts, 455. Speech in defence of New England, viii. 191, 192.

On the Jackson Administration, 231. On appointing, to mission to Great Britain, vii. 468, 474, 493, 517, 519, 525. Proposals to the author for securing elections in Kentucky, 469. Conversation with, on the Tariff bill, 534. Address to the people of the United States, viii. 337. Information to, on the Colonial Trade question with Great Britain, 460. On the Census Apportionment bill, 474, 499. On the tariff, 499. On the President's proclamation, 511. In the Supreme Court, 536, 537. On the Enforcing bill, 537. Conversation with, on public affairs, 537. Conversation with, on the Massachusetts elections; Masonry; bank controversy, ix. 71, 72, 75. In Senate, 75, 87, 155, 223, 284; x. 19. Resolutions to the Massachusetts Legislature on the Bank question, ix. 75. Nominated for the Presidency, 201, 234. Opposes coalition of Benton and Hayne, 235, 236. Attack on the author in his speech of the 14th January, 1836, 339; reply to, 339. Tamperers with the South, 503. Anti-Sub-Treasury speech, 509. On the Northeastern Boundary question, x. 19, 409. Visits England, 205. Stump-speeches against Van Buren, 352, 355. Conversation with, 379. On Harrison and his Cabinet, 388. In the Supreme Court, 400, 440. Secretary of State, 421, 440, 465, 469; xi. 13, 21, 37, 132. Conversation with, x. 482; xi. 18, 243, 246. Interview with, x. 533. (See *Cushing, C.; Amistad*.) Ashburton Treaty negotiated by, xi. 243. Speech at Faneuil Hall, 256. Advice on the subject of a Sandwich Island mission, 275, 284. Interview with, 336. Correspondence with L. Cass on the Quintuple Treaty, 337. Charges against, by J. C. Clark, 339. Conversation with, on the Quintuple Treaty and right of search, 344-347.

- Article on the Convention of March, 1824, 344. Dispatch to E. Everett, 345. Questioned about Texas movements and W. Thompson's negotiations in California, 345, 346. Correspondence with Argaiz relating to the Amistad, 371. Resigns, 374. Supplants Clay by a coalition of John Tyler and John C. Calhoun, 381. Oration at Bunker Hill, 383, 385. Argument in will case of Stephen Girard, 507, 510. At Faneuil Hall, xii. 103. Reconciliation with A. Lawrence, 214. Charges of C. J. Ingersoll, 260. Movement to impeach, 263. (See *Secretary of State; House; Almonte.*)
- Webster, Daniel Fletcher, Chief Clerk of the State Department, x. 442; xi. 3, 28, 248, 249.
- Webster, John Adams, Lieutenant of Baltimore privateer, iv. 415. Captain of revenue cutter, 445; v. 155.
- Wedderburn. (See *Lord Loughborough.*)
- Wednesday Evening Club of Boston, xii. 106.
- Weed, Thurlow, vii. 81, 84; viii. 525; xi. 266.
- Weightman, R. C., Mayor of Washington, D.C., vii. 300. Project of a lottery, 5. Committee on the Washington Library, 283.
- Weights and Measures, iv. 4. Investigations on; Russian; report on, ii. 137, 142, 344; iv. 13, 120, 122, 123, 159, 375, 405, 425; v. 171, 185, 190, 191, 193, 290; by Great Britain for securing uniformity of, 90, 193. French system of, 171. Natural standards of, speculations on, 171. Old English standards of, 171. Laws of New Jersey relating to, 185. Coincidences in English system of, 194. Importance of investigations on, 291. Works on, vii. 453; ix. 185. Standard of, 208.
- Weld, Mr., xi. 75-79.
- Weld, Mr., teacher of the deaf and dumb, address of, in the Hall of Representatives, vii. 435.
- Weller, John B., of Ohio, in the House of Representatives, x. 145, 225, 266, 410, 412, 523; xi. 193, 232, 455, 487, 490, 496, 511; xii. 12, 13, 19, 20, 36, 37, 46, 51, 138, 148, 150, 157, 158.
- Welles, John, conversation with, upon Masonry, viii. 364; ix. 179, 309.
- Welles, T. L., vii. 32.
- Wellesley Brothers, ii. 273. Prospects of, 440. (See *Wellesley, Lord.*)
- Wellesley, Marquis of, and the Catholic question, ii. 20, 362, 363, 440.
- Wellesley, Sir Henry, British Ambassador at Madrid, iv. 49, 138.
- Wellington, Duke of, ii. 282; iii. 152, 180, 385, 409, 414, 417, 436, 507; vi. 84; viii. 60, 164. At Salamanca, ii. 395. Retreats into Portugal, 446. Victory of, at Vittoria, over Marshal Soult, 487, 518. Signs the declaration of 16th March, iii. 192. Victories over the French army, 230. Blamed for the appointment of Fouché, 272, 299. Prime Minister, 382. Offers mediation between France and Spain, vi. 138. Loses power, viii. 256, 261, 265.
- Wells, Samuel A., vii. 245; ix. 157.
- Welsh, T., Dr., vii. 129.
- Wendell, Captain, arrests Trist, x. 300.
- Wentworth, John, of Illinois, in the House of Representatives, xi. 490, 546.
- Wertz, Mr., commissioned Justice of the Peace, vii. 158.
- West, Benjamin, i. 14, 16, 17, 137; iii. 386, 433, 548, 552, 559; vi. 422.
- West Florida, cession of, ix. 480. (See *Florida.*)
- West India emancipation, celebration of the anniversary of, xi. 381.
- West India trade, British interdict on, viii. 181, 266. Negotiations for, 326. (See *Great Britain; Trade.*)
- West Indies, i. 49, 103. Revolutions

- in; people opposed to the Bonaparte domination; independence of, ii. 183-185. Trade with, iii. 211, 389; iv. 272, 320, 467, 492; vi. 82, 90. Results of emancipation in; Legislative Assembly of Jamaica resists prison-reform, and is suspended; compensation to slave-holders, x. 130. (See *British Colonies*; *Trade*; *Scoble*, *J.*)
- West Point Academy, ix. 150. Opposition to, in Congress, vi. 106. Patronage of, 107. Report of visitors to the, vii. 31, 32, 298-300. Punishments at, 260, 265. Orders of the Engineer Department relating to, 266, 299. Appointments, 472, 480. (See *Cadets*; *Thayer*, *M.*, *Colonel.*)
- Westcott, Hampton, Lieutenant U. S. Navy, dismissed for complicity in a duel, x. 51.
- Westcott, James D., affidavit in libel suit of Mayo *vs.* Blair and Rives, xi. 187. Shares in Houston's Texan adventures, 187. Secretary of Florida; on Jackson's letter to Fulton; Houston's Texas project, x. 465. (See *Mayo*.)
- Western lands, Clay's plan for distributing, ix. 247. (See *Public Lands*.)
- Western States, viii. 88.
- Westminster, inhabitants of, petition for removal of ministers, iii. 488.
- Westminster school, exhibition at, iii. 276, 277.
- Westmorland, Earl of, iii. 221, 226, 261, 311, 321, 324, 385, 469, 470. Conversation with, 482, 483.
- Wetherall, Mr., iii. 544.
- Wethered, John, of Maryland, in the House of Representatives, xi. 516; xii. 12, 17.
- Wetmore, Mr., viii. 380.
- Wettersted, Baron, iv. 424. The Swedish Minister, v. 18.
- Wetumpka, Alabama, petition from inhabitants of, praying the President to resign, xi. 215.
- Weydemeyer, Mr., ii. 285, 593, 594.
- Weymouth, vii. 140. Petition for abolition of slavery, ix. 275. Elections in, 313.
- Wharton, Colonel, iv. 20; vi. 389. Texan Commissioner, ix. 282.
- Wheaton, Henry, v. 322; vi. 256, 282, 314. Proposed for South American mission, 472; to Mexico, 485; to the Netherlands, 514. Chargé d'Affaires to Denmark, vii. 238, 242; reports of, 238; instructions to, 284. Minister at Berlin, xii. 18. Report upon captures, v. 364; vi. 386; vii. 515.
- Wheaton, Joseph, vii. 250; viii. 7.
- Wheeler, G. H., of New York, in the House of Representatives, viii. 441.
- Wheeler, H., a newspaper reporter, assaults Robert Codd in the House, ix. 295, 298.
- Wheeling, vi. 306, 371, 375.
- Whelden, Captain, of the steamer Baltimore, vii. 50, 126, 155; of the steamer Delaware, 332.
- Whig party shows signs of dissolution, x. 542; xi. 262, 270, 381.
- Whigs, xi. 35. Nominations for the Presidency, ix. 226. A majority in Boston, 313. Action in Congress, 369. Of Quincy invite the author to deliver an address, x. 351. Convention at Dedham, Massachusetts, xi. 256; xii. 275. Nominates the writer, xi. 256, 259. Meetings of, 259, 260. Action of, on the Bank vetoes, 279. Meetings of, xii. 25, 76, 103. Convention at Baltimore, 19, 21. At Boston nominate George N. Briggs for Governor, John Reed for Lieutenant-Governor, 274.
- Whig Standard, the, xi. 463.
- Whig victories celebrated by mobs in Washington, ix. 432.
- Whipple, John, of Rhode Island, argues case of boundary against Massachusetts, x. 440.
- Whitbread, Mr., iii. 16.
- Whitcomb, James, conversation with, soliciting office for J. Lincoln, of

- Hingham; on policy of the Van Buren Administration, ix. 435-437.
- Whitcomb, Simon, grantee of the Charter of Charles the First, ix. 436.
- White, Albert S., of Indiana, in the House of Representatives, x. 78. Senator, 78.
- White, Anthony, Colonel, a Revolutionary officer; claim of his heirs, ix. 328.
- White, Bishop, vi. 421; vii. 330.
- White, Campbell P., of New York, in the House of Representatives, viii. 523; ix. 152.
- White, Dr., of Oregon, presents memorial, xii. 223.
- White, Edward D., of Kentucky, in the House of Representatives, x. 11, 144, 159, 162; xi. 174, 178, 180, 194.
- White, Hugh Lawson, of Tennessee, Commissioner on the Spanish Claims, v. 361, 362. Senator, vii. 84, 113; viii. 306, 524. Deputation with E. Livingston in behalf of Branch, 184. Speech, 215, 249. Secretary of War, 357. Candidate for the Presidency, ix. 208, 312. Death; remarks on, x. 267.
- White, J. L., of Indiana, in the House of Representatives, x. 531.
- White, John, of Kentucky, in the House of Representatives, x. 297, 302, 303, 470; xi. 32, 228, 442, 544; xii. 6, 16, 21, 32, 37, 41, 149. (See *Rathbun, G.*)
- White, Joseph M., of Florida, viii. 35. Judge; Commissioner, 406, 407, 410. Delegate to the House of Representatives, 480; ix. 136, 333. On the Florida Treaty, vi. 347, 377; vii. 220, 449. Claimants, 74. Canal project over the Isthmus of Florida, 197. Indian Treaty, 232. Georgia boundary, 378, 386, 428. Florida land-claims, engaged in settling, viii. 73. Confers with A. Jackson; with J. C. Calhoun, 172, 176, 195. On live-oak plantation established by the writer, 254, 322. Letter of, 322, 329.
- White, Kirke, viii. 341.
- White, Samuel, Senator, of Delaware, i. 302, 307, 309, 339, 414.
- White, Stephen M., vii. 127; ix. 75.
- White, W. W., editor of the Southern Review and Magazine, x. 56.
- White, Mr., author of a Biographical Dictionary, vii. 56.
- White, Mr., civil engineer, vi. 463.
- White House burned by the British, iv. 53.
- White oak for ship-building, vii. 324.
- Whitefoord, Caleb, iii. 559.
- Whitlocke, Lieutenant, trial of, by Court-martial, vii. 46.
- Whitman, Bernard, viii. 349; ix. 11.
- Whitman, Lemuel, of Connecticut, in the House of Representatives, vi. 490.
- Whitney, Bowes, Rev., vii. 142.
- Whitney, George, ordained, viii. 366, 369, 370.
- Whitney, John, ix. 239.
- Whitney, Peter, Rev., viii. 366, 376, 414; ix. 239; x. 36. Sermon on the death of John Adams, vii. 131, 132, 147, 149.
- Whitney, Reuben M., ix. 37, 312, 338. Charged with perjury, 345. Sues Leakin and Barnes, 346.
- Whittier, J. G., ix. 343. Letter of invitation to attend the meeting of the Anti-Slavery Convention in Boston, ix. 349. Conversation with, x. 206. Editor of the Pennsylvania Freeman, 206.
- Whittlesey, Elisha, of Ohio, in the House of Representatives, vii. 534; viii. 80, 459, 461, 473, 498, 513; ix. 56, 123, 293, 317, 371; x. 3, 12, 89.
- Whittlesey, Frederic, of New York, in the House of Representatives, ix. 114.
- Whittlesey, T. T., of Connecticut, in the House of Representatives, ix. 321, 329, 475.
- Wick, William W., of Indiana, in the House of Representatives, x. 214.
- Wickliffe, Charles A., of Kentucky, in the House of Representatives, vii.

- 431, 449, 456, 458, 486; viii. 435, 459, 461, 463, 466, 508, 509, 524, 527, 530. Postmaster-General, charges against, xii. 47, 48.
- Wiggers, Mr. de, ii. 60, 64.
- Wilberforce, William, conversation with, iii. 249, 250, 556-559. Conferences with R. Rush, iv. 336. Efforts of the Executive to gain over, vi. 150.
- Wilcocke, Samuel H., arrested in Vermont; imprisoned in Canada; release of, demanded, v. 351, 466, 471, 472, 480. Released, vi. 13. (See *Canada*.)
- Wilcocks, J. S., proposed for Consul to Buenos Ayres, v. 492.
- Wilde, R. H., of Georgia, in the House of Representatives, vii. 445, 545; viii. 47, 477, 520, 521, 522; ix. 48, 50, 56, 59, 81, 89, 102, 145.
- Wilkes, Charles, Lieutenant, xi. 192. Curiosities collected on exploring expedition, 173, 202. Complaints of treatment of the President on his return, 177. Asks for promotion, 289.
- Wilkins, William, of Pennsylvania, Senator, ix. 87.
- Wilkins, William, President of the Tariff Convention at New York, viii. 416. Candidate for the Vice-Presidency, 524. Secretary of War, xi. 545.
- Wilkinson, James, General, i. 315, 340, 349, 390. Dispute with John Randolph, 495, 496, 503.
- Willard, Mrs., superintendent of female seminary at Troy, New York, vii. 145.
- Willard, Sidney, Professor, ix. 179.
- William and Mary, the, iii. 421. Condemned at Gibraltar, 457.
- William the Fifth, Prince, Stadtholder of Holland, i. 30, 59, 66. Library of, 109. Policy of, in American affairs, 31. Resigns his post, 31, 59. Particulars of his departure to England, 66. Character of, 66.
- William the Fourth of England, viii. 236; ix. 356.
- William the Third of England, ii. 134.
- Williams, Christopher H., of Tennessee, in the House of Representatives, ix. 380; x. 80; xi. 161, 194, 333.
- Williams, David R., General, vii. 312. Solicits pension, viii. 250.
- Williams, Eleazer, the Indian preacher, viii. 22.
- Williams, Henry, letter of, asking for opinion on the fifteen-gallon license-law, x. 125.
- Williams, Henry, of Massachusetts, Abolition letters, in the House of Representatives, x. 196, 297, 301; xii. 174.
- Williams, James W., of Maryland, in the House of Representatives, x. 531. Death of, xi. 273.
- Williams, John, Senator from Tennessee, v. 276, 286, 488; vii. 52, 447, 547; viii. 4. Chargé d'Affaires at Guatemala, vii. 144.
- Williams, John B., vii. 430.
- Williams, Joseph L., of Tennessee, in the House of Representatives, ix. 474.
- Williams, Lewis, of North Carolina, v. 237, 326; vi. 340. Relations with W. H. Crawford, v. 488; vii. 391. In the House of Representatives, viii. 452, 520; ix. 42, 81, 145, 197, 322, 371, 401; x. 268. Death of, xi. 99.
- Williams, Margaret, vii. 160.
- Williams, N. F., District Attorney at Baltimore, letter of, on the seizure of a privateer, viii. 3. Instructions to, for the arrest of fugitives from the District of Columbia, 61; vii. 336.
- Williams, Reuel, of Maine, ix. 520. In the House of Representatives, x. 21.
- Williams, Roger, controversy of, with the people of Massachusetts; misrepresented, xi. 376. Remarks on his character and history, 377.
- Williams, Samuel, Collector at New Bedford, ix. 446.
- Williams, Sherrod, of Kentucky, in the House of Representatives, ix. 280, 534; x. 15, 59, 80. Altercation with Sutherland; vote of censure passed

- upon, 300, 301. On the Treasury Note bill, 534.
- Williams, Thomas, of the South Carolina Legislature, letter on discussions in the, viii. 449.
- Williams, Thomas II., Senator from Mississippi, viii. 16.
- Williams, Mr., i. 17, 20; ii. 92.
- Williams, the four, iv. 370.
- Williamson, Lieutenant, iv. 368.
- Willink, John, i. 63, 115.
- Willink, Messrs., ii. 648.
- Willink, William, i. 59, 60, 62, 63, 114. Residence of, 115.
- Wills, Captain, of the ship *America*, vii. 332.
- Wilmington, North Carolina, bill for foreign seamen at, 337-364.
- Wilmot Foley, Mr., of the British Legation, v. 187.
- Wilmot Proviso, v. 12.
- Wilson, Alexander, member of the Society of Friends, i. 108; iv. 401. Passes granted to, by contending armies, i. 110.
- Wilson, Henry, of Pennsylvania, in the House of Representatives, vi. 463.
- Wilson, Isaac, loses his seat in the House of Representatives, vi. 228.
- Wilson, Jared, xi. 398.
- Wilson, John, gives information of conspiracy to attack Mexican traders, vii. 386. Deputy Land-Surveyor; claim for settlement of accounts, viii. 65.
- Wilson, Rae, iii. 543, 555.
- Wilson, Sir Robert, iii. 433, 434, 439, 452.
- Wilson, Mr., ii. 111, 113. His inventions, 114.
- Wilson, Mr., of Missouri, xii. 81.
- Wilson and Riston, of Baltimore, counsel in case of J. Gooding; intercede in his behalf, vii. 377.
- Winchester, General, vii. 274.
- Winder, William, General, v. 322, 413. Deputy from La Plata, 90, 117, 118.
- Winder, William S., xii. 11.
- Windham, Mr., iii. 496.
- Wing, Austin E., Delegate in the House of Representatives from Michigan, viii. 463.
- Wingate, Joseph T., nomination of, as Collector of the port of Bath, vi. 359, 467, 501.
- Winne, D., applies for consulship in South America, vi. 458, 462, 487.
- Winne, Sir William, i. 135.
- Winslow, Isaac, x. 206.
- Winthrop, Robert C., Speaker of the Massachusetts House of Legislature, x. 185. In the House of Representatives, 368, 494, 516; xi. 46, 269, 281, 301, 494, 531, 540; xii. 35, 125, 139, 141, 159, 160, 230. Conversation with, on the Erving controversy, 100. Correspondence relating to, 100. Candidate for Governor, 278.
- Winthrop, Thomas L., Lieutenant-Governor, vii. 139, 314; viii. 231, 238.
- Winthrop's Journal, viii. 156.
- Wintzingerode, General, at Moscow, ii. 416. Retakes Moscow, 418. Made prisoner, 418, 423, 449.
- Wirt, John, a policeman, wounded in a fray between members of Congress, aid voted to, xii. 16, 23, 27.
- Wirt, William, Attorney-General, iv. 15, 21, 22, 36, 39, 104, 112, 113, 140, 148, 204-208, 215, 252, 267, 344, 372, 412, 427, 469, 495, 518; v. 174, 175, 322, 481; vi. 11, 15, 202, 210, 231, 238, 272, 378, 380, 381, 440, 518, 526; vii. 11, 12, 33, 64, 98, 123, 187, 222, 233, 298; viii. 33, 86, 91, 276. Urges for increase of salary, iv. 83. His leaning to State supremacy, 83. Objects to the taking of Pensacola; article on, written by, 112-114, 117, 119. Opinion on constitutional authority to establish mixed courts, 151. Requested to assist Glenn at trial of privateers, 164, 319, 520. Conference with, on the Slave-Trade Act and suspended article of the Convention of October, 1818, 322. On prohibition of slavery in the

Territories, v. 5, 8. On the execution of pirates, 20, 21, 64, 145. On ratification of the Florida Treaty, 29, 100, 101, 126. On the prosecution of Mitchell; conduct of Crawford in regard to, 186. Opinion of, on claim of H. Clay, 329. Conversation with, on altercations of Jackson with Callava and Fromentin, 359. Writ of habeas corpus to liberate Callava, 368. Arguments on the extent and operation of Jackson's powers, 369. On Executive interference in the case of La Jeune Eugénie, 380, 387-389. On the jurisdiction of Carleton Island, 396. Trials for piracy; delivering up of British subjects, 398, 400, 402. On the legality of the seizure of the Apollon, 419. On power of the President to deliver up fugitive slaves, vi. 74, 75. Opposes resistance to interposition of the Holy Alliance in favor of Spain, 202, 205, 207. Reply to Clay's attack on the Administration, 260. Panegyric on Patrick Henry, 264, 276. Questions the expediency of acknowledging the independence of Brazil, 281, 328. Opinion of, on the illicit introduction of slaves at the Creek Agency, 335. On the Edwards-Crawford affair, 386; advocates Edwards's resignation or removal, 370, 393. On the validity of unsigned acts of Congress, 381. On the rights of belligerents towards neutrals, 382, 385. Opinion of, on Act of Congress allowing claim for interest of Virginia, approved by the author, vii. 26. Letters to, relating to the case of the Antelope, 35. On the refitting of armed ships, 38. His eulogy of T. Jefferson and J. Adams, 155, 156. Advice on cases of E. Thompson's fraud, 259. Conversation with, on Indian titles, 437. Opinion of, on Georgian claims, 545. Counsel for claimants under the Slave Indemnity Commission, viii. 63. Re-

signs, 104. Counsel for Judge Peck, 276, 296. Conversation with, on public affairs; on the Jackson controversy, 276, 304-306, 315. Correspondence with Calhoun, 276, 304. Argues question of State jurisdiction in case of Cherokee Indians, 343, 345. (See *Sergeant*, 7.) The British Spy, 382. Letters to S. L. Gouverneur, 404. Plan for nomination for the Presidency at the Baltimore Convention, 416. Argues cause for Indian missionaries, 477. Candidate for the Presidency, 524. Argument in case of King and White, 537. Death of, ix. 97. Talents and character of, 100. Relations with the writer, 100. Address on, 100, 101. Life of Patrick Henry written by; account of the Virginia Convention; debates in, 307.

Wischau, battle of, i. 410.

Wisconsin, Territory of, boundary-line with Missouri, x. 10; with Michigan, 10. Division of, proposed, 10. Population of, 11. Election of delegates contested, 49. (See *Boundaries*; *Iowa*.)

Wise, Henry A., of Virginia, x. 445. In the House of Representatives, ix. 129, 155, 200, 206, 267, 271, 277, 282, 287, 294, 300, 373, 379, 385, 390, 391, 393, 394, 396, 520, 534, 539; x. 3, 39, 60, 62, 65, 73, 97-107, 143, 156, 169, 171, 260, 306, 334, 407-409, 470, 472, 477, 487, 506, 517, 531, 542; xi. 5, 7, 33, 54, 70, 146, 178, 195, 207, 225, 233, 245, 281, 283, 496. Speech on the Bank Deposit question, ix. 88. Remarks on death of T. T. Bouldin, 93. Speech of, on the President's message, 323; on the Florida War, 379, 393-396, 475; on the Treasury bill, 407. Opposes appropriation for expenses of R. Rush on the Smithsonian bequest, 409. Words between Gholson and, on the Mississippi election, 470. Opposes

- the consideration of anti-slavery petitions, x. 65, 66, 179, 180, 402. Exposes the abuses of the Van Buren Administration and of the Secretary, 74, 82. Consultation with, on the New Jersey contested elections, 152. Furious speech against Abolitionism; breaks down, 478, 479. On the public lands; opposes the distribution of proceeds of, 496, 500. Reply to Cost Johnson on the tariff, 512. Speech against the Bank bill, 523, 538, 540. Speech on vote of censure against the writer, xi. 73. Altercation with Stanley, 11, 12; reprimanded by the House, 15. Inveighs against the Whigs, 118. On Poindexter's report on the New York Custom-House investigation, 145. Attacks Stanley a second time, 173, 184. Attacks the writer in a speech on the Navy Appropriation bill, 215, 216. On the Tariff bill, 240. Objects to rescinding the twenty-first rule, 272. On the Exchequer bill, 302. Nomination to French mission rejected by Senate, 335. Speech avowing the plan of war with Mexico, 346. Surrenders his opposition to the right of petition and the gag-rule, 455, 457. Correspondence on the slave-trade, xii. 195.
- Wisner, B. B., Rev., minister of the Old South Church, Boston, viii. 237.
- Withers, Mr., vii. 236.
- Witherspoon, of South Carolina, his letter proposing to secede from the Union, viii. 478.
- Witt, John de, i. 86.
- Wittgenstein, Count, defeats Marshal Oudinot, ii. 395. Takes Polotsk, 416, 419, 424, 464, 467, 472.
- Wolcott, Oliver, viii. 118, 132, 141. Governor of Connecticut, 229. Conversation with, on the prospects of the Union, 229. (See *Hamilton, A.*)
- Wolff's lecture, ix. 452.
- Wood, Fernando, of New York, in the House of Representatives, x. 521; xi. 9.
- Wood, Silas, of New York, in the House of Representatives, vii. 196.
- Wood, Rev. Mr., x. 178.
- Woodbine. (See *Arbuthnot.*)
- Woodbridge, William, Secretary of the Michigan Territory, vi. 373.
- Woodbury, Levi, of New Hampshire, Governor, vi. 187, 279. Senator, vii. 392; viii. 301, 357; ix. 532, 543; xii. 170. Secretary of the Treasury, x. 45, 108, 115. Conversation with, ix. 261; x. 108, 109.
- Woodbury, Mr., scientific discourse by, xii. 146.
- Woodbury and Sevier, xi. 4.
- Woodley, Mr., King's attorney at St. Kitt's, opinion of, on Act of Parliament concerning British Colonial trade, vi. 83, 88.
- Woodson, S. H., of Kentucky, in the House of Representatives, v. 431. Shows Clay's letter on sending Minister to Colombia, 494.
- Woodward, A. B., vi. 397. Applies for appointment to Guatemala, 401. Appointed Judge in Florida, 465. Papers of, entitled Considerations upon the Presidency, 401. His project for a Department of the Interior, 532. Decease of, vii. 306.
- Woodward, Joseph, of South Carolina, in the House of Representatives, xi. 505, 543; xii. 49, 153.
- Woodward, Judge, i. 433.
- Wool, Colonel, v. 496, 511; vii. 268, 449, 527. Makes a tour of inspection at the South, 53. Receives brevet commission as brigadier-general; claims pay, 256.
- Wool, Mrs., v. 490.
- Wool, duty on, viii. 499.
- Woolen bill, vii. 224, 234.
- Woolen manufacturers, petition for relief from revenue frauds, x. 214.
- Woolens, duties upon, viii. 445. Frauds upon the revenue regarding, 446, 462.

- Wooler, Mr., tried for libel, iii. 562.
Verdict of jurors on, 562.
- Woolsey, G. M., letter concerning shipment of tobacco, iii. 347, 360.
- Woolsey, M. T., Captain, at Pensacola, gives information of D. Porter's movements at Key West, vii. 269.
- Woonsocket, Rhode Island, sends memorial to Congress, ix. 118.
- Worcester, —, a missionary, imprisoned in Georgia, viii. 492. (See *Indians; Georgia*.)
- Worcester Convention, ix. 15, 20. (See *National Republicans*.) Committees, 19, 20, 72. John Davis nominated by, 20, 21, 63.
- Worcester Lyceum, invitation of, to deliver introductory lecture; declined, x. 131.
- Worcester, town of, petition from twenty-two citizens, ix. 321.
- Word, T. J., of Mississippi, claims to be a member of the House of Representatives, ix. 457. Rejected, 463. (See *Prentiss*.)
- World's Convention for the Abolition of Slavery, at London, x. 374, 406, 407. Pass resolutions honorary to the writer, 407. (See *Leavitt, J.*)
- Worth, Colonel, viii. 540.
- Worthington, J. T. H., of Maryland, in the House of Representatives, viii. 438.
- Worthington, Thomas, of Ohio, Senator; Governor, iv. 136, 413.
- Worthington, W. G. D., agent to South America, iv. 70. Concludes a treaty without authority, 88, 158, 159, 512, 514. Secretary of East Florida, v. 403. Right of, to sell lots in St. Augustine, denied, 403.
- Worthy, —, of Liverpool. (See *Thomas, John*.)
- Wortley, Stuart, Lord Wharncliffe, vi. 510.
- Wright, Frances, Madame d'Arusmont, vi. 443.
- Wright, Isaac H., of Massachusetts, nominated for Congress by the Democrats of the Eighth District, xii. 86, 88, 104. Renominated, 276.
- Wright, John C., of Ohio, in the House of Representatives, vii. 430, 466; viii. 107; xi. 424, 427. Correspondence with E. King, vii. 308. Defender of the Administration, 431. Judge of the Supreme Court of the State, viii. 263.
- Wright, Joseph A., of Indiana, in the House of Representatives, xi. 494, 496; xii. 15.
- Wright, Judge, civil engineer of the Erie Canal, vi. 463.
- Wright, Obed, Captain, case of, iv. 104, 118, 126.
- Wright, R., of Maryland, Senator, i. 266. Louisiana Treaty opposed by, 270, 273, 275, 278, 308. On the Clearance bill, 340. Impeachment of Judge Chase, 361. His activity and violent temper, 377, 383-385. Bill for the protection of seamen, 386, 387, 391. On bill on Foreign Ministers, 413. H. Caramalli, 429-431, 433. His rage on the presentation of the Ogden memorial, 438; his efforts against, 439.
- Wright, Silas, of New York, in the House of Representatives, vii. 397. Senator, ix. 87, 548; x. 302; xi. 155; xii. 14. Conversation with, x. 290. Electioneering speeches, 356. Nominated for the Vice-Presidency; declines, xii. 38, 39.
- Wright, W. H. D. C., Consul at Rio Janeiro, vii. 83; viii. 223. Letter announcing decease of W. Tudor, 223.
- Wright, William, memorial of, for enquiry into affairs of the United States with the Commonwealth Bank of Boston, Massachusetts, x. 310.
- Writs of error, viii. 536.
- Würtemberg declares for the Allies, ii. 544. A new constitution for, iii. 462, 463, 504.

Württemberg, Crown Prince of, iii. 318.
 Württemberg, King of, death of, iii. 449.
 Württemberg, Prince of, ii. 60, 131, 162.
 Württemberg, Queen of, iii. 493.
 Wurtz, John, of Pennsylvania, in the House of Representatives, urges the claim of the Lippincotts in case of Edward Thomson, vii. 94.
 Wyer, Edward, iv. 6; v. 347, 357, 510, 517, 527, 528; vi. 56, 63, 113, 307, 348, 384, 441, 443, 502; vii. 178, 243, 257; viii. 349, 355, 357; ix. 36, 37, 233, 412, 424. Messenger to carry dispatches to Commodore Crane in place of G. B. English, viii. 62.
 Wyllys, Major, vii. 24.
 Wynne, Mr., iii. 231.
 Wythe, George, viii. 271, 282, 284.

Y.

Yancey, William L., of Alabama, in the House of Representatives, xii. 141, 142, 234. Duel with Clingman, 148.
 Yard, James, iv. 251.
 Yates, Dr., viii. 422.
 Yates, Joseph C., Governor of New York, vi. 282, 284, 290, 340, 350.
 Yates, Robert, Judge, minutes of, referring to the Convention of 1787, viii. 216.
 Yazoo Petition, i. 513.
 Yeadon, editor of the Charleston Courier, conversation with, on the Nullification and Union parties in South Carolina, ix. 182.
 Yell, Archibald, of Arkansas, in the House of Representatives; first member from the State, ix. 315, 484; x. 5, 27.
 Yellowstone Expedition, iv. 462, 472; v. 237. Advances for, iv. 473. Military post at, vi. 249.
 Yeo, Sir James, captures slave-ship, iii. 454.
 York, Archbishop of, iii. 349. As Lord

High Almoner, distributes pensions, etc., 350.
 York, Duchess of, decease of, v. 187.
 York, Duke of, i. 39; iii. 250, 435.
 York Republican, newspaper, articles by R. Rush published in, viii. 292.
 Yorke, Thomas J., of New Jersey, in the House of Representatives, x. 154. A contested member, 154, 157.
 Yorktown, capture of, ii. 489, 492.
 Yorktown Monument Memorial, ix. 138. (See *House*.)
 Yost, Jacob S., of Pennsylvania, in the House of Representatives, xi. 522; xii. 29.
 Young, Alexander, Rev., xii. 108.
 Young, Arthur, iii. 547.
 Young, Augustus, of Vermont, in the House of Representatives, xi. 65.
 Young, John, of Genesee, New York, in the House of Representatives, x. 503, 504; xi. 176.
 Young, Moses, v. 288.
 Young, Samuel, vi. 340. Nominated as Governor of New York, vi. 282, 284, 290.
 Young Men's Whig Club at Boston, xii. 84. (See *Adams, J. Q.*)
 Youth to old age, transitions from, v. 235.
 Yrujo, Casa, Marquis of, i. 272; iv. 185, 208, 328; ix. 483. Disgrace of, 420.
 Yturbide, Augustin, Don, makes himself Emperor of Mexico, vi. 110, 281. Grounds of recognition of his government, 281. His imperial expedition, 415.
 Yussupoff, Prince, ii. 373.

Z.

Zabriskie, James C., contract with the Navy Department investigated, xii. 155.
 Zamorana, Mr., iv. 104, 277. Bearer of the treaty with Spain, 302.

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|--|--|
| <p>Zea, W., Vice-President of the republic of Colombia, v. 43. Minister, 50, 113, 114; vi. 25, 221.</p> <p>Zea Bermudez, Mr., the Spanish Minister at St. Petersburg, ii. 425.</p> <p>Zealand, island of, blockaded, ii. 26.</p> <p>Soldiers in, 36. Threatened by Sweden, 411, 418, 420, 486.</p> | <p>Zerlaut, Mr., a Polish exile, ix. 367. (See <i>Kraitsir, Dr.</i>)</p> <p>Zimmerman, Frederick Albert, publishes a German translation of the Silesian Letters, i. 241.</p> <p>Zinzendorf, Count, i. 213.</p> <p>Zuboff, Prince, ii. 419.</p> <p>Zubow, Countess, ii. 61.</p> |
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ERRATA.

- Volume I., page 4, 5th line from bottom, strike out *not*.
page 8, 14th line from bottom, for '1779' read 1778.
- Volume II., page 203, 10th line from top, for 'morning' read *evening*.
page 310, 20th line from top, for 'two' read *ten*.
page 360, for 'John A. Smith' read John *W.* Smith.
- Volume V., page 23, line 4th, for 'sixteen' read *sixty*.
- Volume VI., page 510, note, line 2d, for 'Ossory' read *Ossington*.
- Volume VII., page 169, last line of paragraph, for 'in' read *is*.
- Volume IX., page 225, line 15th, for '1751' read 1651.
page 266, two lines from bottom, for 'fortieth' read *forty-fifth*.
- Volume X., page 163, first paragraph, line 2, for 'George McKim' read *George M. Keim*.

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